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The Nation's Voice
Towards Consolidation

Quaid-i-Azam
Mohammad Ali Jinnah

THE NATION'S VOICE
TOWARDS CONSOLIDATION

Speeches and Statements
March 1935 — March 1940

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1992

1935

1936

1937

1938

1939

1940

APPENDICES

INTRODUCTION

> I received the shock of my life at the meeting of the Round Table Conference. In the face of danger the Hindu sentiment, the Hindu mind the Hindu attitude led me to the conclusion that there was no hope of unity. I felt very pessimistic about my country. The position was most unfortunate. The Musalmans were like the No Man's Land, they were led by either the flunkeys of the British Government or the camp-followers of the Congress. Whenever attempts were made to organise Muslims toadies and flunkeys on the one hand and traitors in the Congress camp on the other frustrated the efforts. I began to feel that neither could I help India nor change the Hindu mentality, nor could I make the Musalmans realise the precarious position. I felt so disappointed and so depressed that I decided to settle down in London. Not that I did not love India, but I felt utterly helpless. I kept in touch with India. At the end of four years I found that the Musalmans were in the greatest danger. I made up my mind to come back to India as I could not do any good from London.[1]

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah thus addressed the Aligarh Students on 5 February 1938 about his experience at the Indian Round Table Conference in London and what brought him back to India at the end of 1934.

In 1967 Professor C H Philips of the University of London organized a seminar on the partition of India called the 'Partition Seminar'. Leading researchers and academics and the surviving politicians and administrators in Britain and the Indian subcontinent who had shared in or had close knowledge of events in the pre-independence period were invited to present papers and join in the discussion. The proceedings of the seminar were later published.[2] After the whole exercise had been concluded, Professor Philips spoke of his experiences and conclusions in a lecture delivered at Cambridge under the auspices of the Cambridge University South Asia Centre. Among the audience

[1] *Infra*, 233-34

[2] C H Philips and M D Wainwright (eds.) *The Partition of India: Policies and Perspectives 1935-1947*, George Allen and Unwin Ltd, London 1970

at this gathering were Percival Spear, Nicholas Mansergh and Eric Stoke, all three distinguished Cambridge University scholars on South Asia, now unfortunately deceased. The editor of this book was also present. In his discourse, Professor Philips stated that Jinnah had little following until 1935. He then posed a question as to how it was that in only the next 2-3 years Jinnah became a dominant figure on the Indian scene. Professor Philips considered the upliftment of Jinnah in this short period a mystery which, he thought, needed to be unravelled.

Much has been written on the Partition of India and the actors in the drama in the light of the records and the secret and confidential documents since released in Britain, India and Pakistan. Researches on Jinnah have also appeared, some of them commendable. However, there is still a need to explore material from original sources and compile it, that his collected works be published and objective assessment of his role in modern Indian history written. The present volume of his speeches and statements from 1935 to March 1940[1] entitled *The Nation's Voice* deals only with a part of his career and goes some way to answer Professor Philips' question.

Jinnah left India in 1930 primarily to help resolve the Indian question at the Indian Round Table Conference in London in the convening of which he had a major share. For reasons, chief among which being the difficulty of the Hindu-Muslim question, his ambition to secure for India major political advancement was frustrated. In sheer despair, he set up a home in London where he

[1]Jinnah's speeches delivered in the Indian Legislative Assembly are not included in the present volume. The Quaid-i-Azam Academy published them separately last year as—Waheed Ahmad, (ed.), *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Speeches: Indian Legislative Assembly, 1935-1947*. Quaid-i-Azam Academy, Karachi, 1991. There are altogether fifty items covering the period from January 1935 to March 1940.

lived waiting and watching as he explains above[1] It was at the end of 1934 that he returned to India He was elected to the Indian Legislative Assembly unopposed in absentia from his Bombay Urban Mohammedan constituency in the autumn of 1934 He resumed his seat in Delhi in January 1935

After having attended the Indian Assembly sessions from January to March 1935, he left for England in April to wind up his affairs in London He finally returned to India in November 1935 and at once gave serious thought to reorganizing the almost defunct All India Muslim League for the ensuing provincial elections under the Government of India Act, 1935, which had just been enacted From a study of this volume, the reader will observe how the Muslim League was organized from the grass roots and mass support for it mobilized, how the League attained popularity such as it never had done before since its birth in 1906 and how the League gathered strength enough to be able to speak to the Congress and the Government not only on a level of equality but also to exercise the veto against one-sided power devolution

But that position was achieved only towards the end How leaderless the Muslims were initially in 1935 can be seen from the following fact In April 1935, Jinnah intended to travel to Britain and asked that the League session, fixed for the same month in Lahore and arrangements for holding it having reached an advanced stage, be indefinitely postponed The session was indeed postponed at the last hour without dissent and no annual session of the League was held in 1935 Similarly, on his return to India in November of the same year, when he desired that the session be held, the same was, in fact, convened at Bombay in April 1936 When this position of Muslims is viewed *vis-a-vis* the well organized Indian National Congress — some idea about its

[1]I shall deal with this aspect of his career in my forthcoming book Quaid i Azam M A Jinnah Middle Years, 1923 1935 See also Introduction Waheed Ahmad (ed) *Jinnah Linlithgow Correspondence, 1939 1943* Research Society of Pakistan, Lahore, 1978

strength can be had from the resolutions printed as appendices XX-XXII in the following pages — with whom the Muslim League had to contend, and the entrenched imperial government it had to negotiate with, it was a matter of grave concern indeed, especially as events in India had been moving extraordinarily fast

In a letter to Jinnah, a prominent Leaguer from Patna voiced his concern on the very New Year's Day 1936 thus

> I read of the activities of your body on paper only There is no branch living or working in any of the provinces particularly in Bihar It is highly dangerous as it is at present to leave things in the hands of individuals There must be a stocktaking at the end of the year from each of the branches if there is any at all
>
> The so called pretenders from each of the provinces have done nothing so far to liberalize and popularize the object of the League It has suffered at the hands of the selfish mongers I hope that even now at this critical moment you will give the right lead by thoroughly overhauling the whole League I am disappointed and ashamed of its present activities [1]

This represented the general state of helplessness of Muslims all over India

Jinnah, on return therefore, encountered, first and foremost, the problem of welding together the divided, disorganized and ill-equipped Muslim community Besides this most formidable task, he faced two powerful adversaries, British imperial power and the Indian National Congress He had reached the inescapable conclusion that his success with the two external forces was inevitably dependent upon the success which he could achieve with his own people By the end of the period covered in this volume, he had accomplished his chief target of uniting Muslim India to an unprecedented degree under the League banner By then, the Muslims had also determined their goal and their voice and neither the Congress nor the government could ignore these without risk

[1]Syed Muhammad Ismail to M A Jinnah, 1 January 1936, Muslim League Documents Vol 174 pp 46-47

Let us now examine, one by one, how Jinnah dealt with the above three areas beginning from 1935 to March 1940

Muslim Community and the Muslim League

First, the Muslim community and its accredited organization, the All India Muslim League A few instances of the Muslim decadence have been given above, a fuller story will emerge when, if ever, the history of the All India Muslim League is written Muslim League records, at least of the central office, approximately 8-900 volumes, have been salvaged and are available for scrutiny [1] However, the documents printed on the succeeding pages serve as a guide and enable the reader to learn of the state at the outset Let us ourselves summarize the position of the League on the eve of Jinnah's return Housed in a rented portion of a building in an area in Delhi[2] where the Muslim population predominated, the Muslim League, the only body the Indian Muslims could look to for succour,[3] was poorly financed and its ill-equipped office was managed by a poorly paid assistant secretary[4] and a messenger Most of its members were in arrears

[1] See appendix I

[2] On being shifted from Lucknow to Delhi in 1927 the League office was housed on the first floor of Abid Building Ballimaran Street on a monthly rent of Rs 35 (It is presently occupied by shoe manufacturing units) In 1939 it was moved to Faiz Bazar Daryaganj in a two floor building owned by Lala Bishan Narain on a monthly rent of Rs 65 There the League central office remained till Partition Presently this place is used as a guest house and restaurant Khalid Shamsul Hasan *Sindh's Fight For Pakistan,* Shamsul Hasan Foundation for Historical Studies & Research Karachi 1992 captions on photographs 2 3

[3] For example in February 1933 when the question of amalgamation of the All India Muslim Conference with the All India Muslim League was placed on the agenda of the Council meeting of the League it was viewed that the name of the united body must remain All India Muslim League as it carries with it a glorious tradition' of 'achievement worthy of its 'name' See Muslim League Documents, Vol 210, pp 7 and 16 respectively for notice of meeting and agenda dated 20 February 1933 by Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League and letter dated 28 February 1933 to the Secretary All India Muslim League from Muhammad Abdullah Secretary, Assam Provincial Muslim League

[4] Syed Shamsul Hasan (1885 1981) His share in keeping the League office and its activities alive and going and in maintaining and keeping intact the Muslim League records and correspondence for historical purposes is much greater than his ordinary position in the League office would suggest There is, in my view a need that a full biography of this diminutive League functionary is written

in the payment of their subscription It had no press and no newspaper to articulate its position and views directly and independently In its limited upper hierarchy, counsels were divided[1] and although there was a general realization that the position of the Muslims dispersed all over India was being run down, there was hardly, from any quarter, any logical thinking about how to salvage it

The 1935 Act had been enacted in August 1935 when Jinnah was in London By this time events in Europe and elsewhere leading later to World War had begun to attract attention away from India of leading British politicians chief among them, incidentally, Winston Churchill, the principal leader,until then, of anti-Indian reform agitation However, during the pre-war years' before 1935, for a long time,' India had remained 'one of the dominant questions' of the Empire and had engaged the undivided attention of leading politicians in Britain[2] Indeed the Act had as its background the prolonged and persistent British endeavour since at least 1927 when the Simon Commission had been appointed, and the India Office, the Viceroy-designate Linlithgow and several

[1]As an example at the Council meeting of the All India Muslim League held at Delhi on 12 March 1933 presided over by Mian Abdul Aziz and attended by among others Maulvi Muhammad Yakub Choudhuri Abdul Matin Allama Iqbal, S M Abdulla Muhammad Yamin Khan and Liaquat Ali Khan the following incident occurred The President [Mian Abdul Aziz] read a statement signed by Mr Jafri and Nawabzada Khurshid Ali Khan raising a technical objection against the validity of Sir Muhammad Yakub's election as Honorary Secretary of the League the President ruled that the objection was in order and declared that the office of the Secretary was vacant He then abruptly dispersed the meeting without giving any opportunity to the Council to consider Mr Jafri's statement ' At the next emergency meeting of the Council on 28 May 1933 the President Mian Abdul Aziz, was voted out of office by a resolution of fourteen members of the League Council See *Ibid* pp 31 32 and 43-44 respectively for the proceedings of the meetings of the Council of the All India Muslim League on 12 March and 28 May 1933

Incidentally the above Council meeting on 12 March 1933 had also adopted the following resolution 'On Mr Abdul Matin's motion it was unanimously resolved that in view of the present critical political situation in the country the Council of the League request Mr M A Jinnah to come over to India to give a lead to the Indian Musalmans *Ibid*, p 32

[2]Templewood (formerly Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India 1931 35) to Halifax (formerly Lord Irwin Viceroy 1926 31) 16 July 1953 Templewood Collection India Office Library, MSS Eur E 240/75

eminent persons in Britain with Indian backgrounds such as Lothian, Halifax, Samuel Hoare and Zetland were mindful that despite the gloom in Europe, India could not be ignored and the provisions of the Act both at the centre and in the provinces had to be implemented without delay

The All India Federation was not to come about until a certain percentage of the Princes had acceded to it on conditions of their own choosing [1] This did not happen till World War II erupted in September 1939 In consequence, the federal programme was, in effect, abandoned as the war commenced However, the provincial part of the Act known as 'Provincial Autonomy' had no such difficulty and it was to be operational on the formation of representative provincial governments based on the results of elections which the Indian parties had to contest Although no party in India approved of the Act either as regards the centre or the provinces, both the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League participated in the 1936-37 elections and elected governments were installed in the provinces as a result

The above programme gave Jinnah an opportunity of not only entering the election arena but also, in the process, of making the Muslim masses aware of the need to consolidate their position and mobilize their resources under the banner of the League Hence, in the very first annual session over which he presided on return, 11-12 April 1936, he was authorized to constitute Muslim League

[1]The Act had laid down that the Federation was to be established by a Royal Proclamation upon an address to His Majesty by each House of Parliament that the required conditions had been fulfilled The conditions were that the Rulers of States entitled to 'not less than fifty two' seats out of a total of 104 in the Council of State representing an aggregate population of at least one half of the total population of States had signed Instruments of Accession' declaring that each of them had acceded to the Federation See [26 Geo 5] *Government of India Act 1935* [CH 2], Section 6 The population figure State wise and the States quota of seats — smaller States had to share seats — was given in Part II of the First Schedule of the Act For details of the Federal proposal at the Round Table Conference and its analysis and outcome see Waheed Ahmad *Road to Indian Freedom,* Caravan Book House Lahore 1979 especially chapter III entitled The Princes and the Concept of an All India Federation pp 80 115

Parliamentary Boards in different provinces in India The Boards were accordingly constituted and candidates for election chosen, not without difficulty and acrimony though, especially in areas where Muslims predominated populationwise The expansion of Muslim League branches and the enrolment of members at district and lower levels then began For a better understanding of the situation, it would be useful if statistics of progress are prepared and cited However, the result was worth the effort and the success achieved was considerable Weak and haggard, he toured and spoke all over India almost without a break An examination of the table of contents of this book will show it was a marathon political expedition People who commanded influence such as Iqbal, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Begum Muhammad Ali and Liaquat Ali Khan flocked to him and from the elitist Muslim circle he soon reached the masses by interpreting their will and highlighting their case in biting arguments The student community, especially at Aligarh, the principal Alma Mater of the Muslims, adored him for his qualities of head and heart, his sincerity and integrity and ability to deliver the goods His appeal especially in the Muslim minority areas was greater where the effects of acts of indiscretion by the Congress leadership were more acutely felt To explain the position to the reader from different aspects, three documents from the Muslim League records are cited below

1 Letter (Urdu), S M Yousuf, Contractor and General Merchant, Bhagalpur (Bihar), 3 September 1937 to Husain M Malik, Honorary Joint Secretary, All India Muslim League [summarised]

> Describes the problems and hurdles in the way of enrolment of Muslims as members of the League away from the Congress in the area of Bhagalpur and reports the results of the enrolment campaign Says he succeeded in enrolling fifty members in two days Hopes that he would succeed in raising membership to five hundred among those who could afford membership fee of annas four or pay by corn of equivalent value Says the villagers could pay by corn more easily Since people in the area are very poor membership could go up to four to five thousand if no membership fee is charged [1]

[1]Muslim League Documents Vol 174 pp 44-45

2 Telegram, Hatim Alavi, Karachi, 15 October 1937 to M A Jinnah

'League's greatest need is to effectively answer Jawaharlal's criticism that League has all officers but no soldiers Muslims being educationally economically and politically backward, League must creatively work on all the three fronts Sind Muslims have greatest confidence in your leadership Humbly suggest you to renounce practice and devote undivided attention to your unshepherd community May we not expect this from one combining the sweet name of Mahomed and Ali [1]

3 Letter, Muhammad Ishaque, Assistant Secretary, Gaya District Muslim League, Gaya, 21 January 1938 to the Secretary, All India Muslim League, Delhi

'I have the honour to inform you that a new situation has recently developed at Gaya On the occasion of Mr Jinnah s visit to Gaya the Muslims erected numerous arches and gates on the road The Chairman of Gaya Municipality who also happens to be the President of the Gaya Dist Congress Committee has sent two notices to Mr Md Ashique Advocate, President of the Gaya Dist Muslim League to show cause why he should not be prosecuted I am enclosing true copies of the said notices The local Muslims are greatly agitated over the matter and are even prepared to defy law

As the situation is critical please place the matter before the [Muslim League Parliamentary] Board and let me know the line of action to be taken in the matter An early reply with detailed instructions is solicited [2]

It may be noted that Jinnah only spelled out issues, mentioned instances of injustice and the implication and consequences of the actions and intentions of adversaries He did not suggest solutions, he only asked the Muslim community to mobilize its resources for a common purpose and strengthen the Muslim League In it, he assured, lay their salvation It was less than a year before the Lahore session of the League of 1940 that he, perhaps for the first time, used the word 'Nation'[3] in relation to Indian Muslims He had, it seems, concluded that after Muslim solidarity had been achieved, Muslims would themselves specify, independently of him, their

[1]Muslim League Documents Vol 179, p 56
[2]Muslim League Documents Vol 174 p 41
[3]*Supra*, p 368

goal which he would then pick up and work for Exactly a month before the Lahore session of the League in 1940, he had proclaimed that he would give the Muslims 'marching orders' only when he was convinced of their readiness for it [1] That situation, quite obviously, had been reached when on 22 March 1940, he proclaimed that since 'Musalmans are a nation' they must have a 'homeland, territory and state '[2] How that objective was realized will appear in the next volume of *The Nation's Voice* April 1940-August 1947, in the preparation of which the Quaid-i-Azam Academy is currently engaged

Muslim League vs the Indian National Congress

Looking back casually, one could assume that events of the past as they happened, happened as a matter of course and it was predestined that they should have so happened However, who could have visualized initially that these two bodies—the League and the Congress—would eventually be the successor powers of the British of the two independent states on the subcontinent?

The Indian National Congress was established for the national purpose of educating and enabling Indians to take advantage of the British policy of native association in the Indian administration Two decades later, the Muslim League was formed to safeguard the position of Indian Muslims in consequence of the above policy The background to the births of both the bodies was conservative and their policy and programme liberal and non-agitational So, although the League objective was narrow and sectional, there was seen no contradiction in the purpose of the two initially Thus, except Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and his close circle of Aligarh, ambitious Muslims freely enrolled in the Congress, in fact most of them began their political career under Congress tutorship Many examples of Muslims joining the

[1]*Supra*, p 460
[2]*Supra*, p 486

Congress and the Congress welcoming them could be cited, chief among them being that of Maulana Muhammad Ali, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Hasrat Mohani and indeed Jinnah [1]

The Congress was older and bigger and avowedly national It was thus much better organized than the League, in fact, on occasion, the League remained only an adjunct of the Congress However, this position of the Congress began to be eroded with the arrival of Gandhi on the Indian scene in 1915 The first onslaught on Congress liberalism occurred in 1921 when it accepted Gandhi's programme of 'Non-cooperation' For the first time, desertions from Congress occurred[2] and the schism later widened irreparably Side by side with this development, the national character of the Congress also began to suffer The establishment of the League in 1906 did not disturb the national harmony, but the mere fact that a separate body of the Muslims had to be created showed that the scope of the Congress was not large enough to cater to the changing national requirement The Lucknow Pact of 1916 between the Congress and the League was reportedly only reluctantly signed,[3] and, over a decade later, when the Nehru Report was written under Congress auspices and sanctified by it in later Congress proceedings, the Congress claim of being a national body came under severe stress Apparently, the bubble burst in the autumn of 1931 in London where Gandhi, accompanied

[1]Jinnah had signed the Muslim League membership application form at London on 10 October 1913 Maulana Muhammad Ali had proposed and Wazir Hasan seconded See Muslim League Documents, Vol 225 p 37-A He is reported to have 'required the 'two sponsors to make a solemn preliminary covenant that loyalty to the Muslim League and the Muslim interest would in no way and at no time imply even the shadow of disloyalty to the larger national cause to which his life was dedicated *Mohomed Ali Jinnah, An Ambassador of Unity His Speeches & Writings, 1912 1917, with a Biographical Appreciation by Sarojini Naidu and a Foreword by the Hon'ble the Rajah of Mahmudabad,* Ganesh & Co, Madras 1918 p 11 Jinnah had joined the Congress in 1906

[2]Jinnah himself disassociated from the Congress in December 1920 He had resigned from the Home Rule League two months earlier See Syed Shamsul Hasan, *Plain Mr Jinnah,* Royal Book Company, Karachi, 1976, p 23

[3]See appendix II and n I, p 233 *infra*

by Madan Mohan Malaviya, had gone as the sole Congress representative and where the national claim of the Congress that it represented every section was challenged by the Indian minorities combined

This Congress failure with non-Congress bodies together with Gandhi's anti-government street agitation around this time placed the Congress distinctly apart from the Congress of the initial days and also from the League and the Muslim leadership

In the study of the League-Congress relationship after Jinnah's return in 1935 to March 1940, the three distinct phases need to be kept in mind—first February 1935, when the Joint Parliamentary Committee report was debated in the Indian Legislative Assembly to July 1937 when Congress ministries were installed, secondly, from July 1937 to the League observance of the Day of Deliverance in December 1939 following the dissolution of Congress ministries the previous month, and thirdly the period of the last few months before the Lahore League session of March 1940

When Jinnah entered the election arena in 1936, the base of the Muslim League was very narrow and it had no infrastructure to operate countrywide His position in 1936 was thus considerably weak compared to that of the League's rival, the Indian National Congress Jinnah had participated in much of the debate and controversy preceding the enactment of the India Act, 1935, until 1932, and he had approved of neither the federal nor the provincial parts of the Act, nor the powers of reserve of the Governor-General or the provincial Governors This was something which, in his opinion, must change He had meanwhile, seen in the ensuing election process in the provinces and the possibility of instalment of elected governments there enough scope for democratic evolution Thus his pre-election position as regards the new constitution and that of the Congress was almost identical

although Congress, unlike Jinnah, had kept aloof almost totally from the pre-1935 Act proceedings The Congress advice to its followers to abjure 'one-sided agitation'[1] against the Communal Award had almost bridged the League-Congress gap He had wished to strengthen the League and redeem the Muslim position, but he had seen no contradiction between this and the Indian national goal Thus the election manifestoes of the two parties were very similar In his speeches and statements in the succeeding pages in the pre-election period he maintains this position and mentions the possibility of power-sharing after the election exercise is concluded

As the election results appeared, parties emerged with various degrees of success It would be an instructive exercise to examine the franchise as regards class, community, literate/illiterate, old/young, men/women, urban/rural constituencies, number of absentees from the polling booths and of the actual votes cast and to locate instances of misdeeds and mismanagement in the election exercise However at the end of it the Congress was, by all accounts the most successful party, though it by no means swept the polls Congress won 706 seats out of a total of 1,771, its success among Muslims was only about 5% [2] The League secured 102 seats out of 482[3] and won about half of the Muslim seats it had contested [4]

The time then approached for the fateful work of ministry making One has yet to ascertain the full facts behind the League-Congress pre-election understanding for a co-operative post-election programme The story must be buried in documents in India most of them now released, however unfortunately beyond

[1]See AICC resolution 22 23 August 1936 appendix XXI-4
[2]See Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi *The Struggle for Pakistan* University of Karachi, 1974 pp 74-75
[3]*Ibid*
[4]See Jinnah's press interview p 127 28 *Infra*

our easy reach Yet we have enough evidence in print to visualize what actually happened The League story is given by the chief Muslim actor in the drama in his *Pathway to Pakistan* [1] Let us see what the other side said Here are relevant extracts from a letter which the Congress President wrote to his predecessor on the subject at that very material time [2]

'I have been wanting to write to you for the last four days about a curious situation that has arisen here but as the urgency seemed to pass I delayed writing I shall now put you briefly in possession of facts

During the general elections in U P there was not much conflict between the Congress and the Muslim League It was the desire of the parties to avoid a conflict as much as possible and to accommodate each other As we looked upon the election campaign it was a tussle with the Agriculturist Party which was a wholly government party of big Zamindars The League was also opposing them We did not want to split the forces opposed to pure reaction There was no kind of arrangement between the UP Congress and the League but a kind of convention developed

Towards the end of June, a little before the WC [Working Committee] meeting the UP Muslim League leaders Khaliquzzaman and Nawab Ismail Khan made an approach towards the Congress This had obviously some connection with the possibility of ministries They pointed out that last March their Parliamentary Board had offered co operation to the UP Congress Party on the basis of the Wardha Programme [3] as laid down by the WC and were prepared to work under the discipline of the Congress Party

'When Maulana Abdul Kalam went to Lucknow from Wardha he saw Khaliq who told him that he was practically prepared to give him a blank cheque provided two of their number were included in the ministry—himself and Nawab Ismail Khan the president of the UP Board Maulana looked at all this with some suspicion but he felt attracted by the possibility of the whole Muslim League ceasing to exist as a separate group and being practically absorbed by the Congress

'He and Pant came to Allahabad and we discussed the matter at great length I disliked (we all did) this bargaining for seats in the ministry We

[1]Choudhry Khaliquzzaman *Pathway to Pakistan* Longmans Lahore pp 152 88

[2]Letter, Jawaharlal Nehru to Rajendra Prasad 21 July 1937 cited in Valmiki Choudhary, (ed), *Dr Rajendra Prasad Correspondence and Select Documents*, Vol I Allied Publishers Private Limited New Delhi 1988 reprint first published 1984, pp 63 67

[3]See appendix XXII-16

disliked taking in two persons who from the Congress point of view, were weak We feared reactions among the Congress men in general and the Congress Muslims in particular, who would have been irritated at their being excluded in preference for those who had been fighting the Congress What of those who had severed their connection with the League and joined us?

'All this and more we considered and we hesitated And yet the alternative was worth having if it could be secured This was the winding up of the Muslim League group in the UP and its absorption in the Congress This would have a great effect not only in the UP but all over India and even outside This would mean a free field for our work without communal troubles This would knock over the British Government which relied so much on these trouble

We drew up these conditions The March resolution of the WC on Congress policy in the legislatures was to be accepted from A to Z after full consideration so that there might be no misapprehension The Muslim League group will be wound up including the UP Parliamentary Board All the Muslim League MLAs to become full members of the Congress Party All of them to abide by the discipline of the party In by-elections no separate candidates all to support the Congress candidate and generally to endeavour to increase the prestige of the Congress If the Congress decided on resignation from the ministry or from the legislature they would follow suit

We decided to offer these conditions and also that if any condition was not agreed to then not to come to terms with them

Maulana and Pantji went to Lucknow They sent for Nawab Ismail Khan but he was ill in Meerut and could not come There were talks with Khaliq who agreed to all the conditions except two the winding up of the Parliamentary Board and not to set up separate candidates at by elections These were vital conditions Khaliq said that he personally would agree but he had no authority to do so In effect, he pointed out this might happen anyhow Thereupon Maulana said he could not give a final answer and came to Allahabad

Ultimately we sent word that we regretted we could not alter our previous conditions at all, if they were accepted *in toto* we would agree not otherwise We had no authority to go beyond this without consulting the WC So the matter was dropped and Maulana Azad went off to Bombay Khaliq said he was unable to agree

Because of the firmness of these UP Leaguers and Jinnah's strong watchful personality, the above Congress diktat came to nothing Having failed to move closer to the objective to liquidate the League by this method, the Congress planned to bypass and weaken

the League position, already not very strong, by other means Some parliamentarians elected on League tickets were weaned away and a mass contact programme was launched Even a scheme was conceived to undermine the League from within Let us reproduce two items, one, Nehru's public speech and the other a letter to him from 'a nationalist Muslim student of Aligarh Muslim University and founder-member, All India Students Federation'

i The Congress is a force which no one can resist The Muslim League's existence is seen only in a few provinces and is confined to only a few Muslims belonging to the upper classes Its policy and programme differ from those of the Congress How can there be unity between the two bodies unless the Congress gives up its ideals? The Hindu Muslim question is a question of the upper classes and not of the masses There is nothing like the Hindu Muslim question but it is the question of doing away with the country's bondage I therefore appeal to the Muslims to join the Congress in large numbers [1]

ii We must form a united front against the present Aligarh regime in alliance with everybody who agrees with us—Muslim League Independents Liberals etc I think there are at least a dozen old boys in the UP legislature You must approach all of them and if possible get a joint statement apart from short notice questions As for our attitude to the annual session of the All India Muslim League it is clear that we welcome every attempt at its democratisation and that of providing a mass basis The real contradiction of the Muslim League lies in the fact that a few feudal landlords and reactionaries want to exploit the backward Muslim masses for the retention of their privileges and a fundamentally reactionary political outlook Now an effort to widen the basis of the Muslim League will immediately bring them into conflict with the Muslim mass demands They will try to hoodwink the masses by emphasising superficial issues We should help the Muslims to organise big mass meetings and to formulate their mass demands For instance we must demand that the *talukdari* system must be abolished in the interests of the Muslim *kisans* that indebtedness should be immediately liquidated that immediate provision should be made for the relief of the unemployed that all *waqf* property should be returned to democratically elected bodies and finally we must insist that the membership of the Muslim League should be confined only to exploited Muslim masses This means that every Muslim who lives a parasitic life should be excluded from the organisation of the

[1]Speech at a Muslim meeting, Ahmedabad, 17 September 1937 *Hindustan Times* 19 September 1937 cited in S Gopal, (ed) *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, Vol VIII Orient Longman, New Delhi 1976 p 180

Muslim League The purpose of this League should be to start an active and organised struggle against British imperialism

'On the Palestine question we must insist that the Muslim League adopt the resolution of treble boycott passed by the Palestine conference and that the proposal of sending a deputation should be exposed You can take it on my authority that this proposal was first placed before the Muslims at the suggestion of the Viceroy after Maulana Shaukat Ali had met him I have seen Maulana Shaukat Ali s own letter to Mohammad Mian of Allahabad narrating all that In short I suggest that instead of forming an independent Muslim league or accepting the League membership and working from within, we must organise in every *mohalla* mass meetings of Muslims and formulate their mass demands Then we should lead a big demonstration and present these demands before Mr Jinnah and the Muslim Leaguers [1]

Efforts were made in the non-Congress majority provinces either to prevent the League from forming a government or to destabilize governments which were not purely Congress In the provinces where Congress governments had been formed, Congress ruled with effect, authority and arrogance A Congress Parliamentary Board[2] had been set up as the Congress ministries' watchdog Unlike the situation in the Muslim League body, the discipline exercised by the Congress high command over the Congress governments and parliamentarians was almost total No one could ignore the central edict without risk to one's political career

This and the hoisting of the Congress flag at official functions, the introduction of the Hindi language and script in schools together with singing of the song *Bande Mataram* almost sealed the situation The Congress intrusion in the Princely states, especially where rulers were Muslims or were sympathetic to their Muslim subjects, aggravated the position further The warning of the consequences of parliamentary democracy being introduced in India given by Syed Ahmed Khan over half a century previously now appeared real Instances of misrule cited in the Shareef and Pirpur Reports may or may not be totally correct, but all this put the

[1]Siddiq Ahmad Siddiqui to Jawaharlal Nehru, 8 September 1937 cited in *Ibid*, pp 178 80

[2]Comprising Vallabhbhai Patel Rajendra Prasad and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

Muslim community on their guard and alerted the already suspicious Jinnah He had possessed enough experience and close knowledge of people and events since the beginning of the century and thus needed no briefing and little reflection about how to plan and handle the situation The documents in the following pages will show that thenceforward he presented before the masses his anti-Congress arguments and incisive analyses of the prevailing events with telling effect The tempo of his activities increased, his following multiplied and the results began to appear in the by-elections in the Muslim constituencies It was not long before he demanded that the Congress recognize the Muslim League as the sole representative body of Indian Muslims and negotiate with it from that position

How could the Congress meet on these terms a body whose liquidation they had desired only a short while ago? This stance was not without risk Azad is probably right when he says, 'if the League's offer of co-operation [in July 1937 in the UP] had been accepted, the Muslim League party would for all practical purposes have merged with the Congress it was from the UP that the League was reorganized Mr Jinnah took full advantage of the situation and started an offensive which ultimately led to Pakistan '[1]

Muslim League vs the British

British rule had replaced Muslim rule in India The events of 1857 were bloody and the winner was ruthless towards the vanquished The Muslims could not be trusted, they could at any time repeat their attempt to stage a comeback Only time and the gigantic effort of Syed Ahmed Khan could improve mutual relationship until in 1906 a delegation of prominent Muslims could call on the Viceroy and ask, not without success, that their

[1]Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom,* Orient Longman, Calcutta 1960 reprint first published 1959 p 161

community be provided with a system of separate vote in the new political dispensation The Indian Khilafat movement could have reversed this process and revived the memory of the Crusade but for the utility and need in European wars of the Muslim soldiery from the Punjab and the Indian north-west

On the political front, Britain could also use Muslims as a counterpoise against the Congress and the Hindu demand for devolution of power and the British withdrawal from India The failure of the Indians to find a communal solution would be pleasing, and the Indians who would persist in communal negotiations and ask for the acceleration of the reform programme would be inconvenient and undesirable One such person was Jinnah At the end of the second session of the Round Table Conference in 1932, he was removed from further constitutional proceedings not without reason, even though he was living in London and was thus easily available Perhaps the only person in authority with whom Jinnah could develop co-operative relationship was Viceroy Irwin, 1926-31 [1]

On the other hand, Hindus were more ready to learn and imbibe the British system, ways and culture, and although Gandhi and the young western educated Hindus in whose hands the Congress was gradually falling, were rebels, the Hindu-British relationship was not marred by the past embittered memories within or outside India Hindus were also more numerous, hence if and when the transfer of power occured, as sooner or later it inevitably would, the Hindus would be the inheritors of it as a matter of course It is logical that Britain should cultivate a relationship with such people, the Gandhi-Irwin Pact of 1931, Gandhi's presence at the second session of the Indian Round Table Conference in London at the end of the year, the government's persuasive endeavour with the Congress to engage them in the Ministry making process in

[1]See Introduction Waheed Ahmad (ed) *Jinnah Irwin Correspondence, 1927 30,* Research Society of Pakistan Lahore, 1969 pp 1 26

1937[1] and later the good working relationship between the Governors and the Congress ministers in 1937-39, are examples of it

When provincial autonomy was inaugurated in 1937, the Muslim League ministries as such were nowhere So the government felt no urgency either to talk to the Muslim League or its leader Jinnah [2] This position, however, changed as the prospects of war loomed in Europe By then, Congress indiscretions had boosted the position of the Muslim League considerably and also the Congress had parted company with the government It was then possible for Jinnah to ask the government what he had asked of the Congress earlier i e to recognize the League as the sole representative body of the Muslims He went further with the government and required them, in return for co-operation in the war effort, to give to the League, in effect, the power of veto against any one-sided devolution of power The

[1]One of the principal persuaders was Lord Lothian See the following documents in Lothian papers —Lothian Muniments HM Scottish Record Office GD 40

i Lothian to J Ramsay MacDonald (British Prime Minister) 27 June 1935 and J Ramsay MacDonald to Lothian 28 June 1935 17/297

ii G D Birla to Lothian 23 September 3 November 7 21 and 31 December 1935 17/306 and Lothian to G D Birla 11 October 1935 (17/297) and 7 February 1936 17/306

iii Lothian to Linlithgow 31 December 1935 and Linlithgow to Lothian 13 April 1936 17/310

iv Zetland to Lothian 6 August 1935 (17/305) and 11 February 1936 17/312 and Lothian to Zetland 21 November 1935 17/311

v Lothian to Nehru 4 March and 9 April 1937 and Nehru to Lothian, 25 March and 18 April 1937 17/341 Also Lothian to Nehru 8 November 6 and 31 December 1935 and Nehru to Lothian 9 November 1935 and 17 January 1936 Jawaharlal Nehru *A Bunch of Old Letters* Asia Publishing House, Bombay 1960 letters 114 18

vi Lothian to Halifax 20 April 3 7 and 20 May 1 17 and 18 June 1937 and Halifax to Lothian 2 and 22 June 1937 17/338

vii Lothian to Gandhi 10 June and 13 July 1937 and Gandhi to Lothian 24 June 1937 17/338

[2]Viceroy Linlithgow did not see Jinnah until September 1937 See Waheed Ahmad *Jinnah Linlithgow Correspondence* op cit p xx and Zetland to Linlithgow 27 September 1937 Zetland Collection India Office Libary, MSS Eur D 609/8 Linlithgow s Viceroyalty had commenced in April 1936

government did not readily oblige him in specific terms, but having lost the Congress, they could not afford to lose the League Jinnah's objective was, for all practical purposes, achieved The readers will find the above story enshrined in the following pages How he exploited the situation thus reached to his advantage will appear in the next volume of his speeches and statements, April 1940-August 1947

This is a volume of the Quaid's public speeches and statements, 1935-40 [1] It is, however, more than that Its scope has been enlarged to make it, more or less, a history of the Muslim struggle for political survival in the subcontinent in the crucial period of 1935-40 For this reason, extensive footnotes have been added to assist the reader to comprehend the full meaning of events and incidents described in the text Biographical notes of personalities whose names occur in the text have been inserted in the index against their names to enable the reader to know who they were and what their backgound was The number of appendices given in the volume has reached twenty-eight, sixteen of them being explanatory notes and key documents They have been included after careful consideration as information contained in them is central to the events and happenings in the background of which these speeches and statements were made Resolutions of the Muslim League at the 1935-40 Annual Sessions, at the Council meetings and the meetings of the Working Committee have been reproduced in full Similarly, resolutions of the Indian National Congress at their Annual sessions, at the meetings of the All India Congress Committee and the Working Committee have been given Some of these items, on the face of it, may appear rather unnecessary However, they give a complete story of postures, positions and operation of these bodies *vis-a-vis* each other and also explain the government objectives The reader will thus, by a cross reference, see the cross currents of politics during the period

[1]Jinnah apparently made no public speech or statement outside the Indian Legislative Assembly January February 1935

In compiling this book a variety of sources have been used, chief among them being the principal pre-Independence Indian newspapers which are listed among sources at the end. It may be noted however that, here in Pakistan, except for the *Civil & Military Gazette* and *The Times* (in the original form at the National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad), the *Star of India*, the *Tribune* and the *Statesman* (this last only up to 1941 with gaps) on microfilm, we have no complete series of English newspapers either in the orginal or on mircrofilm. The task of acquiring even this material has been exhausting, so also was the work of locating items on microfilm reader-printer and deciphering the printouts. We regret that except for a few items, we had no access to the *Times of India* series. The cost of acquiring microfilm copies of this paper, which gave extensive coverage of news and events, either from its head office in Bombay or from the British Newspaper Library, Colindale, London where the original series exist, is forbidding and beyond the Academy's means. It is a matter of serious consideration that they and other principal Indian dailies be acquired if any meaningful historical research is to be pursued.

Besides the above, a number of other published and unpublished sources have been used in this publication. Newspaper clippings are available in the Quaid-i-Azam Papers. Some of them bear no dates or titles, information about dates and titles given on some of them seem doubtful. We made every effort to verify them through sources in our possession or by seeking confirmation from repositories such as the Times of India, Bombay office, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, and the British Newspaper Library in Colindale.

The other principal source was Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad's pioneer work—*Speeches and Writings of Mr Jinnah*.[1] Some of Jinnah's

[1] Jamil ud Din Ahmad, *Speeches and Writings of Mr Jinnah*, Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, 1968 (7th edition)

speeches, more particularly those delivered at Aligarh, are given only in this volume Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, being an eyewitness of the proceedings, recorded them himself, otherwise these, like several of Jinnah's other speeches delivered to select audiences would have remained unrecorded It may thus be seen that despite limitations, the spread of media reports used in this volume has been quite wide

Care has been taken to give the source of information everywhere and, in each case, an attempt has been made to reach the original source as far as possible, and the reader is assured that except for unavoidable punctuation and paragraphing carried out by the editor, the text has been left intact The spelling of the names of individuals and institutions has been standardized and made uniform as far as possible For example the word 'Mohamed' has been spelled as 'Muhammad' everywhere except in the case of Jinnah where it has been spelled as 'Mohammad' because that spelling is more commonly used for his name [1] Effort has been made to spell the names of other important individuals in the style in which they themselve chose to spell them, i e , Abdoola Haroon, Sikander Hyat, etc

I am grateful to the following institutions and persons who assisted us and supplied us with material and information whenever we approached them the National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad, the Library of the University of Karachi, the Freedom Movement Archives, Karachi University and the National Documentation Centre, Lahore I am also grateful to the Archives

1In a letter dated 25 April 1893 to the Master of the Bench of the Hon ble Society of Lincoln's Inn Jinnah spelled his name as Mahomedalli Jinnahbhai The Deputy Registrar of the High Court of Judicature at Bombay in a certificate dated 19 April 1929 entering him on the Roll of Advocates of the Court spelled his name as Mahomed Ali Jinnah See Quaid i Azam Papers Files 1362 p 17 and 816, p 1 respectively He himself signed his name as Ma Jinnah except in relation to an account he maintained and operated at the Imperial Bank of India Bombay where he signed a cheque dated 18 May 1943 as Mahomedalli Jinnah Syed Shamsul Hasan *Plain Mr Jinnah* op cit p 74

of the *Times of India,* Bombay, Dr Hari Dev Sharma of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, Professor Noorul Hasan Khan, Librarian, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, Kalpana Dasgupta, Librarian, National Library, Calcutta, and Professor B R Nanda, ex-Director of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Delhi, for similar assistance In Britain, the India Office Library and the British Newspaper Library, Colindale, supplied us from that distance with some important items, especially the microfilm series of *Time and Tide,* January-June 1940 Members of the Academy's Editorial Board, chiefly Mukhtar Zaman, Professor Manzooruddin Ahmed and Khalid Shamsul Hasan gave us valuable advice The last opened up to us the holding of the Shamsul Hasan Foundation and made available to us several rare documents used in this volume

I also thank Nicholas Butler of the British Council, Karachi, who read this introduction and made valuable suggestions

Within the Academy the team of researchers assisted me in collating, compiling and editing the material and proofreading the composed matter with care Special mention may be made of Research Fellows Kafil Ahmad and Shehla Kazmi

D A Pirzada, Hassan Ahmad, Mehrul Islam, Muhammad Mushtaq Khan and Zubaida Inam contributed their share in locating the material on microfilm and from other sources and reading the proof S M Salahuddin, the Academy's Librarian, prepared the index The Academy succeeded in establishing a computer and reprography unit where our young operators learnt the complicated use of the equipment speedily and produced efficient results They are Rafat Husain Siddiqui, Muhammad Hasnain, Muhammad Javed and Abdul Majid Farooqui I thank them all

The manuscript was read several times to correct misprints and remove errors However, full accuracy can hardly be guaranteed

whatever the effort. Faults also occur in the computer storage system. We shall be much obliged to the reader for suggestions for incorporation in the next volume.

Jinnah's role in India from the beginning of 1935 until 14 August 1947 serves as a new chapter in the history of the subcontinent. During this short fateful period, when the separatist programme evolved as a reality and matured, March 1940 is only a staging post. In the present volume, we have given only one phase of his achievement, the other, from 1 April 1940 to 14 August 1947, will appear in the next volume. The two publications together will provide the reader with authentic historical literature for understanding the genesis of the Pakistan movement and the Quaid's place in it.

Waheed Ahmad
Director
Quaid-i-Azam Academy
5 November 1992

1 Jinnah-Rajendra Prasad Negotiations Fail[1]

New Delhi, March 1. Babu Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, and Mr M A Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, who were carrying on negotiations for a communal settlement,[2] have issued the following joint statement above their signatures

> "We have made an earnest effort to find a solution of the communal problem which would satisfy all the parties

[1]Press statement, *Civil & Military Gazette* 2 March 1935

[2]The major issue which had blocked progress at the Indian Round Table Conferences in London, 1930 32 was the communal question i e the safeguards to be provided to the Indian minorities especially the Muslims The Hindu and Muslim delegates having failed to reach an agreement, the British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald was invited to intervene Accordingly, the latter evolved his own formula of communal settlement in 1932 known as the Communal Award (text reproduced as Appendix VI) Although it did not give all that the Muslims had been asking for it conceded their major demands and hence they accepted it For the same reason Hindu leadership rejected the Award and attempted, through agitation, pressure and even mutual negotiations to replace it by something more favourable to them

So the negotiations were held between Fazl i Husain and the Punjab Hindu and Sikh leaders during 1933 and again between Jinnah and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya one of the founders of the Hindu Mahasabha, in 1934 designed to replace the separate electorate in exchange for other concessions to the Muslims No success was achieved however A third attempt was made in the early part of 1935 referred to above in the form of Jinnah Rajendra Prasad talks Prasad was the Congress President at that time A formula had been agreed between the two known as the Jinnah Rajendra Prasad Formula (reproduced below) but Rajendra Prasad reportedly failed mainly because of the difficulty from the Hindu Mahasabha leaders So the formula did not work For further details of Jinnah-Rajendra Prasad negotiations see Uma Kaura, *Muslims and Indian Nationalism The Emergence of the Demand for India s Partition, 1928-40*, South Asia Books, New Delhi 1977 pp 100 106

The text [reproduced *ibid* pp 102 3] **of the Jinnah-Rajendra Prasad Formula, February 1935**

1 'Franchise should be so framed and adjusted as to reflect the proportion of population of the various communities in the electoral rolls for the provinces and the Centre, and for that purpose differential franchise should be adopted wherever necessary

2 'There should be no overlapping of electorates of different constituencies

concerned We regret that in spite of our best efforts, we have not been able to find such a formula We realise that communal harmony and concord are essential for the progress of the country and we can only hope that forces will arise which will make a future attempt more fruitful

3 'In the Punjab the Sikhs should choose the number of constituencies for the seats allotted to them in the Award and thereafter the Hindus would have the choice to fix on such constituencies as they might desire for the number allotted to them and the remaining constituencies would be allotted to the Muslims according to the number of seats fixed in the Award excluding the seats allotted to Europeans, Anglo Indians, Indian Christians and special constituencies

4 'In Bengal it was agreed between the Hindus and the Muslims that if any seats were obtained from the Europeans the same would be divided between them in proportion to their population in that province Joint efforts would be made by the Hindus and the Muslims to persuade the Europeans to release as many seats as they possibly can from the quota allotted to them by the Award Subject to this the seats allotted to the Muslims under the Award were to remain reserved for them excluding the seats given to Europeans, Anglo Indians Indian Christians and special constituencies

5 'Similar seats allotted to the Muslims for the Central Legislature by the Award were to remain reserved for them

6 On this basis it was agreed that joint electorates would replace separate electorates in all the provinces and in the Centre '

2 Suggests Postponement of ML Session[1]

Lahore, April 10 The question of holding the proposed All India Muslim League session in Lahore in Easter appears to have been undecided as a result of the receipt of a telegram from Mr M A Jinnah, President-designate of the League session, favouring indefinite postponement

The Reception Committee of the conference at a meeting on Sunday last had fixed April 21 and 22 for the session The Committee will now meet on April 12 to consider Mr Jinnah's suggestion, and there is every possibility that they may be guided by his advice [2] — API

[1]Telegraphic message, *Star of India* 11 April 1935

[2]Arrangements to hold the twenty fourth annual session of the All India Muslim League at Lahore on 20 21 April 1935 had been finalized when the League's Honorary Joint Secretary K B S M Abdulla received the following letter from Jinnah

Mount Pleasant Road
Malabar Hill, Bombay
7th April 1935

Dear Mr Abdulla

Many thanks for your telegram I have already written to Mr Shujauddin and this is to inform you that I am of opinion that the Sessions of the League should be postponed altogether till next year I hope that the Secretaries will agree with it and if necessary the sanction of the Council may be obtained forthwith

Yours sincerely
M A Jinnah

S M Abdulla Esq
All India Muslim League
Ballimaran Street Delhi

National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad, Muslim League Documents, Vol 168, Annual Session at Bombay, 1936, p 9 (For information about Muslim League Documents see appendix I)

By a resolution of the Reception Committee at Lahore on 12 April 1935 confirmed at the Council Meeting at Lahore nine days later (see appendix XVIII 3) the session was postponed indefinitely Jinnah then travelled to England and returned to India in October 1935 and wrote the following letter to Syed Shamsul Hasan the League's Assistant Secretary

Mount Pleasant Road
Malabar Hill Bombay
24th November 1935

Dear Mr Shamsul Hasan

Yes 30th December will suit me and if you think that it will suit all other members and there will be a good gathering please issue the notices without delay I will let you know the date of my arrival

Yours sincerely
M A Jinnah

Shamsul Hasan Esq
Assistant Secretary
All India Muslim League
Ballimaran Street Delhi

Shamsul Hasan Collection, Correspondence of Qaide Azam Mr M A Jinnah and Other Papers, Rare Letters II, Shamsul Hasan Foundation, Karachi

The postponed session was finally convened at Bombay on 11 12 April 1936 over which Jinnah had presided *Infra*, pp 37 41 Hence no annual session of the League was convened during 1935

3. Addresses Bombay Muslim Students — Mahasabha After "Complete Hindu Supremacy"[1]

Mr M A Jinnah, addressing a meeting of the Muslim students' union, Bombay, on Monday evening [22 April] laid stress on the importance of the Hindu and Muslim communities working together in the best interests of the country He appealed to the Hindu Mahasabha not to set the "complete supremacy and ascendancy of the Hindus" as its ideal but to treat Muslims as their equals Sir Suleman Cassum Mitha presided Mr Jinnah sails for England on Tuesday [23 April]

Mr Jinnah briefly reviewed the work of the last Assembly session and said they tried their best to settle the Hindu-Muslim question, but did not succeed The position of the Muslims both in the Assembly and outside— in the public life— was a very difficult one If they did not agree with Government or were opposed to Government, they were incurring their displeasure, although Government did not say so openly At the same time, they had to incur their displeasure in the larger interests of the country They could not be always supporting Government When they knew that a particular move was in the interests of India, they supported that move and opposed Government

Position of Muslims

The position of the Muslims *vis-a-vis* their Hindu friends was still more difficult To put it short, there were two schools of Hindu politicians, the National Congress school and the Hindu Mahasabha So far as the Congress was concerned, he was really glad that it had realised more than ever that without Hindu-Muslim unity, there was no hope of any great achievement in the country in regard to constitutional advance or any other advance for that matter And that, to Mr Jinnah's mind, was a very good sign At the same time, there was a certain section within the Congress which thought that the Muslims were not sufficiently patriotic

It would be admitted, Mr Jinnah thought, that on vitally important occasions, although the Muslim members of the Assembly did not subscribe to the policy and programme of the Congress party, the bulk of the Muslims walked into the lobby which favoured popular opinion and national interest In spite of that there was a section among the Congress which

[1]Public address *Times of India* 23 April 1935

doubted their patriotism thinking that they might let down the country at any moment The Congress leaders themselves, he hoped, realised that there was no foundation for that suspicion

Ascendancy of Hindus

The position of the Hindu Mahasabha, continued Mr Jinnah, made not only the position of the Muslims difficult but also made the position of the Congress difficult So far as the Hindu Mahasabha was concerned, every pronouncement it made, or any course of action it adopted, was calculated to show to the Muslims that the Mahasabha was dominated by the one consideration — the main consideration — that in India there should be complete supremacy and ascendancy of Hindus

When the Muslims realised that that was the attitude and mentality of the Hindu Mahasabha, their position became difficult The Muslims naturally asked "What is going to be our position in the future Government of India? When this great country gets self-government, are we to be under the rule of the Hindus?" How could they, therefore, expect the Muslims to join hands whole-heartedly with the Hindus and share in the struggle for freedom? Unless that mentality underwent a complete change, it would be very difficult indeed for the Hindus and Muslims to work wholeheartedly together

Experience of Congress

Mr Jinnah hoped the leaders of the Congress with their wider experience and very good training would overcome that section and assure the Muslims that "it is not going to be a Hindu government, but an Indian government in which the Muslims will not only have a fair and just treatment but also that they will be treated as the equals of the Hindus" The Muslims were ready and willing to co-operate with the Hindus The Muslims could not be forced to swerve from their path of doing what they considered right They were not going to allow anyone to achieve supremacy and ascendancy, they were going to share in the government of their own country How far the Muslims would be able to maintain that position depended upon their own merits Mr Jinnah thought that the Muslims need not be in despair, provided they made the fullest use of their opportunities and remained united on every occasion If that was done, they would win their goal

At the end of his address, Mr Jinnah answered a few questions put to him concerning the Independent Party in the Assembly He explained the principle on which the party worked, namely, that whenever Government were right, the party supported them, whenever they were wrong, it opposed them The party was not in the Assembly merely for the purpose of obstruction

4 Condemns Indian Government and India Office[1]

Bombay, April 24 Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, and Leader of the Independent Party in the Legislative Assembly, sailed for England yesterday by the Italian boat 'Conte Verde' Mr Jinnah expects to be away from India until about the middle of December and, therefore, he will not be present in India during the Simla session of the Assembly

Asked about his impressions of the Assembly session just concluded, Mr Jinnah said that he found the position of various parties *vis-a-vis* the Government most unfortunate He criticised the attitude of the Government of India both in regard to matters over which they had no control, but had to carry out the behests of Whitehall[2], and regarding matters which were in their power "We know", he said, "that all vital issues are settled and decided by the India Office and Downing Street and the Government of India had no option but to defend those decisions, nine out of ten such decisions were palpably wrong and not in the interests of India The personnel of the Governor-General-in-Council were not only not able to justify such decisions, but by their attitude during the debates in the Assembly they proved to be very offensive to every section of the House

"Misrepresentation"

"While this was the position in India and the House was helpless, the Secretary of State for India justified his actions before the British Parliament by his most autocratic and arrogant attitude and by misrepresenting India The Governor-General and the Treasury Bench in India tried to defend these decisions of the Secretary of State in some of which they were not even consulted They treated with contempt the sentiments and opinions of all parties in the Legislative Assembly Having the Congress on their brain all the while, the Treasury Bench refused to listen to anybody and acted like a bull in a china shop And the result was that towards the end of the session they had not a friend left

[1]Press interview *Civil & Military Gazette* 25 April 1935

[2]Close to Prime Minister's residence at 10 Downing Street in London the buildings which house British government ministries are known as the Whitehall In common parlance, Whitehall means British government

"This was their attitude in regard to matters over which they had no control and in the decisions of which they had no voice But what about those matters in which under the existing constitution they have ample power? What did they do? Here were questions on which they could have met the wishes of the Assembly in many directions, but here again the present personnel of the Governor-General-in-Council were not capable of understanding the situation which presented itself to them as they lacked in reason and statesmanship Whenever one happened to discuss matters with any of the members of the Government, it was evident that they were obsessed by the Congress attitude and all suggestions and advices, no matter from what quarters they came, were discarded

Advisory Capacity

"I do not see how in the circumstances it would be possible for the Legislature to work in harmony and cooperation with the Government Of course one understands that the Legislature under the present constitution has no control or responsibility and all ultimate decisions in all matters rest with the Governor-General-in-Council and the Secretary of State, and the Legislature is merely an advisory body which can only influence the Government and not control its actions But even in regard to the advisory capacity of the Legislature, one has to admit that the present personnel of the Government of India was quite impervious to any advice or reasonable arguments"

Speaking on the Budget proposals, Mr Jinnah said that so long as the present policy and system of defence of India were maintained, the highly paid services remained and the policy in regard to matters financial, fiscal, currency and exchange were beyond the control of the Legislature, it was useless to talk as they were bound to be hardy annuals and stereotyped There was no chance of any substantial changes being made, as the certificate of the Governor-General was always there

When conversations turned to the breakdown of the negotiations between him and Babu Rajendra Prasad for a communal settlement, Mr Jinnah pointed out that it had been constantly given out that the formula which was commented upon by individuals and the Press was his While he was not at liberty to disclose the private and confidential discussions which took place between him and Babu Rajendra Prasad at Delhi, he felt that he should remove the impression that he was the author of that formula As a matter of fact the

proposals emanated from Congress leaders and Babu Rajendra Prasad, and he (Mr Jinnah) more than anybody else regretted that they had to give up the negotiations The only thing he could now say was "try again"

India Bill

Asked as to what he proposed to do in regard to the Government of India Bill in pursuance of his resolution which had been accepted by the Legislative Assembly, Mr Jinnah said "I wish I could answer that question, but without unity it is difficult to answer that question and similarly it is very difficult to say what should be our policy and methods to achieve what we want unless we are able to put up a united front "

He said that he took a very keen interest in four matters particularly, namely, the question of trade relations between Great Britain and India[1], the rapid Indianisation of the Indian Army[2], the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report and the India Bill[3], and, most important of all, a Hindu-Muslim settlement As regards trade relations between England and India, the position was such that one could not help feeling that Indian interests had not been properly safeguarded As regards the Indianisation of the army, it was obvious that the present policy of the Government was not an honest effort to Indianise, at any rate the officers rank, as rapidly as it ought to With regard to the Government of India Bill, His Majesty's Government was going on merrily with the Bill in spite of the opposition from India, particularly regarding the Federal scheme which was most detrimental to the interests of India As regards the last point, namely, the communal question, he regretted very much that they were not able to

[1]For details see Waheed Ahmad, (ed), *Quaid i Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Speeches*, op cit , pp 15 25

[2]Jinnah frequently raised this issue on the floor of the Indian Legislative Assembly during 1920s (and even later in 1936, see *Ibid* , pp 117-18) He was a member of the Assembly Committee which produced a report entitled the *Report of the Indian Sandhurst Committee* dated 14 November 1926 published by HM Stationery Office London 1927 commonly known as the Skeen Committee Report It designed to establish an Indian Sandhurst for recruitment of Indians to Kings Commission in the Indian Army

[3]Waheed Ahmad, (ed), *Quaid i Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Speeches* op cit pp 26 54

find a formula which would have brought about a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question and harmony and co-operation between the two great communities, without which it was recognised on all hands that no progress or advance was really possible — AP

5 1935 ACT[1]

Bombay, Oct. 24 Mr M A Jinnah, President of the Muslim League and leader of the Independent Party in the Legislative Assembly, returned to India today

Interviewed by the Associated Press, Mr Jinnah said that he had been away from India for nearly six months and it was not possible for him to express any definite opinion without consulting members of his party and leaders of other parties

Mr Jinnah added "The Government of India Bill has now become an Act[2] We all know that the new constitution has been forced on us and it is now the duty of various leaders to put their heads together and hammer out a definite and common policy regarding the new constitution, which will shortly be inaugurated in the normal course at any rate in the provinces" He hoped to get in touch with various leaders shortly with a view to finding out how they should face the new constitution

[1]Press interview, *Civil & Military Gazette*, 26 October 1935

[2][26 Geo 5] *Government of India Act, 1935* [CH 2]

6. Shahidganj· Appeals to Leaders — "Help Me"[1]

Lahore, February 21 Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who arrived in Lahore by the Frontier Mail on Friday morning [21 February] on his peace mission, was given a rousing reception by a gathering of about 5,000 Muslims at the railway station Interviewed by the Associated Press, Mr Jinnah said

> 'My task is purely that of a conciliator and peacemaker I have arrived in Lahore in the full hope that the leaders of the various communities will help me to bring about a settlement because the general and greater interest of the Punjab, and particularly of the city of Lahore will be best served by the three important communities Hindus Sikhs and Muslims working together and cooperating in a friendly spirit
>
> There are much bigger issues which the Punjab will have to tackle than Shahidganj[2] and it is only by unity that we can tackle the various problems that are confronting us and will continue to confront us from time to time Therefore my earnest appeal to all leaders of the different communities is to help me I can assure the people of Lahore and the Punjab in general that I have not come to Lahore in a partisan spirit

Mr Jinnah during his stay in Lahore will be the guest of Khan Bahadur Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana, M L C

[1]Press interview *Civil & Military Gazette* 22 February 1936

[2]See appendix VII

7. Shahidganj: "I Have Come to Help You"[1]

"I ask you to keep calm and to understand me," said Mr M A Jinnah addressing a gathering of about 50,000 Muslims in the Badshahi Mosque, [Lahore] on Friday [21 February] afternoon "I have come to help you and I expect you to help me" He concluded with a promise to do his utmost while in Lahore "to secure an honourable settlement for Muslims regarding the Shahidganj affair"

Mr Jinnah joined in the Juma prayers in Badshahi Mosque where a seat on a dais was provided for him in the centre of the congregation Addresses of welcome were later presented to him on behalf of the Jamiat-i-Islam of Lahore and of the Blue Shirts[2] of Amritsar The former body while voicing 'the confidence of every school of thought among Muslims' in Mr Jinnah, said in its address 'We have our wounded hearts and the blood of our martyrs to present to you' The address of the Blue Shirts of Amritsar contained a criticism of the attitude taken up by Master Tara Singh in refusing to enter into negotiations about Shahidganj The signatories added 'No alternative has been left to us but to prove through our sacrifices the regard that we have for our religious places' Malik Inayat Ullah, the 'dictator' of the Muslim civil disobedience movement, after welcoming Mr Jinnah, announced that in obedience to his instructions he had suspended the movement but not permanently abandoned it The movement, he said, would be abandoned only 'when Mr Jinnah will bring us the orders of the Government accepting our demands'

Mr Jinnah thanked the Muslims of Lahore for the cordial reception they had accorded him and added "Believe me, nobody in particular has brought me to Lahore I landed in Bombay on October 24 and have since been following the Punjab situation with the utmost care and attention I felt that it was my duty to come to the Muslims of Lahore I also felt that you cannot carry on war and negotiations for a settlement at the same time I, therefore, of my own accord asked you to stop

[1]Public speech *Civil & Military Gazette* 22 February 1936

[2]Blue Shirts (*Neeli Posh*) constituted a group formed by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan in 1936 to agitate for the cause of the Shahidganj mosque The members of the group were so known as they wore blue shirts

civil disobedience By stopping this movement in deference to my wishes you have proved yourself to be a disciplined community You have raised your prestige and shown that you can act in co-operation with one another

"I have come to help you I have no other interest Success and failure are in the hands of God Nobody can say that he is going to succeed and nobody likes to say that he is going to fail I shall do my utmost to help you At the same time I appeal to you to maintain a helpful attitude and do nothing which may hurt the feelings of the other communities When there is a truce, let us act like honourable people as long as the truce lasts."

8 Shahidganj "Co-operation" only Course[1]

Lahore, February 24 While the negotiations which Mr M A Jinnah is holding with Sikh and Muslim leaders in Lahore[2] with the object of bringing about an amicable settlement of the Shahidganj affair have not yet advanced beyond the preliminary stage, the assurances which he has obtained from all parties concerned have created a hopeful atmosphere

On his appeal, the Muslim movement of civil disobedience has already been impended At his suggestion again the Punjab Government has removed all restrictions on those Muslims who were interned under the Criminal Law Amendment Act in connection with the Shahidganj movement The main feature of the conversations which he has so far held with Muslim leaders is understood to have been a unanimous expression of full confidence in him and promises of support to his mission Similar promises are also understood to have been given him by Sikh and Hindu leaders

On Monday afternoon [February 24], leading members of the rural Unionist Party[3] in the Punjab Legislative Council met him in the office of the Education Minister Sir Firoz Khan Noon They welcomed Mr Jinnah's move, expressed their confidence in him and promised him every possible help Later, he held a lengthy conference with Sikh leaders

Questioned by a press representative as to how long he proposed to stay in Lahore, Mr Jinnah said "I shall stay as long as it may be necessary, even for a fortnight" Commenting

[1]Interview *Civil & Military Gazette* 25 February 1936

[2]Following report appeared in *Tribune* on 23 February 1936 about Jinnah's engagements in Lahore February 22 Mr M A Jinnah met the Hindu and Sikh leaders today and discussed with them the Shahidganj situation In the morning he went to the Badshahi mosque and talked with the Muslim Dictator who is directing the Shahidganj agitation for about an hour He met the Hindu leaders and journalists at lunch at the invitation of his host Nawab Ahmad Yar Khan Daulatana In the afternoon he met Master Tara Singh S Harnam Singh Advocate and other Sikh leaders and had prolonged conversations with them for about 3 hours and a half The nature of the conversations is kept strictly confidential Mr Jinnah will meet the Muslim leaders tomorrow In the afternoon (tomorrow) Mr Jinnah will lunch with the Governor of the Punjab at the Government House

[3]See appendix VIII

on the Punjab Government's communique removing all restrictions on the Shahidganj internees he said

"I am glad to learn and appreciate very much the action of the Punjab Government in making my task easier by releasing the internees I cannot be in touch with all sections of Muslim opinion and I hope I shall be able to persuade all my Muslim friends that co-operation towards an honourable understanding and settlement is the right course I am thankful to the leaders of the Sikh and Hindu communities, the public and the Press in general for their courtesy and good wishes towards me and I appeal to them again to help me in every way they can in my task'

9 Shahidganj Muslim Community "No-Man's Land"[1]

Lahore, February 27 "The Muslim community, not only in the Punjab but in India as a whole, is at present a No-Man's Land," said Mr M A Jinnah in the course of a speech in Lahore on Wednesday afternoon [26 February] "Anybody who chooses can squat on it and say I am your owner " He advised Muslims to 'choose your own leader and see that he renders to you the account of his stewardship If he fails to do so, throw him out '

The occasion for the speech was provided by social functions held in Mr Jinnah's honour at Nedou on Wednesday The first of these was a party given by Mian Abdul Haye, Advocate The Sikh leaders of Lahore, including those in direct touch with the Shahidganj affair were prominent among the guests They exchanged greetings across tea tables with Muslims including some of the recently released Shahidganj internees The gesture made by the host in providing an occasion for such a meeting was generally appreciated

An hour later, Mr Jinnah was the guest of honour at another tea party held on the same premises The hosts were members of the Muslim Students League of Lahore, the function having been organised by the League's Secretary, Mr Inayat Ali Syed of the Government College

Address of Welcome

In the course of an address of welcome to Mr Jinnah the members of the League described him as 'the only leader to be depended upon ' They expressed their implicit confidence in him and welcomed his efforts to bridge 'the gulf between the two sister communities of the Punjab' They added 'The task is no doubt a stupendous one, but we sincerely pray that the Almighty will crown your efforts with success '

Replying to the address, Mr Jinnah said that the task undertaken by him was no doubt very difficult, but that, the greater the difficulty, the greater should be the effort to overcome it "I hope I may succeed, but the only chance of my success lies in that both communities should try to rise above the ordinary level "

Referring to the Sikhs, he said that from his very childhood he had had an admiration for them "I cannot perhaps account

[1]Public speech *Civil & Military Gazette*, 27 February 1936

for it, but I have always considered the Sikhs a very fine community. I have rendered them whatever service I could, not for a fee, but out of regard for them, in connection with the Jaito[1] developments and in connection with the deposition of the Maharaja of Nabha. I have found that the Sikhs have regard and appreciation for one who has done them sincere services. Every Sikh who has met me has shown his desire to help me and given me his good wishes."

Advice to Muslims

Referring to Muslims he said that the first question they should ask themselves was "Is our house in order? Are we an organised and united community? If you speak with half a dozen different voices", he continued, "how can you expect anybody to accept any of these voices as the voice of Muslims. Not only in the case of Muslims, but in the case of the Indian nation as a whole, a lot of spadework has to be done. Whether it be the Muslim community or the Indian nation, if it is rotten at the bottom, what can you do with a few genuine men at the top? How can you make representative Government a success?

"If there were a Dictatorship, the Dictator would do the thinking for the nation, but a representative Government can be a success only if the electorate is intelligent and can make an intelligent choice of its leaders. The Muslim community not only in the Punjab, but in India as a whole is a No-Man's Land. Anybody who chooses can squat on it and say, 'I am your owner.' This is not as it should be. You must make an intelligent choice of your leader and see that he renders to you the account of his stewardship."

Mr Jinnah is expecting the Shahidganj internees, who have recently been released, to see him at Khan Bahadur Mian Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana's residence on Jail Road at 10 a.m. on Friday. The next development in the peace talks will probably take place after he has conferred with them.

[1]Jaito, a village in the Punjab, gained prominence as the centre of the Sikh agitation in connection with the observance of Nabha Day in 1923. Batches of Sikh resistors began arriving everyday at Jaito. The British government took measures to suppress the movement. Failing to succeed, the police opened fire on them resulting in considerable loss of life.

10 Shahidganj. "Pursue Constitutional Methods"[1]

Saturday, February 29 Referring to the Sikhs in the course of a speech in Lahore on Friday afternoon [28 February], Mr M A Jinnah said "In the past we have fought against them and they have fought against us, we have beaten them and they have beaten us They are a great and brave community and I think that I am voicing the true feelings of Muslims when I say that nothing will please the Muslims more than an honourable settlement between the two brave communities of the Punjab"

The occasion for the speech was provided by a teaparty held at Lorang's in Mr Jinnah's honour The Taj Company, Limited, of Lahore, were the hosts Malik Barkat Ali, Advocate, expressed on behalf of the gathering the gratitude of Punjab Muslims for Mr Jinnah's efforts to 'disentangle the Shahidganj skein' He likened Mr Jinnah's visit to the Punjab to the visit paid to this province by Pandit Motilal Nehru in 1919 after the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy According to him, the circumstances of the present trouble were similar to those of the Jallianwala Bagh incident, 'with the only difference that the firing was directed this time against the members of a poor and disorganised community' This was, he said, why the Shahidganj events did not attract the notice of the civilised world to the same extent as the events of 1919 did

Shahidganj

He ridiculed the suggestion made by some, including a Sikh leader, that Muslims should treat Shahidganj as a closed chapter He informed Mr Jinnah 'in all humility, but with the greatest emphasis at my command, that we shall refuse to be a party to any settlement on the basis of treating the Shahidganj events as a closed chapter' A settlement, he added, could only be made on the basis of mutual respect for each other's religious susceptibilities 'The mosque, which stood for two centuries and was not touched by the destroyer's hand even during the days of Sikh power, should continue to stand and to be revered This is the only basis of a settlement'

Mr Jinnah, in reply, said that, barring the passage devoted to his praise, Mr Barkat Ali's speech represented, to a large extent, his own (Jinnah's) views In Delhi and Lahore he had been told by certain friends that the Muslim community had already practically closed the chapter of Shahidganj and that only a few

[1]Public speech *Civil & Military Gazette*, 29 February 1936

hotheaded youths were carrying on the Shahidganj movement His own readiness [reading] of the situation, after personal contact with Muslims of various classes, was different

"It is true that the forces of Muslims were scattered and disorganised Various reasons prevented them from giving expression to that cohesion and unity which existed in their hearts, but I noticed that the heart of every Muslim, from the highest to the lowest, was wounded and bleeding and I made the authorities realise that there was not a single Muslim whom I had met who did not feel keenly on this question "

He referred to letters and telegrams which, he said, had poured on him from various provinces when his decision to visit Lahore was announced in the press They showed that Muslim feeling in other provinces about this question was as keen as in the Punjab Referring to the decision to abandon civil disobedience he said "We took this decision, not because we were afraid, nor at anybody's bidding, but because after a careful review of the situation and my consultations with representatives of various sections of Muslims we became convinced that it was in the best interests of our cause to give up civil disobedience We shall pursue our remedies through constitutional and peaceful methods There are several avenues of constitutional work available" (*sic*) He emphasised that 'while we are not going to give up the Shahidganj question, we are going to make every possible effort to come to an amicable understanding with the Sikhs " In the end he exhorted Muslims to close their ranks and to organise themselves so that their voice might command respect Mr Jinnah also took tea on Friday afternoon with Nawab Nisar Ali Khan Qazilbash A select gathering of about 50 leading Muslims, including Khan Bahadur Nawab Muzaffar Khan, Revenue Member, was present

Departure for Delhi

Mr M A Jinnah left for Delhi on Friday night He will return to Lahore on Sunday morning to resume his peace talks

Interviewed by the Associated Press on the Government communique announcing the release of Shahidganj prisoners, Mr Jinnah said 'His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab and the Government of the Punjab have treated me during the few days that I have had the opportunity of discussing the question of Shahidganj with the utmost consideration and I am personally thankful to them for giving me all help and assistance I am very glad that they have declared a general amnesty and I am sure that the Muslims of the Punjab and India will not fail to appreciate the action that the Government have taken '

11 Shahidganj Asks Punjab Muslims — "Remain Calm"[1]

New Delhi, February 29 The Council of All India Muslim League passed a resolution placing on record, firstly its appreciation of the noble services rendered by Mr M A Jinnah towards the settlement of the Shahidganj dispute and wishing him a success in bringing about everlasting peace and goodwill among the different communities of the Punjab, secondly, its appreciation of the true Islamic enthusiasm, discipline and sincerity of the Musalmans of the Punjab in general and the Musalmans of Lahore in particular thirdly, its appreciation that at last a friendly gesture had been made by the Punjab Government in the interest of the peace of the country and, lastly its sense of sorrow at the sad death of Mrs Kamala Nehru and expressed sympathy with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

The resolutions paying tribute to Mr Jinnah's services in connection with the Shahidganj dispute and appreciating the gesture of the Punjab Government were moved by Raja Ghazanfar Ali and seconded by Mr Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana The resolution praising the Punjab Muslims was moved by Sir Muhammad Yakub and supported by representatives of another provinces The resolution relating to Mrs Kamala Nehru's death was put from the chair and was passed all standing —A P

Lahore Meetings

On Thursday [27 February] afternoon Mr Jinnah was entertained at a tea party by Mr Ghias-ud-Din, M L A of Lahore There were about 200 guests including Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain Speaking at the Badshahi Mosque on Friday afternoon [28 February] to a large congregation of Muslims, Mr Jinnah said, that he had been in consultation with all their leaders and that after prolonged consideration, they had come to the conclusion that the civil disobedience movement should be stopped and that all their efforts should be directed to a settlement of the Shahidganj dispute by a constitutional and peaceful means

In the People's Interests

He added "It is now for you to endorse the recommendation which we make to you today and I hope you will give your unanimous sanction to it We have not arrived at this decision because we are afraid or that it has been brought about at the bidding of anybody but because we have deliberately come to the conclusion that it is solely in the interest of the people

[1] Public speech *Civil & Military Gazette* 1 March 1936

"I know that you have in your mind those who are in jail and those who have suffered and are suffering in connection with the Shahidganj movement I am not going to ask the Government as to what they should do, but I would like to say this that it is the plain duty of the Government to declare an amnesty without further delay and I appeal to you to remain calm and peaceful and to help me in my task so that I can serve you all to the best of my ability"

12 Shahidganj. Report of Statement Denied[1]

Mr M A Jinnah, who arrived in Lahore on Sunday morning [1 March] from New Delhi, has made the following statement to the Press

"I have seen a report in a Delhi paper saying that I made a statement at the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League at New Delhi yesterday that as a result of the negotiations the Sikhs in the Punjab are prepared to express their regret to Muslims if Muslim feelings have been wounded by any of their actions, but that they are not prepared to give up the land in dispute This statement is without foundation I had not disclosed to anybody at what stage we are in our conversations What I did say was that this has been the case of the Sikhs from the beginning and the case of the Muslims has been that they want possession Between these two contentions we have to find a solution which is honourable to both parties That is why I have come to Lahore and will be doing my best to find an amicable settlement if possible — AP

[1]Press statement *Civil & Military Gazette* 3 March 1936

13 Shahidganj "Fair and Just Solution" only Objective[1]

"Please help me"—These three simple monosyllables formed the burden of a stirring appeal on Sunday evening [1 March] by Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah to a gathering at the Town Hall, Lahore, remarkable for its representative character

Speakers of different communities extended to Mr Jinnah their co-operation The Bishop of Lahore was in the chair, but had to leave early on account of another engagement Sir Firoz Khan Noon, Minister, referred at length to Mr Jinnah's services to the country and cited the instance of his services in the Assembly now, where holding the balance of power in the hands of his party, Mr Jinnah had always used it in the best interest of the country

Mr Nanak Chand Pandit, Leader of the Hindu Party in the Punjab Legislative Council, paid a handsome tribute to Mr Jinnah's qualities of head and heart and above all to his independence and the courage of his convictions He had differed from Mr Jinnah and violently too but, that had not whittled down his personal admiration and regard for Mr Jinnah Referring to the past, Mr Nanak Chand Pandit regretted that Mr Jinnah went out of the Congress for 'if he had been in the Congress then the country would not have been what it is today' As leader of the Muslim community he rallied with remarkable ability and leadership Muslims around him At the Round Table Conference his independence and boldness was not liked by the die-hards and even by some of the leaders of his own community but he boldly stuck to them with a rare courage till 'he found himself to be a solitary man in the wilderness'

Bold Leader

He hoped Mr Jinnah would come out once more and under the banner of his leadership all the distinctions and disintegration of Indian political life with which we were now impatient (*sic*) would cease and be a thing of the past 'Our country requires at this moment the boldest of her leaders and Mr Jinnah is one of them', concluded Mr Nanak Chand Sardar Sampuran Singh caused laughter when with dramatic effect he pictured his turban falling off by his having to look up at such a precarious angle at Mr Jinnah standing so high above the rank and file Sardar Sampuran Singh welcomed Mr Jinnah who had come to the Punjab with the banner of peace His presence in Lahore had

[1]Public speech *Civil & Military Gazette* 3 March 1936

already made a conspicuous difference The Punjab was looking forward to a new Government This could be run successfully only by the leaders of all communities and not by Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs The Punjab, therefore, welcomed Mr Jinnah at this critical moment and he hoped the leaders of the various communities would emulate his example and qualities of leadership

Sardar Ujjal Singh said that Mr Jinnah was most eminently suited for the mission he had set before himself He was sure Mr Jinnah would have diagnosed the disease by now What was required was bold leadership Sardar Ujjal Singh added 'Mr Jinnah must have by now been acquainted with the Sikh point of view about the dispute I may assure him on behalf of the Sikh community that we will give him every help for reaching an honourable and reasonable settlement We have all to hang our heads in shame for the happenings in Lahore But with a goodwill and a calm atmosphere, the establishment of an honourable settlement should not be difficult of achievement '

He Came

He concluded 'Mr Jinnah is doing his best and I am sure his mission will be successful and that it will be said of him He came, he strove and he conquered ' Mr K L Rallia Ram, on behalf of the Indian Christian community, extended a hearty welcome to Mr Jinnah

Miss Mumtaz Shah Nawaz welcomed Mr Jinnah on behalf of the youth of the Province on his mission of peace We wish him every success and assure him that he has the fullest and heartfelt support of the young men and women of this province in his attempt to disentangle the tangled skein of this fair land of the Five Rivers ' After paying a handsome tribute to Mr Jinnah's great abilities she referred to his work at the Round Table Conference of which she had been a disinterested mediator behind the scenes Five years had passed by since then, but the country was no nearer to a solution of the communal problem She assured him that youth would rally round his banner of peace

Only One Object

Mr Jinnah received a rousing ovation as he rose to speak He confessed his sheer inability to find suitable words to thank the speakers for the kind references to him made by them He assured them that they had touched him deeply After referring to his mission which was, for the present at least the solution of the Shahidganj dispute, he said 'Believe me, I have not come here as a Muslim leader I have not come to champion the cause of the Muslims I have only one object before me and that is

that a fair and just solution of the problem should be found and if it is fair and just, it will be honourable and lasting While I do not want to mention particularly any one speaker of this evening, I should say one thing gave me the greatest encouragement and that was the speech of Sardar Ujjal Singh, who, on behalf of his community, assured me of his community's fullest co-operation That expression has given me the greatest encouragement

Mr Jinnah added "I have met many Muslim leaders in the past few days and after a thorough study and days and days of heart-to-heart talks I am convinced that there is not a single thinking Muslim who does not desire friendship and brotherhood with Sikhs and Hindus As I have said before, we have got much bigger problems to tackle in the Punjab and the greater interests of the Province demand complete unity

Doing My Best

"With regard to the negotiations, I cannot say anything more than that I am doing my best It is a most difficult and delicate task I have understood what the issues are and if I get your genuine and heartfelt support it can be solved If you can rise above everything else, if the leaders will leave aside everything else and take the issue completely in their hands and face them, whatever the consequences may be, it can be solved in no time I am not belittling the enormity of the task When the dispute takes the form of the religious sentiments of both communities, it is very difficult to make the ordinary man understand But the more difficult, the greater should be our efforts Although it is a very small question, yet in another sense it is a very big question From small beginnings, we can achieve bigger things My appeal to you, therefore, is 'please help me' and with your help, I feel confident, I can solve it in a manner which will be honourable to both communities"

Referring to Pandit Nanak Chand's remarks about his work at the Round Table Conference, Mr Jinnah said that he could say that he was perhaps the most individualist member of the Conference "I displeased the Muslims I displeased my Hindu friends because of the 'famous' 14 points[1] I displeased the Princes because I was deadly against their underhand activities and I displeased the British Parliament because I felt right from the beginning and I rebelled against it and said that it was all a fraud Within a few weeks I did not have a friend left there But whatever I have done, let me assure you, there has been no change in me, not the slightest, since the day when I joined the

[1] See appendix IV

Indian National Congress It may be I have been wrong on some occasions But it has never been done in a partisan spirit My sole and only object has been the welfare of my country I assure you that India's interest is and will be sacred to me and nothing will make me budge an inch from that position "

Communal Award

Referring to the communal award Mr Jinnah said that it was never intended to be a permanent arrangement Political pacts, constitutions and such other adjustments could have no permanency about them They were devised to meet a particular situation and were all subject to alteration by the nation He referred to the changing constitutions in European countries in support of this contention In conclusion, Mr Jinnah referred to his constant efforts for a solution of the communal problem and assured the audience "I will not and I cannot give it up It may give me up I will not " He was convinced that without communal unity there was no salvation for India Turning to Miss Shah Nawaz, Mr Jinnah said that it augured well for the youth of Lahore that a women was their representative because his advise to youth would be "Take your women with you "

Mr M A Yusuf Ali, Principal, Islamia College, who took the chair after the Bishop of Lahore left, associated himself with the tributes paid to Mr Jinnah At his suggestion, the audience stood up in silence for two minutes as a mark of respect to the memory of Mrs Kamala Nehru — AP

14. Shahidganj. "Doing My Best"[1]

Lahore, March 4 Mr M A Jinnah was the guest of honour at the Id reception held today at the Local Muslim Club Mian Abdul Haye welcoming Mr Jinnah thanked him on behalf of Muslims for undertaking the present negotiations He declared that if there was any leader who could bring about a settlement of the dispute it was Mr Jinnah

In his reply Mr Jinnah thanked the members of the club for their reception and kind words spoken of him He added "I can tell you I am doing my best for a settlement And whatever the newspapers may say I want you to understand that I am here only and solely for one object namely for a settlement of the Shahidganj dispute"

Mr Jinnah added his work had two parts One related to the Government and Muslims and in this an adjustment had been reached which he hoped was satisfactory With regard to the other question between the Sikhs and Muslims he was still carrying on negotiations He reiterated its difficulty "But if sentiments are tempered by reason and fact I do not see why we should not be able to find an honourable settlement" — API

[1]Public speech *Tribune* 6 March 1936

15 "We Cannot Have Dictators in India"[1]

Lahore, March 5 Mr M A Jinnah was the chief guest at the annual meeting of the Speakers Union of the Dyal Singh College, Lahore Prof S N Dass Gupta presided

Prof Lajpat Rai, the President of the Union, in welcoming the guest said

Sir, you have come to this province on a mission of peace and goodwill We, in this institution, which is completely non-communal and non-sectarian, are doing our humble bit for the evolution of Indian nation The motto of this Union is to cultivate courage to speak, and we find in you our ideal, for you have had the courage to speak out your convictions, even if it meant parting company with some of your old associates

Prof Dass Gupta, in welcoming Mr Jinnah on behalf of the College, referred to the non-communal spirit which prevailed in the College which owed its existence to the munificence of late Sardar Dyal Singh Majithia Continuing he said that they were very happy indeed to have Mr Jinnah in their midst and that they had the fullest confidence in his wise leadership In concluding Mr Gupta said "in the history of the College this visit will be considered as a red-letter day '

Mr Jinnah's reply

Mr Jinnah was given a hearty ovation when he rose to respond He said 'I feel myself among kindred spirits This College does not believe in any creed and I, too, feel that the salvation of India lies in the non-sectarian feelings It was this creed which I had in the past, which I have at present and which I will have in future dearest to my heart You, Sir, talked of Mussolini and Hitler, we cannot have dictators in India for a Dictator to be a real one and not in name only must have the power to punish and the power to reward He must have an army to back him

"I want you to realise that the only difference between you and me is that I am older than you Although I began my life as a dreamer and an idealist like you, now when I have gone through almost the whole of it I have begun to realise the realities

[1]Public speech *Tribune* 6 March 1936

"Imagine, we are thinking of setting up a representative form of Government What foundation have we for it? If we start from the top it cannot and will not be representative Any unscrupulous and unprincipled leader today can exploit the masses of the country at any time he likes as long as he can play to the tune that they understand Unless, therefore, we get a solid portion of people who are trained and who understand and have the requisite knowledge at least to select a leader rightly and say 'we will stand by you and support you loyally' and who should be able to disown him if he goes astray, we cannot have representative Government Have we one single leader in India or even in one community who can command the wholehearted loyalty and allegience of the country or the community or even of the intelligentsia? Is there one leader who can speak for you? Let me have that much at least the very fact that there is a united front which has a man who has the power to speak for them is irresistible "

Mr Jinnah then feelingly referred to late Mr Gokhale[1] and said "Give me more Gokhales' He concluded "India has everything God has given her everything but man has not served her well Let man serve India and you have bright days ahead of you "

After a vote of thanks to the guest and the Chairman, the function terminated and Mr Jinnah exchanged views with the members of the Union informally Amongst those who were present were K B Ahmed Yar Khan Daultana M L C , Pt Hem Raj, Principal, Dyal Singh College and Mr Balak Ram, Bar-at-Law

[1]Gopal Krishna Gokhale (a Mahratta Brahman) b 1866 edn Elphinstone College and Law College Bombay taught mathematics philosophy and English at Fergusson College Poona 1885 1902 Joint Secretary Indian National Congress presided over Congress session 1905 Member Bombay Legislative Council 1902 elected to represent non official members in the Viceregal Legislature Founded Servants of India Society at Poona 1905, sympathised with the Muslim demand for separate electorate 1906 Member of *Imperial Council (1910)* and of Indian Public Service Commission (1912) till his death in 1915 refused to accept KCIE offered in 1914 'An effective parliamentarian the First Moderate and the Greatest Indian' B R Nanda *Gokhale The Indian Moderates and the British Raj*, Oxford University Press Delhi 1977 p 471

16 Shahidganj "Appeal to Intelligentsia for Help"[1]

Lahore, March 6 An appeal to the intelligentsia to help in the solution of the Shahidganj tangle was made on Friday night [6 March] at the weekly meeting of the Rotary Club of Lahore by Mr M A Jinnah who was the chief guest of the Club

Mr Jinnah said that he had been given to understand that the Rotary Club did not meddle in politics The resolution of the Shahidganj problem, regarding which he was in Lahore, was nothing but a human problem It was not within the pale of the law to work out an honourable settlement of the problem The problem was more delicate than difficult He was confident that with goodwill and reason it could be solved He had come to the Punjab with the sole purpose that the peace of the province must be maintained "If you all put your heads together and help in the solution of this tangle, it can be solved," said Mr Jinnah

Continuing, he said that people had vague ideas about the problem, and they did not understand what it was The intelligentsia had been indifferent and they had not bothered about it, thinking that it was only a small thing Had it not been for Alsace Lorraine[2], the history of the Europe would have been different Over it France remained in mourning from 1871 till the Great War when they got it back Comparing it with the Shahidganj tangle in Lahore, he warned people that this should not be allowed to develop into such a divergence In conclusion, he said that if he failed to find a solution he hoped the intelligentsia would put its heads together and find one

Answering questions, Mr Jinnah elucidated the meaning of "honourable" He said the dispute was between two great communities and the settlement must respect their respective feelings and must not be derogatory to their self-respect He was hopeful of solution because of the peaceful atmosphere in Lahore and of the fact that people had started thinking in terms of reasonableness

To another question as to what the youth of Lahore could do towards the solution of the problem, Mr Jinnah said they should make people understand what the real issue is and prevent unscrupulous leaders from exploiting the masses

[1]Public speech, *Civil & Military Gazette*, 7 March 1936

[2]An area north east of France under German rule from 1871 to 1919 and again 1940-44

17. Shahidganj. Advice to Leaders — "Meet Together to Face Real Issues"[1]

Lahore, March 6 "The only possible way to face real issues is that the leaders meet together and sit down as politicians and statesmen and not as Hindus, Muslims or Christians, and see what danger lies ahead and then devise ways and means of destroying that danger" This was the significant utterance of Mr M A Jinnah at a crowded public meeting arranged by the Servants of India Society in the Lajpat Rai Hall, Lahore, on Friday evening [March 6] Lala Duni Chand, Barrister-at-Law, presided

At the outset of the meeting the President, introducing Mr Jinnah, paid tributes to his noble mission, and said that after he had settled the Shahidganj tangle the Punjab would invite him to throw light on other subjects A number of speakers also paid tributes to Mr Jinnah Dewan Chaman Lal said that the younger generation of India looked to him for a disinterested lead Referring to the famous fourteen points of Mr Jinnah, Dewan Chaman Lal said that he framed those to save the honour of the country He had the sole purpose of the unity of all communities in view, but it was the misfortune of India that they did not realise the danger of turning down those proposals

Mr Baul compared the Shahidganj tangle to only a bubble in the ocean He said that the real issue was unity between Hindus and Muslims

Sole Mission

Mr Jinnah who spoke on the subject of "The task before us" said that he did not like to be entangled in local or provincial politics when his sole mission at present was to solve the Shahidganj problem Clearing up certain statements made by Mr Baul in reference to the fourteen points he said that those proposals were based on joint electorates All Congress leaders welcomed and encouraged them The All India Congress Committee accepted them and in turn they were adopted at the full session of the Indian National Congress at Madras The Muslim League then adopted them Following that it was proposed to call a Congress-League Conference and frame India's demands but for certain reasons the Congress retracted its affirmation and originated the Nehru report He blamed the Congress for breaking its pledges

[1]Public speech, *Civil & Military Gazette*, 7 March 1936

He said that many Hindus had regard for him He vehemently declared that whatever he had done he had done with a single purpose as a politician thinking that if a particular course was adopted it was going to serve the country well He advised the people to be practical There was no last word spoken in politics They should be advocated, weigh advantages and disadvantages because politics was a game of chess Continuing, Mr Jinnah said that constitutions are made by the people, they are changed by the people and they are torn by the people if they so desire He said that they should look across the world and not confine themselves to Lahore or the Punjab He referred to Germany as an example where constitution has been changed and torn He advised the people to try and devise means and methods to fight the main issue

He deplored that the new constitution had been imposed on India It was declared to be reactionary by one and all He regretted that there was no unity of purpose in Indian politics Parties and differences were based on small things He asked "When we shall learn to face the real issues? The only possible way out of this all is," he suggested, "that the leaders, at least if you have any leaders, meet together and sit down as politicians and statesmen, and not as Hindus, Muslims or Christians and see what danger lies ahead and devise ways and means of destroying that danger"

18 Shahidganj: Constitutes Conciliation Committee[1]

March 7 Mr M A Jinnah, who has been in Lahore for the fortnight attempting to bring about a settlement of Shahidganj dispute, issued the following statement to Associated Press on the eve of his return tonight to Delhi

I find that there is a general change in the situation and that a better atmosphere is now created Events have moved rapidly My negotiations with Sikh leaders and Muslim leaders have clearly brought out on both sides that there is a genuine and sincere desire for an honourable understanding and settlement They both desire that friendly relations should be established in the greater interest of the Punjab Various suggestions and proposals have been made but as I have said before the question is more delicate than difficult because religious sentiments are deeply moved In order to consider various proposals and counter proposals it is not only necessary to maintain a calm and peaceful atmosphere but they require examination and adjustment so that both communities may be satisfied with any ultimate agreement that may be evolved

Further Effort

This is not a dispute between two individuals but between two great communities and it must take sometime to ascertain the general wishes of the people In order to do all this work effectively, it is considered that further efforts should be continued and every endeavour should be made to bring about an honourable solution I have therefore been impelled to the conclusion that the purpose can best be served by constituting a Conciliation Committee that may be called The Shahidganj Conciliation Committee consisting of the following gentlemen and I hope that they will offer their services and do their utmost as intermediaries by approaching the leaders of their respective communities in order to find an agreed formula which may be acceptable to both parties

After thinking over the matter carefully I venture to suggest the following names Of course they can add to their number Dr Sir Muhammad Iqbal Maulvi Abdul Qadar Kasuri Mian Abdul Aziz Raja Narendra Nath Nanak Chand Pandit, S B Buta Singh Sardar Ujjal Singh and Sardar Sampuran Singh Convener K B Mian Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana

I have consulted most of them and they have agreed to undertake this noble mission and I wish them Godspeed In conclusion I may say that I shall be glad to place my services at their disposal if and when they require them and also try to come to Lahore again if my presence is necessary Meanwhile it is understood that the peaceful atmosphere already created will be maintained "

[1]Press statement *Civil & Military Gazette* 8 March 1936

Despite the fact that Mr Jinnah's departure from Lahore was not known until late in the evening, quite a large gathering of Muslims was present at the station to see him off by the Frontier Mail Prominent among those present were Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana Akhtar Ali Khan, Chaudhri Afzal Haq, M L C and Maulana Syed Inayat He was profusely garlanded Before his departure he advised the gathering to remain calm and peaceful, adding that a satisfactory solution of the Shahidganj dispute could be found He assured them of his readiness to come to Lahore whenever it was necessary

19. 1935 Act ML Post-Election "Policy and Programme"[1]

Bombay, April 5 On the eve of the session of the All India Muslim League, Mr M A Jinnah has issued the following statement

> "This session of the Muslim League is going to be one of the most important and I therefore appeal to all members of the League to be present The first and foremost question to be considered is what should be the policy and programme of the Muslims with regard to their attitude towards and participation in the coming provincial Governments under the Government of India Act 1935 The decision of the League is bound to play a very important part in the future shaping of the position of the Muslims *vis a vis* the new Reforms Of course I do not want to anticipate the decisions that may be taken by the League and therefore I do not wish to express my personal views at this juncture as to what should be the policy and programme of the Muslims and the ways and means of carrying it out"

It has now been finally decided to hold the session of the League in a *pandal* to be erected opposite the Town Hall, commodious enough to hold at least 5,000 people It is expected that about 400 delegates will attend the session — AP

[1]Press statement *Star of India* 6 April 1936

20 1935 Act "Grossest Breach of Faith" — "Congress Behaving Like Ostrich"[1]

Bombay, April 12 Mr M A Jinnah thought it is unnecessary to go into the long history of the Government of India Act but he briefly summarised what the demands of the people of India were and when they began to be made The real issue came into forefront in 1924 if not earlier when provincial autonomy was taken for granted already at that time Lord Reading was willing to call the leaders of India and come to a settlement with them In 1924, therefore, the question of provincial autonomy did not trouble the leaders Then came the Muddiman Committee in 1925, when it was again known that the Government would grant provincial autonomy scheme But it was not the Provincial Autonomy that the people were fighting for The main issue was about control and responsibility in the Central Government That meant control and responsibility [of] departments which should be managed by ministers responsible to the Legislature There was the question of Defence Because unless the people of India had defence in their hands, unless they had sword in their hands to defend their homes and hearths, they could not be expected legitimately to fill their place in the nation

As regards finance, anyone would appreciate that without money one could do nothing So was the case about Commerce and Industry These were some of the vital departments though there were many other departments, the present government considered, for instance, that the Law and Order Department was more vital than anything else They then fought for control and responsibility in the vital departments What did the country get in the new constitution?

Mr M A Jinnah challenged contradiction in his statement that India got 2 per cent responsibility and 98 per cent

[1] Brief Minutes of the Proceedings of the 24th Annual Session of the All India Muslim League held at Bombay on the 11th and 12th of April 1936 Muslim League Documents Vol 168 document No 67 pp 2 9 Also see Muslim League (Annual Session) 11 12 April 1936, appendix XVI 1 Resolution No 8 moved by Jinnah himself and his remarks on it that the Federal scheme of the Government of India Act 1935 was totally unacceptable but the Provincial scheme of the Constitution be utilised for whatever it is worth' Report of proceedings of the session also appeared in *Star of India* 13 April 1936

safeguards and special powers to the Governor General It was not only that It was most remarkable that this 2 per cent of responsibility was hampered and hedged in, in several ways Firstly, one-third of the number of members in the Assembly of the First House would be the nominees of the Indian Princes Then there were in British India certain conservative elements There was large representation to the Europeans The Constitution was expressly so designed that leaving alone extremists and socialists, the programme of even moderate nationalist Indians of advanced ideas would never go through the First House If by miracle or manoeuvre any measure went through the First House there was the equally powerful Second House where the representation for the Princes was 40 per cent responsible to none, not even to the subjects of the State That was so far as the composition of the Legislatures was concerned

If a measure went through these two Houses, there was the Governor General Mr M A Jinnah did not think that anywhere in the world there was any person who exercised such powers He was therefore justified in protesting against the constitution being forced on the country

Mr M A Jinnah then referred to the situation in India There were four major parties sitting as it were at a chessboard There were the British people, as a collective entity There were the Indian Princes, the Hindus and the Musalmans

The object of Great Britain was to maintain inviolable and intact the powers and authority of Great Britain as a dominant party that must maintain the 'Raj" in India The object of the Indian Princes was that they did not want any kind of democratic government They seemed to think that if the B [British] Government might hand over certain power to the people of B India, was it not better that the Princes should come in to keep a control over any such power given to the people of the B India The object of the Hindus and Muslims was common to a certain extent The Muslims were anxious and were as ready as any Hindu nationalist to stand by the country and struggle for the freedom of the country

But this was the first time that the people were trying a constitution by which the Government was carried on by a majority rule and the Muslims were a minority community It was not a religious question It was a question whether they should not have sufficient safeguards which would inspire confidence in them so that they too wholeheartedly join with the sister communities in the march for freedom Unfortunately, there was no agreement between the Hindus and Muslims on this question

The fact thus remained that the people of India were not united as yet, and could not present a united front Mere resolutions did not impress the B Government Leaving alone the question of unity of the whole people in India, even in communities there was no unity If Muslims were divided, Hindus too were in a similar condition Among them there was the Indian National Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Liberal Federation Was there any community in India which could say that was willing to follow one leader? What impression could be created to the B Government in these conditions? The case of the Hindus and Muslims was similar to that of two cats who went to law before a monkey

One might ask, why the new constitution should be criticised, when the people were in such helpless position (*sic*) express his opinion about this constitution forced on the country One might again ask "what will you do when the constitution comes into being"? Mr M A Jinnah recalled the conclusion of the Treaty of Versailles[1] against the consent of Germany He thought it necessary to go into the ring of the new constitution, not to work it in the sense in which the B Government understood that word This constitution involved grossest breach of faith on the part of the B Government They had stated that no constitution would be framed unless there was the greatest common measure of agreement in favour of the constitution in the country Only it seemed to him, there was the largest common measure of agreement among the conservative in G [Great] Britain and that was all

He would submit to the new constitution under protest just like the German nation under the Treaty of Versailles But at the first opportunity he would begin to tear off as many pages of the Government of India Act as possible No constitution could be forced on the people, unless it was with their agreement Referring to the methods open to him to adopt, Mr M A Jinnah said that he would take up 'Constitutional agitation inside and outside the legislatures to create those forces which would constitute sufficient pressure to bend the British Government to the will of the people of India

But that was a task, he confessed, which could not be done alone It could be done only by the two communities standing shoulder to shoulder in their demands Unfortunately, however

[1]Signed in 1919 at the palace of Versailles in the suburb of Paris, between the Allies and the Axis powers at the end of World War I, its terms were harsh on the defeated Germans who had no choice but to accept them This resulted in the rise of Hitler in Germany and World War II

"the largest organisation", the Indian National Congress, was behaving like an ostrich, putting its head in the sand and thinking that nobody was observing it The Congress claimed to represent the entire nation and stated that it did not care about individual communities The Congress attitude was "If you like to come with us, you may, or stay away, if you choose We will remain neutral and we are marching towards our goal" It was wrong to adopt such an attitude "I venture to say that the Congress will never reach the goal they desire and we desire unless they appeal to the Muslims"

So far as the Muslims were concerned they owed not only a duty to the community but also to the country Whether the Congress wanted them to join that body or not, they should organise themselves and compel the Congress to approach them for co-operation He believed that with such organisation the Muslims could arrive at a settlement with the Hindus as two nations if not as partners

II Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim seconded the resolution and appealed to those present to follow the lead given by their leader Mr M A Jinnah so that even the Congress realising the Muslim strength, would cooperate with them His appeal was particularly to those Muslim workers who were lagging behind to come forward and work hand in hand with them in the interest of the community and the country

III The Hon'ble Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, supporting the resolution said that except for the scheme of provincial autonomy there was nothing in the constitution acceptable to them Unless all parties, including the Princes joined, it would not be possible to have the whole constitution revised All that was necessary at the moment was intensive and extensive propaganda in the country to compel the authorities to yield to their demand

IV Atia Begum said that the new constitution could not be described as reforms They were in reality 'nooses round their necks'

V Mulla Noorbhai Dadanwalla said that [not] only was their birthright to have a hand in the framing of the Constitution denied but an unwanted scheme was being forced upon them

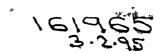
VI The Hon'ble Syed Hossain Imam was of the opinion that if the Irish could frame their own constitution, there was no earthly reason why Indians should be deprived of a similar privilege The new constitution was hedged in with numerous safeguards giving greater power to the Governor-General and the provincial Governors than under the existing constitution

VII Mr Ismail Chundrigar said that unwelcome as the constitution was it was their duty to see that they minimised their losses

VIII Mr Mirza A Hussain wanted every member present to spread the message given by Mr M A Jinnah in every town and village

In putting the resolution to the vote the President, Sir Syed Wazir Hasan, endorsed the appeal made by Mr M A Jinnah and expressed the hope that it would be responded to by the community The resolution was carried with acclamation

Mr M A Jinnah thanked the members for having vested such a great responsibility in him While no doubt the authority given him afforded him a certain amount of opportunity for service he denied that his position could be compared to that of Signor Mussolini or Herr Hitler as had been jocularly suggested by some members

Now that they had decided to utilise the reforms for what they were worth, it was incumbent on them to see that the representatives chosen were of the right type and were such as always stood by the policy and programme of the League Everything would depend upon the support and encouragement he would get from the community He was not one of those who would be disheartened easily Like a spider which endeavoured to go up and fell and again and again moved up, he would pursue his path For him there was no despair

21. Advice to Britain — Treat India "on a Footing of Complete Equality"[1]

Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, in an interview said that what was of real importance to the people of India, in fact the immediate issue, was law and order He wished His Excellency would look into the root causes which disturb law and order and not take it for granted that suddenly large classes of people in India had become criminals and therefore the ordinary judicial procedure should be departed from and that the only method of dealing with the situation was 'by repressive measures, executive orders and detention of people without trial "

The factors which threaten law and order in India, according to Mr Jinnah, were mainly due to the policy that had been adopted by the British Government in India for the last 10 years It was surprising that His Excellency had forgotten altogether the history of the last ten years and taken it for granted that the people should accept the provincial scheme laid down by the Government of India Act whose natural crown and summit to put it in his language, would be the All India Federation

Surely", said Mr Jinnah, "His Excellency must have some information that the scheme of so-called provincial autonomy is not acceptable to the people, and that the natural crown of All India Federation has been totally condemned by every section of public opinion His pronouncement amounts to this The British Parliament has forced the Constitution upon India and therefore we must accept it It is not a question of doubts nor half-heartedness It is not a question of this or that element in the plan of constitutional reforms which Parliament has forced upon us It is a vital and a fundamental difference on basic principals with regard to the central scheme and opposition to the provincial scheme as to the most highly objectionable features which render real autonomy nugatory "

'I hope", Mr Jinnah concluded, "His Excellency will not follow the usual definition of cooperation and goodwill, namely submit and do as we tell you' That is not my idea of cooperation There cannot be the real respect and trust which His Excellency desires unless India is treated on a footing of complete equality and on a basis of true partnership as a member of the British Commonwealth '

[1]Interview *Statesman* 21 April 1936

22. Advice to Muslims — "First Organize"[1]

New Delhi, April 27 Mr M A Jinnah has made a statement as follows

I regret to notice that a wrong impression has been created in a certain section of the Press in Delhi about the short speech I made at Maiden's Hotel yesterday There was no cheap sneer at the Congress as is suggested On the contrary I said that Hindus cannot take Muslims seriously and that the Congress does not take us seriously because so far as we Muslims have not proved ourselves worthy of alliance and that until we do show by our deeds and by our policy that we are ready to take a proper place in the national life of the country there cannot be a wholehearted and real settlement

My advice to Muslims was that they should first organise themselves and deserve before they desired We Muslims are engaged in the task of organising electorates and training 80 million Muslims to the higher level of political understanding so that they might be soldiers ultimately for the national struggle I have always felt that if Muslims would speak with one voice a settlement between Hindus and Muslims would come quickly Muslims are making a mistake if they lean either on the Government or the Congress

While Muslims are therefore justified in putting their own affairs in order and in organising themselves it does not mean that in the meanwhile they should not stand as firmly by national interests In fact they should prove that their patriotism is unsullied and that their love of India and her progress is no less than of any other community in the country Those Hindus who say we Muslims are intruders are making a great mistake and Muslims should not take any notice of them

[1]Press statement *Civil & Military Gazette* 28 April 1936

23 Formation of Parliamentary Board ML Representatives to "Coalesce with any Groups"[1]

New Delhi, April 27 Mr M A Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, held today and, if necessary, will hold tomorrow, discussion with representatives from the provinces regarding the formation of a Muslim Central Parliamentary Board These discussions practically commenced this morning at the Hotel Imperial where Mr Jinnah is staying Mr Jinnah leaves tomorrow night for Lahore where he will stay for two or three days in an effort to bring about unity among the Muslim sections there and then proceeds to Srinagar where he will be holidaying till the first week of June

"It is likely that I shall announce the personnel of the Central Parliamentary Board from Srinagar", said Mr Jinnah to an Associated Press representative He added that the Board would consist of about 45 members representing all the provinces, as members of each Province would *ipso facto* become convenors of the Provincial Parliamentary Boards Explaining the proposed procedure, Mr Jinnah said that he would summon a meeting of the Central Parliamentary Board sometime in June, when rules and regulations for carrying out the objects of the Board would be framed The Central Board would be empowered to constitute or affiliate Provincial Parliamentary Boards These Provincial Parliamentary Boards when formed, would frame their own rules so as to conduct business in their respective provincial legislatures After these Provincial Boards had been constituted and commenced functioning, their task would be to organise elections in various constituencies of each province and contest seats on the ticket of the Muslim League and on the general policy and programme to be laid down by the Central Parliamentary Board

Mr Jinnah concluded "When our representatives are returned to the various provincial legislatures, they will be entitled to co-operate or coalesce with any group or groups whose aims and ideals are approximate to those of the Muslim League "

Monday's Discussions

Muslim leaders numbering 28 representing various Muslim organisations participated in the discussions today initiated by Mr Jinnah regarding the formation of a Central Election Board

[1]Press interview *Civil & Military Gazette*, 28 April 1936

The U P was most represented It is understood that Maulana Habib-ur-Rahman, President of the Majlis Ahrar[1] told the meeting that he could not commit his party on two points firstly, that they could not unite with the League so long as any Mirzai[2] was a member of the League as a Mussalman and, secondly, their political creed was complete independence He, however, assured the meeting that the door was not closed for further discussion The speaker stated that his party was holding a conference at Amritsar from May 8, when they would take a final decision regarding the coming elections and he invited Mr Jinnah to attend the Amritsar conference Mr Jinnah advised the Ahrars to join the League and convert it to their viewpoint Maulana Habib-ur-Rahman, however, definitely moved that the League should have nothing to do with Qadianis if they wanted Ahrar co-operation

Syed Zakir Ali of the Unity Board suggested that the League should put the genuineness of its candidates to the test The Parliamentary Board should take a pledge from all candidates desiring to contest elections on the League ticket that even if they were not nominated, such candidates should not seek election from another platform

Mr Murtaza suggested that the Board should maintain strict discipline among their men more or less on similar lines as the Congress Party

[1]Founded in 1929 Majlis i Ahrar was formally launched in 1931 in Lahore under the presidentship of Maulana Habib ur Rahman Chaudhry Afzal Haq Maulana Zafar Ali Khan Syed Ataullah Shah Bokhari Ghazi Abdur Rehman Sheikh Hissamuddin and Mazhar Ali Azhar were the founder members of the party The main objectives of the Majlis were to secure independence for the country foster better relations between the different communities and work for the betterment of masses especially the Muslims

The political fortune of the Ahrar had been linked with the Shahidganj mosque dispute They held aloof from the campaign for the restoration of the mosque to devote themselves to the forthcoming provincial elections in the Punjab They contested the 1936 37 elections as a separate party from the Muslim League A few among them disagreed with this policy broke away from the Ahrar and formed a separate organization called *Ittihad e Millat* in order to regain the possession of the mosque Their volunteers used Neeli Poshak as uniform hence they were called Neeli Posh or Blue Shirts Their principal leader was Maulana Zafar Ali Khan

[2]Follower of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1835 1908) who claimed prophethood Mirzais are also known as Qadianis Qadian, now in East Punjab India was the headquarters of Mirzais before Partition later shifted to Rabwa in the Punjab Pakistan

24 Personnel of ML Parliamentary Board Announced[1]

'In accordance with the Resolution passed by the All India Muslim League on the 12th of April 1936 at Bombay I was directed to form a Central Parliamentary Board with powers to constitute or affiliate Provincial Parliamentary Boards of various Provinces to contest the approaching elections on the ticket of the All India Muslim League I have taken all the trouble that was possible in doing my utmost to see that the Central Board is made as truly representative of the Musalmans of India as possible

For this purpose I had long consultations in Delhi with the Members of the Council of the All India Muslim League and of the various representatives of different Provinces whom I had invited for that purpose in view on the 26th 27th and 28th of April 1936 and further after four days of my stay in Punjab I had the opportunity of discussing the matter with the various leaders of Punjab and after careful consideration I wish to announce the following names as the Members of the Central Parliamentary Board

Bengal

1 Nawab of Dacca
2 Mr Fazlul Huq
3 Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin
4 Maulana Akram Khan
5 Mr Shahid Suhrawardy
6 Mr Abdul Rahman Siddiqi
7 Mr H M Ispahani
8 Mr Majibur Rahman

Madras

1 Syed Murtaza Sahib Bahadur
2 Mr Abdul Hamid Khan Mayor Madras Municipality
3 Mr Jamal Muhammad
4 Mr B Poker

United Provinces

1 Nawab Ismail Khan
2 Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan
3 Maharajah of Mahmoodabad
4 Raja of Salimpore
5 Maulana Shaukat Ali
6 Mr Khaliquzzaman
7 Maulana Hassan Ahmad

Bihar

1 Qazi Ahmed Hossain
2 Maulana Sajjad Phulwari Sharif

[1]Sixteen page printed statement All India Muslim League *Central Board Policy and Programme* n d Shamsul Hasan Foundation Karachi Versions of it also appeared in *Tribune* 22 May 1936 and *Star of India* 29 May 1936

3 Shah Masud Ahmad
4 A Hafiz Advocate
5 Mufti Kifayat Ullah

Central Provinces

1 Rauf Shah B A LL B
2 Yusuf Sariff Bar-at Law

Assam

1 Abdul Matin Chaudhri
2 M A Razzaque

Sind

1 Sheikh Abdul Majid
2 Hakim Fateh Muhammad Shewani
3 Moulvi Muhammad Sidiq Khadda
4 Muhammad Hashim Gazdar

N W Frontier Province

1 Malik Pir Bux M L C
2 Maulana Allah Bux Yusuf
3 Maulana Abdul Rahim Ghaznavi
4 Malik Khuda Bakhsh, B A LL B M L C

Punjab

1 Sir Muhammad Iqbal
2 Maulana Muhammad Ishaq Khan Mansehravi
3 Ghazi Abdur Rahman B A
4 Mian Abdul Aziz
5 Syed Zainul abedin
6 Maulana Abdul Qadir Kasuri
7 The Hon ble Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan
8 Sheikh Hisamuddin
9 Chaudhri Afzal Haq M L C
10 Ch Abdul Aziz of Begowal
11 Khawaja Ghulam Hussain Pleader

Delhi

1 Maulana Ahmed Saeed

Bombay

1 Sir Suleman Cassim Mitha
2 R M Chinoy
3 Abubacker Beg Muhammad
4 Ismail Chundrigar
5 Thakore Sahib of Kerwada M L C
6 Khan Bahadur Salahuddin

If I have omitted any name or names and I am fully conscious that is possible I regret such omission and hope that considering the great task and the obligation that was imposed upon me to constitute this Board, the Musalmans will loyally abide by my selection and of course, the

Board will have power to add to its number and therefore, any omission or oversight on my part can be rectified by the Board itself by electing any additional person or persons as Members of the Central Board I may here state that I have not been able to get proper information with regard to the Province of Orissa and therefore I have not been able to select the Members of that province for the Central Board but this can be also done by the Central Board

' I am enclosing a copy of the Resolutions that were passed by the All India Muslim League herewith and I would like your particular attention drawn to the Resolutions I request you as a Member of the Central Board to be good enough to attend the Meeting of the Central Board which will take place in Lahore on the 8th of June 1936 at No 23 Circular Road at 4 p m I am enclosing also a copy of the Draft Rules herewith to be adopted by the Central Board at its first Meeting and I shall be glad if you would give your careful consideration to the Rules and suggest such alterations or amendments in the Rules as you may think proper at the Meeting before they are finally adopted The Meeting will consider

1 The Adoption of the Draft Rules

2 The formation of the general policy and programme of the League for the purpose of approaching and contesting the elections to the Provincial Legislatures

3 The constitution and affiliation of the Provincial Parliamentary Boards

4 Organising the public opinion and the ways and means of doing so

5 Any other matter or matters that may be allowed by the President

Resolutions

1 The All India Muslim League enters its emphatic protest against forcing the constitution as embodied in the Government of India Act 1935 upon the people of India against their will and in spite of their repeated disapproval and dissent expressed by various parties and bodies in the country

The League considers that having regard to the conditions prevailing at present in the country the Provincial scheme of the Constitution be utilised for what it is worth in spite of the most objectionable features contained therein which render the real control and responsibility of the Ministry and the Legislature over the entire field of Government and the Administration nugatory The League is clearly of the opinion that the All India Federal Scheme of the Central Government embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935 is fundamentally bad it is most reactionary retrograde, injurious and fatal to the vital interests of British India *vis a vis* the Indian States, and it is calculated to thwart and delay indefinitely the realisation of India's most cherished goal of complete responsible government and is totally unacceptable The League considers that the British Parliament should still take the earliest opportunity to review the whole situation afresh regarding the Central Scheme before it is inaugurated or else the League feels convinced that the present scheme will not bring peace and contentment to the people but on the contrary it will lead to disaster if forced upon and persisted in as it is entirely unworkable in the interests of India and her people

2 'Whereas the Parliamentary system of Government which is being introduced in this country with the inauguration of the new constitution presupposes the formation of parties with a well defined policy and programme which facilitate the education of the electorate and co operation between groups with proximate aims and ideals and ensures the working of the constitution to the best advantage, and whereas in order to strengthen the solidarity of the Muslim community and to secure for the Muslims their proper and effective share in the Provincial Governments it is essential that the Muslims should organise themselves as one party, with an advanced and progressive programme it is hereby resolved that the All India Muslim League do take steps to contest the approaching provincial elections and for this purpose appoint Mr Jinnah to form a Central Election Board under his presidentship consisting of not less than 35 members with powers to constitute and affiliate Provincial Election Boards in various Provinces having regard to the condition of each province and devise ways and means for carrying out the aforesaid objects

At the Meeting of the Central Board on the 8th 9th 10th and 11th June 1936 Mr Jinnah was elected President of the Board, Raja of Mahmudabad Treasurer and Mr Abdul Matin Choudhuri Secretary The following rules and regulations and the manifesto defining the policy and programme were adopted and passed unanimously

Rules of the Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board

1 The Board shall elect its own President, Secretary and Treasurer

2 The Board may appoint a Working Committee and may delegate to the Working Committee such powers and functions as are deemed necessary

3 The Board shall have power to raise funds and administer and disburse the same for propaganda and publicity and other incidental expenses and keep a proper account

4 The Board may appoint Sub Committees to further objects for which the Board has been constituted

5 The President shall preside over all the meetings of the Board and the Working Committee

6 In the absence of the President the Members present shall elect one of themselves to the Chair

7 All questions shall be decided by a majority of votes the President having a second casting vote

8 At least 15 days notice shall be given for holding the ordinary meeting of the Board which shall be convened by the Secretary with the previous consent of the President In case of emergency the President may call the meeting at shorter notice

9 Every candidate offering to contest the election on behalf of any Provincial Board shall signify his readiness to abide by the decisions of the Provincial Board and also shall sign a pledge accepting the programme adopted by the Central and the Provincial Board and provided further that such candidate shall stand by the Muslim League pledge and no other party pledge

10 The Provincial Boards shall be autonomous within their respective Provinces and shall select candidates and run elections subject to the acceptance of the general policy of the Central Board and affiliation to the same

11 The meetings of the Board shall be held at such place and such time as the President may direct

12 Nine members shall form a quorum in the Board meeting If a meeting is adjourned for want of quorum no quorum will be necessary for the adjourned meeting

13 Members of the Central Board from respective Provinces shall form Election Boards in their own Provinces subject to recognition and affiliation by the Central Board and if they fail to do so within a reasonable time the Central Board or the Working Committee if so authorised shall constitute or affiliate any Provincial Board

14 The Provincial Boards shall supply the list of candidates adopted by them at least two months before the polling days

15 The Provincial Boards in each Province will be at liberty to decide by a majority of two thirds to co operate with any political group or groups provided their aims and objects and ideals are approximately the same as those of the Muslim League Central and Provincial Boards

16 The Central Board shall frame at its first meeting Manifesto defining general policy and programme

17 The Central Board will have powers to suspend or disaffiliate any Provincial Board at any time

18 No alteration modification or addition shall be made in the rules mentioned hereinbefore except by a majority of two thirds of members present

Policy and Programme

The advent and the announcement of the Minto Morley Reforms brought home to the leaders of the Musalmans the necessity of starting a Muslim Political Organisation and thus was founded the All India Muslim League at Dacca in December 1906 The League adopted its creed and ideal definitely in December 1912 and altered its constitution having for its aims and objects

1 Full responsible Government for India with adequate and effective safeguards for Musalmans

2 To protect and advance the political and religious and other rights and interests of the Indian Musalmans

3 To promote friendship and union between the Musalmans and other communities of India

4 To maintain and strengthen brotherly relations between the Musalmans of India and those of other countries

The League has been faithfully and loyally acting in accordance with these fundamental principles ever since During the period of the existence of the Minto Morley constitution it continued from time to time and represented and watched the true feelings and opinions of the Musalmans As time went on the co operation and help of the prominent leaders of India and particularly that great man the Maharaja of Mahmudabad whose selfless devotion, patriotic fervour and single mindedness of purpose gave the League such a strength and power and support that it reached the zenith of its ascendancy accomplished what is one of the greatest beacon lights in the constitutional history of India the Lucknow pact, which is known as League Congress pact in 1916 This pact will go down in the Indian history as a landmark in the political evolution of the country as a signal proof of identity of purpose and earnestness and co operation between the two great sections of the people of India, in the task of attainment of responsible government But the pact was not the last word on the question of adjustment of political differences between Hindus and Musalmans Nor was it ever intended or could be considered in the new circumstances that arose and developed since then The national demand for complete responsible government after the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms became more and more insistent and from 1920 onward the Musalmans stood shoulder to shoulder with the sister communities and did not lag behind in their sacrifice and their patriotic co operation with the Hindus But as a minority they maintain the principle that their position in any future political constitutional structure should be protected and safeguarded Here it might be stated that at first sight it may appear to an amateur politician that such a demand savours of communalism but in reality to those who understand the political and constitutional histories of the world it must be evident that it is not only natural but it is essential for securing a stable national government by ensuring wholehearted and willing co operation of the minorities who are made to feel that they can rely upon the majority with the complete sense of confidence and security In the various steps that follwed the deliberations and collaborations that took place the League has always stood for full responsible government for India and unflinchingly today stands for the same ideal It deplores that as a result of the Round Table Conference, the British Parliament has forced upon the people of India a constitution embodied in the Government of India Act 1935 Its attitude towards the constitution is defined by its resolution passed at the sessions of the all India Muslim League on the 11th and 12th of April 1936 to the following effect

While it accepts the communal award till a substitute is agreed upon between the communities concerned it emphatically protests against the constitution embodied in the Government of India Act 1935 being forced upon the people of India against their will and in spite of their repeated disapproval and dissent expressed by various parties and bodies in the country The League considers that having regard to the conditions prevailing at present in the country the provincial scheme of the Constitution be utilised for what it is worth in spite of the most objectionable features contained therein which render the real control and responsibility of the ministry and the Legislature over the entire field of Government and the Administration nugatory

The League is clearly of the opinion that the all India Federal Scheme of the Central Government embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935 is fundamentally bad it is most reactionary retrograde injurious and fatal to the vital interests of British India *vis a vis* the Indian States and it is calculated to thwart and delay indefinitely the realisation of India's most cherished goal of complete responsible government and is totally unacceptable The League considers that the British Parliament should still

take the earliest opportunity to review the whole situation afresh regarding the Central scheme before it is inaugurated or else the League feels convinced that the present scheme will not bring peace and contentment to the people, but on the contrary it will lead to disaster if forced upon and persisted in as it is entirely unworkable in the interests of India and her people

"But as it will be observed that as the provincial scheme embodied in the Government of India Act is going to be enforced in the course of the next year the League decided that having regard to the conditions prevailing at present in the country the provincial scheme of the constitution be utilised for what it is worth In view of this decision of the League the League further decided that a Central Election Board should be formed with power to constitute and affiliate provincial Election Boards in various provinces and passed the following resolution

'Whereas the Parliamentary system of Government which is being introduced in this country with the inauguration of the new constitution presupposes the formation of parties with a well defined policy and programme which facilitate the education of the electorate and co operation between groups with proximate aims and ideals and ensures the working of the constitution to the best advantage and whereas in order to strengthen the solidarity of the Muslim community and to secure for the Muslims their proper and effective share in the provincial governments it is essential that the Muslims should organise themselves as one party with an advanced and progressive programme it is hereby resolved that the All India Muslim League do take steps to contest the approaching Provincial elections and for this purpose appoint Mr Jinnah to form a Central Election Board under his presidentship consisting of not less than 35 members with powers to constitute and affiliate provincial election boards in various Provinces having regard to the condition of each Province and devise ways and means for carrying out the aforesaid objects

In pursuance of that resolution the Central Board has been now formed and the policy and the programme of the Central Board has to be defined

The inauguration of the Montagu Chelmsford scheme of constitution and working thereof has developed and brought forth various forces and it appears that such a power as was available under that scheme has been captured in the various provinces by reactionary conservative element in combination with a coterie of men whose sole aim and object is to secure offices and places for themselves wherever and whenever available This has suited the Government and these two classes have received every encouragement and support with the result that they have not only been a hindrance and an obstacle in the way of the independent and progressive intelligentsia but the people generally have been exploited Thus was created a double domination of the reactionary forces and the imperialistic power Our aims is that this domination must cease The present political situation in the country has been described aptly by the President of the last session of the All India Muslim League in the following words

New problems have arisen today It is not only a question of educating the middle class of the Muslims in India on Western lines and providing them with jobs it is not only a question in infusing in them the ideals of Victorian liberalism on the contrary the present conditions compel us to go much deeper into the problems of entire social regeneration of seventy millions of Muslims of extricating them from the terrible poverty degradation and backwardness into

which they have fallen and giving them at least the rudiments of a civilised existence and making them free citizens of a free land We must realize as people of other countries have realized that a change is necessary and that unless such a change is soon made the whole of this social structure must come down with a crush which will involve the extinction of not only the educated section of our people but also of all privileged classes whether they hold privileges by reason of caste land or money The foundations of the superstructure in which we are living today were laid centuries ago and it is but natural that those foundations ceased to be stable now It is the duty, if it is not only an obligation created by motives of self interest of all of us the educated classes the capitalists and the landholders to combine together to lay the foundations of a new structure Of course in order that this effort must fructify sacrifices will have to be made on the part of all Let me tell you that the building of such a social edifice will be more glorious more humane and more just than the building of an empire

'But at the same time we must make it clear that the League is opposed to any movement that aims at expropriation of private property The main principles on which we expect our representatives in the various legislatures to work will be

1 That the present Provincial Constitution and the proposed Central Constitution should be replaced immediately by Democratic full Self Government

2 And that in the meantime the representatives of the Muslim League in the various Legislatures will utilise the Legislatures in order to extract the maximum benefit out of the constitution for the uplift of the people in various spheres of national life

The Muslim League party must be formed as a corollary so long as separate electorates exist but they would be free to co operate with any group or groups whose aims and ideals are approximately the same as those of the All India Muslim League The League appeals to Musalmans that they should not permit themselves to be exploited on economic or any other ground which will break up the solidarity of the community The Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board adopts the following programme for ensuing elections

1 To protect the religious rights of the Musalmans In all matters of purely religious character due weight shall be given to the opinions of Jamiat ul Ulema Hind and the Mujtahids

2 To make every effort to secure the repeal of all repressive laws

3 To resist all measures which are detrimental to the interest of India, which encroach upon the fundamental liberties of the people and lead to economic exploitation of the country

4 To reduce heavy cost of administrative machinery, central and provincial and allocate substantial funds for nation building departments

5 To nationalize Indian Army and reduce the military expenditure

6 To encourage development of industries, including cottage industries

7. To regulate currency exchange and prices in the interest of economic development of the country
8. To stand for the social educational and economic uplift of the rural population
9. To sponsor measures for the relief of agricultural indebtedness
10. To make elementary education free and compulsory
11. To protect and promote Urdu language and script
12. To devise measures for the amelioration of the general conditions of Muslims
13. To take steps to reduce the heavy burden of taxation
14. To create a healthy public opinion and general political consciousness throughout the country

25 Advice to Kashmiri Muslims — Assures Hindu Minorities of "Justice and Fair Play"[1]

Srinagar, June 9 Choudri Ghulam Abbas, President, All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, presented an address of welcome to Mr M A Jinnah at Pathar Masjid in Srinagar where more than 20,000 Muslims had gathered The address outlined the activities of Mr Jinnah and the work he had done for the cause of India In course of the address Choudri Ghulam Abbas said "Political barriers of imaginary character may separate us from you at present but as the destinies of all Indians, whether they live in yellow or red India[2] are linked together We have keenly followed your movement inside and outside the legislature in India and abroad We have always watched how while safeguarding the interests of the community you have never succumbed or given way before the activities of the reactionaries We believe when the history of the struggle for emancipation comes to be written we Indian Musalmans can raise our head high because of the sons of Islam like yourself"

Mr Jinnah's Reply

Replying to the address Mr Jinnah said, 'I am deeply moved that an address of this glowing character describing me in these eulogistic terms should be presented by the Jammu and Kashmir Musalmans for whom I have done nothing You have praised me beyond words and honestly I don t half deserve what you have said I appreciate the spirit, affection, regard and respect that you have shown me and the language that you have used in the address I am only a visitor here a bird of passage in this beautiful land of yours which I love, land that you possess

Gentlemen! I was here 10 years ago and from that day and today I am glad to find that the citizens of Jammu and Kashmir are awake It has come to you — this awakening — and naturally one who has stood and will always stand for freedom of the people will appreciate the movement and must stand for the right of the people to govern their own affairs I can show my respect and sincere sympathy with your movement

'In your Address you have mentioned that I have always stood for freedom I want you to understand that your struggle for

[1]Public speech *Tribune* 10 June 1936

[2]Political maps of India printed during the period of the British rule showed in red the areas under direct British control and yellow those under the control of the native princes

freedom and my struggle for freedom in British India stand on the same footing. While I am offering you my sympathies and good wishes may I request you to give me your good wishes and sympathies in my British Indian affairs (Voices-Most surely). I am sure that you will have sympathy with those who struggle for their right to govern their own affairs.

"In your address you have mentioned my solicitude for Hindu and Muslim unity. This unity, I assure you, is not merely a lip-expression nor a diplomatic statement on my part. I say from the bottom of my heart that I have worked for years and that I shall continue to work for it. I believe that without this unity there is no hope for British Indians to rule India. I do not understand your problems here. I therefore won't hazard my opinion. But I will, however, urge one thing upon you and the leaders, that is to make the minorities — Hindus — always feel that they will receive justice and fair play in the State. It is the duty of the majority to make them feel so. I have tried this principle in British India and have not succeeded in convincing some of the leaders that there is no hope for their freedom without this principle being adopted. I will say that without the minorities feeling that there will be fair play on the part of majority, you will always have a sore festering in your body politic."

26 Rejects Jawaharlal's "Civil Liberties Union"[1]

Lahore, June 9 A well-attended meeting of the All India Muslim League this morning, it is understood, considered a circular letter received by Mr M A Jinnah from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru inviting the former's views with regard to the Civil Liberties Union sponsored by Pandit Nehru, and authorised Mr Jinnah to convey to Pandit Nehru that, while fully appreciating and sympathising with the principles underlying the Civil Liberties Union, the Council was unable to express any opinion thereon, without further details and specific proposals

When a newspaper report that Mr Jinnah's name had been included in a committee formed in connection with the Civil Liberties Union at Bombay was brought to Mr Jinnah's notice, he replied that he knew nothing about the committee and had not agreed to serve thereon

The same AIML meeting also considered Palestine question and Central Parliamentary Board proceeding The meeting appointed a committee to carry on an agitation in obedience to the resolution passed by AIML Council The resolution condemned the British policy in Palestine based on the Balfour Declaration The Council decided to observe June 19 as the 'Palestine Day' throughout India

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, President *Majlis i-Itehad-i-Millat*, (nominated to the Board by Jinnah) attended 2-day meeting of the Board However, it was reported that Maulana Zafar Ali Khan expressed his inability to serve on the Board as, according to him, the creed of his party was complete independence Below is a brief interview of Jinnah regarding refusal of certain members to serve on the Central Parliamentary Board

Interviewed, regarding the press reports that certain members from the U P had declined to serve on the Board, Mr Jinnah said that he had not received any communication from any member except from Mr Abdul Aziz (Bihar) who had written him a letter declining to serve on the Board Mr Jinnah added that he had received letters from many absentee members extending their wholehearted support to the Board — API

[1]News report, *Star of India* 11 June 1936 See appendix XVIII 10 for the Council Meeting Resolutions

27 ML Parliamentary Board UP Dissenters[1]

Bombay, June 21 Interviewed by the Associated Press regarding the unwillingness of certain Muslim leaders from the U P and Bihar to serve on the Muslim Central Parliamentary Board Mr M A Jinnah, President of the Board, said "I have received information from the Nawab of Chhattari that he has changed his mind regarding serving on the Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board When he agreed to serve on the Board he knew and understood everything He has now suddenly realised that there is need for mixed unity in the U P I think those who read and understood the policy and the programme the League published had no difficulty in understanding that we should be free to cooperate with any group whose aims were approximately similar to those of the All India Muslim League

The Nawab's Letter

"I received a letter from the Nawab of Chhattari on May 10 after he had agreed to serve on the Board and one point he emphasised was that I should add the names of Sir Muhammad Yusuf and Mr Syed Ali Zaheer to the Board It was in deference to his wishes that I stretched a point and appointed Sir Muhammad Yusuf on the Board but I did not appoint Mr Syed Ali Zaheer as it was not possible to increase the U P quota on the Central Board As for Sir Muhammad Yusuf the less said the better, and it is curious that he still expresses his wish to serve on the Board provided that he is allowed to stand on the League as well as on the National Agricultural Party tickets I am surprised that a man who has been a Minister in the U P Government and has taken an active part in the public life of the country should have made a suggestion which is obviously absurd"

Regarding Mr Zafar Ali Khan, Mr Jinnah stated that his reasons for not serving on the Board had already been published in the papers He believed in a creed of complete independence which was not the creed of the League As for Mr Abdul Aziz from Bihar he completely approves the objects of the League, but believes the elements on the Board will not lead to a harmonious working programme

'Thus it will be seen' said Mr Jinnah 'that out of 56 leading men who have been appointed on the Board so far only four have expressed their unwillingness to serve I appeal to all Muslim voters to support the League policy and programme

[1]Press interview *Civil & Military Gazette* 23 June 1936

Bombay Meeting

Members of the Muslim League Parliamentary Board representing the Bombay Presidency met last evening at Mr Jinnah's house and had a preliminary discussion to set up a Provincial Parliamentary Board After an hour's exchange of views it was decided to issue invitations to about 100 Muslim leaders throughout the Presidency to meet on July 5 This meeting, after an exchange of views, will set up a Provincial Parliamentary Board to carry on the election campaign and also to elect a Working Committee The Provincial Parliamentary Board and Working Committee will immediately in consultation with each other, select candidates to be put up for election to the Bombay Legislative Assembly and Council on behalf of the Muslim League It is understood that Mr Jinnah has been authorised to send invitations to various Muslim leaders in the Presidency — AP

28 Condoles Fazl-i-Husain's Death[1]

The news of Sir Fazl-i-Husain's death was received in Bombay with feelings of deep sorrow

Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, told a representative of this paper that 'Sir Fazl-i-Husain was a man of great ability and personality I am extremely sorry to hear of his untimely death, and my sincerest sympathy goes out to Lady Fazl-i-Husain and the family in their great bereavement "

"This is not the occasion," added Mr Jinnah, "to discuss Sir Fazl-i-Husain's policy, programme and method with which I could not agree "

[1]Press interview, *Times of India* 11 July 1936

29 ML to Contact Muslim Masses[1]

Bombay (By Mail) For the first time in the history of the Muslim League, a vigorous attempt was being made to establish contact between the League and the Muslims in the country, declared Mr M A Jinnah addressing a public meeting held at Nagdevi Street on Friday night [24 July] under the auspices of the Young Muslim Brotherhood and the Bohra Youth League Mr S A Brelvi presiding at the meeting promised his moral support to Mr Jinnah so long as he was convinced that the League would work for the welfare of the country in co-operation with the progressive forces, especially the Indian National Congress which had made great sacrifices in the cause of freedom

Mr Jinnah's Appeal

Mr Jinnah said that he appealed to the Musalmans to support the League which should attain a position so as to be able to speak with unchallenged authority for the 80 million Musalmans in India Mr Jinnah held out the assurance that he never intended to prove an obstruction or create difficulties in the path of achieving national unity and was always ready to co-operate with those parties whose aims and objects were the same as those of the League

Continuing Mr Jinnah said that it was a fortunate day for the Musalmans when by a resolution on April 12, 1936, the All India Muslim League session held in Bombay decided that contact with masses be established The adoption of such a policy was no small advance for the League considering the conditions in which they were living at present Today there was no organised channel through which the Musalmans in India could

[1]Public speech *Star of India* 29 July 1936 *Tribune* 26 July 1936 published Jinnah's observation at the occasion as follows

> '**Bombay, July 25** The main object of the Muslim League at present is to establish contact with 80 million Musalmans in India The Muslims should have no other organisation I appeal to the Muslims to come together on one platform and express their opinions and feelings in one voice I give the assurance that I do not intend to prove an obstruction or create difficulties in the path of achieving national freedom by so doing but the Muslims so organised will prove a help in achieving the same' declared Mr M A Jinnah addressing a public meeting last night [24 July] in Nagdevi Street held under the joint auspices of the Young Muslim Brotherhood and Bohra Youth League Mr S A Brelvi presiding — United Press'

express their feelings or sentiments and there was no organisation which could speak with unchallenged authority for the 80 million Musalmans in India Mr Jinnah referring to his critics observed that there was a feeling in one section that the Muslims would be dragged into the fold of the reactionaries On the other hand, there was also the misgiving among the conservative section that the Muslims might be led by Mr Jinnah to the Congress or extreme left

Musalmans Should Judge For Themselves

Mr Jinnah replied that the Musalmans alone should judge for themselves where to go and where not to go Why should the critics go on making prophecies? So long as separate electorates existed, the separate organisation of Musalmans was an invitable corollary But that did not mean that such a position was an ideal one or that he was satisfied with it He had, however, to deal with realities and would do his best in the circumstances

Mr Jinnah maintained the failure to attain unity between the Hindus and the Muslims was because attempts were made in the past only at the top though with the best of intentions and with all sincerity and patriotism He, therefore, wanted to build the foundation and carry the community with him so that real and genuine unity could be achieved It was not proper that a handful of men at the top should decide the question The masses should be persuaded and educated in that direction so that lasting unity could be attained 'Those who bless us, we thank them, those whose sympathise with us, we appreciate their sympathy, those who oppose us we resist them We shall go on undeterred by any opposition from any quarter,' concluded Mr Jinnah — API

30 Advice to Students — "Acquire a Disciplined Mind" and Reject "Communalism"[1]

Lucknow, August 13 The All-India Students Conference reassembled this morning at the Ganga Prasad Memorial Hall, Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah, M L A presiding

In the course of his presidential address, Mr Jinnah congratulated the students for having gathered at Lucknow from all parts of the country in order to encourage cultural and intellectual co-operation among them who belonged to various provinces He was also glad to find the students of every community, caste and creed on the same platform and characterised it as a bright spot on India's future horizon Proceeding, Mr Jinnah reiterated what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said the previous day that students should keep their eyes open to what was happening in the world today and also realise actualities and realities of the present-day problem

India today " said Mr Jinnah is torn into divisions and your endeavour should be to tackle this question and find ways and means to solve the problem' Mr Jinnah was a bit outspoken when he was referring to the future of India and on what line the regeneration should come I am not at all afraid of a revolution", he declared, if that is necessary for the country, I will say 'yes' I am not afraid of bloodshed either However Mr Jinnah appealed to the students to acquire a mentality and disciplined mind wherein they would be capable of taking right judgement

Continuing Mr Jinnah observed that India, in spite of all the existing differences and divisions today, was pulsating with a new life and that the ideas of the younger generation were running on the path of achieving complete political freedom for the country The current might not be noticeable on the surface but the material was developing unnoticed He would not be surprised if, on one fine day, all the broken pieces were joined and a new history was written He therefore appealed to the students not to think of the problems that are facing the country in terms of religion, but teach a lesson to their elders who were spoiling the national life by their communalism

[1]Public speech *Tribune* 14 August 1936

31 Appeal to Indians — "Work for Unity of Whole Indian Nation"[1]

Lucknow, August 11 The Lucknow Municipal Board today accorded a civic reception to Mr M A Jinnah, founder of the All India Muslim League Parliamentary Board The municipal address recalled Mr Jinnah's services to the country and said "It is a matter of pride to this city that the well known Congress-League Pact which served as a foundation for the Montagu Chelmsford reforms was brought about in this city in the year 1916 when you presided at the deliberations of the All India Muslim League "

Mr Jinnah, replying appealed to every Indian to work for not only amity among the two major communities of India but also for unity in the whole of the Indian nation Dealing with the Indianisation of the army, he said that he was far from satisfied with the Government's policy and would strive hard for greater acceleration in the pace of Indianisation

[1]Public speech *Statesman* 15 August 1936

32 Laments "Eighty Million Muslims Were Sleeping"[1]

Lucknow, August 15. About 400 Muslims from all parts of the province met here this evening to form the U P Muslim League Parliamentary Board The meeting was not open to the Press but from various sources it is understood that Mr Jinnah urged that it was high time the All India Muslim League, which has for many years been nothing more than an academic body with no real contact with the Muslim masses, should become a living organization He declared that while India was throbbing with political consciousness, 80,000,000 Muslims were sleeping The passage of the Government of India Act, 1935, afforded an opportunity to the community to organise itself and by a resolution at Bombay an All India Muslim League Parliamentary Board had been authorised [established] There were now 56 members on the Board and the League was open to every Muslim who agreed with its basic principles In fact, it was the duty of every Muslim to become a member of the League

Non-Communal Basis

He denied that the League's primary aim was to encourage the communal basis Anyone who read the League Parliamentary Board's manifesto could not say that the League was a communal body but at the same time it was only natural for Muslims to organise as a separate entity By uniting under one banner, Muslims could make a great contribution towards the freedom of India Mr Jinnah added that he would be perfectly happy if Hindus would also organise one united League It would then be much easier for the best brains in the two communities to sit together to decide national issues Mr Jinnah concluded by appealing to Muslims to forget past differences and join the League creed Only one group would be excluded Those persons who were past redemption, who went about seeking their own interests and thought nothing of personal aggrandisement at the expense of the community In the past the League had been dominated by such people but now they should receive no quarter in this body

Nawab Ismail Khan moved the main resolution to form an Election Board It is understood that this Board will issue an election manifesto embodying the special problems facing the Province and will elect its own working committee to carry on election work

[1]News report, *Statesman* 17 August 1936

33 Hopes "Bengal Muslims Will Unite Under League Banner"[1]

Mr M A Jinnah, who arrived in Calcutta yesterday from Lucknow, had an extremely busy day Soon after his arrival he was met by many prominent party leaders and Muslim workers who came from the mofussil in large numbers Later on, Mr Jinnah held successive informal conferences with representatives of the All Bengal Proja Party, the Bengal Presidency Muslim League, the Muslim Majlis and other Muslim organisations and disscussed the present Muslim situation of the province The conversation was carried on until late in the evening but no definite decision had yet been reached The main object of Mr Jinnah's visit to Calcutta is to explore avenues to bring together on a common platform the different Muslim political groups working in the province

A large number of Mohammedans representing various sections of the community and a body of Muslim students and Khilafat volunteers who thronged Howrah Station platform and its precincts gave Mr Jinnah a cordial reception He was taken in procession from the platform to a waiting car outside the station and driven to the house of Mr M A Ispahani where he is staying Those present at the Howrah station included Haji Adamji Dawood, Chairman Reception Committee Mr A K Fazlul Huq, Khan Bahadur A Momin Mr H S Suhrawardy, Khan Bahadur Haji Syed Abdul Hafeez, Khan Bahadur Kasimuddin Siddique, Mr M A Ispahani, Dr R Ahmed Mr T C Goswami Mr B C Chatterji, Mr J C Gupta Mr Ramaprasad Mukherji Haji Abdur Raschid Khan Mr K Nooruddin, Haji Dost Ahmad, Nawabzada K Nasirulla, Nawabzada Syed Hasan Ali, Maulvi Abdul Karim Khan Bahadur Ataur Rahman, Mr Abdul Matin Chowdhury Malik Jan Mohamed, Mr Mujibar Rahaman Mr S C Latiff Mr Altaf Hossain, Mr Humayun Kabir Mr Rezai Karim Mr G Mowla Mr Ali Ispahani and Mr Kabiruddin Ahmad, Maulana Atiqulla and Mr Fazlulah Ganjee

Interviewed by a representative of the *Statesman* Mr Jinnah expressed himself enthusiastically about his successful tour in the United Provinces and the formation of a Muslim League Parliamentary Board in Lucknow The Board in the United Provinces, Mr Jinnah stated was now firmly established with

[1]News report *Statesman* 18 August 1936

the Raja of Salempore as its chairman and it would now go ahead with its electioneering campaign He was struck by the spirit of co-operation and unity that he had witnessed there "I left the province," he said, "full of hope and I have every reason to believe that Mohammedans of other provinces will follow the example of the United Provinces I also expect Bengal to rise to the occasion and establish a Muslim League Parliamentary Board in the province I am," he added, "carrying on conversations with various leaders and I am hopeful that the Mohammedans of Bengal will be united as one party under the banner of the All India Muslim League Madras, Bombay, the Punjab, the United Provinces and Assam have already formed their Muslim League Parliamentary Boards and Bengal must not lag behind "

34. Discussions with Bengal Muslim Leaders[1]

Earlier in the day [18 August], Mr Jinnah had prolonged discussions with party leaders, and members of various Muslim organizations coming from different parts of the province

During the day he paid a visit to the Bengal Muslim Chamber of Commerce where the principal subject discussed was the proposed Indo-British Trade Agreement Mr Jinnah pointed out that he had dealt with the problem of preferences in his speech in the Assembly in the Ottawa debate[2] and he was convinced that it was not in the interest of India to enter into any trade agreement with the United Kingdom on the basis of the Ottawa preferences Provisions should also, he said, be made for separate agreements with other countries, such as, Germany with whom India had had extensive trade connexions in the past Restrictions imposed on trade and commerce in different countries of the world posed, according to him, a serious problem and any scheme which did not add to this would probably be more welcome in the present circumstances

In the afternoon, Mr Jinnah had tea with the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca and other leading members of the All Bengal United Muslim party at the Nawab's residence The conversation, it is understood, centred round the question of a united Muslim party in Bengal Discussion with various party leaders was continued until late at night but no definite solution appears to have yet been reached

Some of the Hindu leaders including Mr B G Chatterji and Mr T C Goswami met Mr Jinnah in the morning Mr Jinnah will be busy today in connection with the unity committee appointed at the recent Town Hall meeting of Bengal Muslims to explore avenues for the formation of a united Muslim orgnization in the province The committee consists of Mr Jinnah, the Nawab of Dacca and Mr A K Fazlul Huq

[1]News report, *Statesman* 19 August 1936

[2]See Waheed Ahmad (ed) *Quaid i Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Speeches*, op cit pp 200 24 for his speech dated 26 March 1936

35 Asks Bengal Muslim Students — "Carry the Banner of Muslim League"[1]

Calcutta, August 18 "We are aiming at the solidarity of the Muslims not with a view to quarrel with our sister communities, but in order to weed out the bad elements that exist in our midst," declared Mr M A Jinnah, addressing a largely attended meeting in Albert Hall, Calcutta, last night, when an address of welcome was presented to him by the All Bengal Muslim Students' Association Mr A K Fazlul Haq presided

"We want to produce", Mr Jinnah continued, 'independent, progressive and fearless men who will work sincerely for the country, and when we have done that, we mean to make as great a contribution to the freedom of our motherland as any other community" Mr Jinnah said that they had among them elements whose domination must cease The reactionary elements and coteries must be overpowered They wanted the Muslims by organizing themselves to come into their own they also wanted the Hindus to come into their own He was sure that the loftier minds in the two communities would come to an agreement "Those who misrepresent us will not succeed those who bless us, we thank them, those who sympathise with us, we appreciate their sympathy, but those who obstruct us and put difficulties in our way we shall resist them," added Mr Jinnah

He appealed to Hindu and Muslim students to make friends and understand and tolerate one another That, he said, was the only certain way to build up the nation because there was no doubt that the burden of the onward march for the freedom of the motherland would fall on them He asked the students to show a better example to their elders who, he said, were quarrelling over petty matters He suggested that the students should come under one organization irrespective of castes and communities Mr Jinnah added that students might help in many ways those who were doing some good work So far as Muslim students were concerned, he asked them to carry the banner of the Muslim League The League, he said, did not stand only for the Muslims for really it aimed at the achievement of national freedom

Mr Haq said that Mr Jinnah was essentially a people's man one of those rare specimens of humanity who preferred to serve the people rather than kow-tow or bow down to those in

[1]Public speech *Statesman* 19 August 1936

authority, whether black or white

Among those present were

Mr Hamayun Kabir, Mr K Nooruddin, Dr R Ahmed, Mr Abdus Samad, Khan Bahadur Ataur Rahman, Mr Shamsuddin Ahmad, Mr Nausan Ali, Professor Altaf Ali, Mr Jehangir Khan and Mr S C Roy

36 "India Should not be deprived of Foreign Market"[1]

Mr M A Jinnah visited the Muslim Chamber of Commerce on Tuesday afternoon [18 August] to have an informal discussion with the members of the Committee The conversation mainly related to the subject of the proposed Indo-British Trade Agreement

Mr Jinnah pointed out that he had dealt with the problem of preferences in his speech in the Assembly in the Ottawa debate and he was convinced that it was not in the interest of India to enter into any trade agreement with the United Kingdom on the basis of the Ottawa preferences Provisions should also be made for separate agreement with other countries such as Germany with whom India had extensive trade connections in the past Restrictions imposed on trade and commerce in different countries of the world, Mr Jinnah added, constituted a serious problem and any scheme which did not add to this state would probably be more welcome in the present circumstances In reply to a question, Mr Jinnah said that the Assembly would certainly ask the Government to make arrangements to enter into trade pacts with other countries as well because this point was made perfectly clear during the Ottawa debate in the Assembly, that India should not be deprived of her foreign markets because of the fact that no trade agreements existed between such countries and India

Mr M A Ispahani, President of the Chamber, pointed out the difficulties of the members of the Muslim Chamber of Commerce, who control a very high percentage of trade and commerce, on account of the fact that adequate representation has not been given to this Chamber in the Federal Assembly Mr Jinnah promised to watch the interests of the Chamber in the Assembly and said that he realised the difficult position in which the members were placed with regard to their representation in the Central Legislature Mr Ispahani thanked Mr Jinnah in a few well-chosen words for his visit to the Chamber and the meeting terminated after a lively discussion lasting for an hour The following were among those present - Mr M A Ispahani, Mr L S Abdulkader, Mr Hajee Valimohamed Kassam Dada, Mr Adamjee Hajee Dawood, Mr Muhammad Rafique, Mr N M His, Mr Kassim A Muhammad, Mr M K Khaleell, Mr Nur-ur-Rahman, Mr Gulamhossain, A Dossani, Mr M A Asiskhan, Mr H G Moostufa, Mr D M Lockhat and Mr S M Ishaq Chandna

[1]Public address *Star of India*, 20 August 1936

37. Advises Students — "Not to Take Part in Active and Aggressive Politics"[1]

"I think the Muslims will be the strongest and stablest element of the future Government of our country and if they are organised they will make an even greater contribution to the freedom of India than any other community," said Mr M A Jinnah replying to an address presented to him by members of the Calcutta Islamia College Union yesterday [19 August] He advised the students not to take part in active and aggressive politics of the country but to keep abreast of what was going on in the country and the world around them Mr Jinnah then explained the aims and objects of the All India Muslim League The Muslim League, he pointed out, had so far been only a dialectic body having no contact with the intelligentsia and the Muslim masses There was no regular Muslim organization The Muslims were in a part of no-man's land where any adventurer could come and masquerade as a representative of 80 millions of Mohammedans This state of things, he said, could not be allowed to continue a day longer Besides, in view of the coming constitution it was essential for the Muslims to organise themselves under the banner of the League as one united solid party

Past Mistakes

The Muslims had suffered a great deal in the past through lack of organization Their voters were never approached in a systematic manner People somehow got themselves elected But once inside the legislature, they did as they pleased The result was that some of them went into the Government lobby and some with the opposition Some chose to go wherever their interests lay There were as many speeches as there were members and as much opinion as there were Parties There must be an end to this state of affairs and with this object in view the Muslim League had set up parliamentary Boards

It has been said that theirs would be a communal party, but then, Mr Jinnah continued, there was no other door open to them So long as separate electorates stood, the natural corollary was that they would have separate Mohammedan voters But in their scheme they had made it clear that they would cooperate or coalesce with any other group or groups in the legislatures

[1]Public speech, *Statesman*, 20 August 1936

whose aims and ideals were approximately the same as those of the Muslim Parliamentary Board

Reply to critics

A criticism had been made that his (Jinnah's) predictions bore strong (*sic*) that he would take the Muslims into the Congress camp straight away and that there were people in the personnel of the League Parliamentary Board who, in spite of the presence of Mr Jinnah, would side with the Government This, Mr Jinnah assured, would be impossible having regard to the schemes of the Board and its strict rules Their rules had been framed with the sole object of choosing their best men Besides their policy and programme were a complete answer to such criticisms If, Mr Jinnah added, they were able to send their best men to the legislatures and if their sister communities also were able to do so then the better minds of Hindus and Mohammedans would be able to adjust their differences and come to a resettlement Such an adjustment would be real and genuine

Mr Jinnah was made a life member of the Islamia College Union amid cheers Throughout the day Mr Jinnah was busy in connection with the Unity Committee appointed at the recent Muslim meeting at the Town Hall to find ways and means for the formation of one united Muslim political organisation in the province In the evening, Mr Jinnah attended Bengal Presidency Muslim League

38 Addresses Bengal Muslims "Fate of Muslims of All Provinces Bound Together"[1]

A crowded meeting of the Muslims of Calcutta was held at Town Hall on Thursday, August 20 Mr Adamji Haji Dawood presided A welcome address was presented to Mr Jinnah on behalf of Bengal Muslims which *inter alia* said

'India is today undoubtedly in the throes of a peaceful revolution and a new urge for a better order of things has taken hold of her teeming millions Throughout your long association with the political life of the Musalmans you have striven your best to create in them a strong sense of political consciousness and have preached the lesson of amity, concord, toleration and National Unity in the greater interests of India and the Indians

'The New Constitution that has come however inadequate it be, will require a united front on the part of the Musalmans You have visited Calcutta at the request of the various Muslim political groups who are preparing their separate political platforms to contest the coming elections You have brought to them the message of Unity You are the messenger of peace and yours is a mission of goodwill You have been trying to weld the divided groups of the Muslims in the various provinces of India into one organic whole In this selfless, sincere and noble effort of yours you have the fullest support of your community We pray that your efforts be crowned with success!'

Words and Deeds

Replying to the address Mr Jinnah spoke with some bitterness born, perhaps, of the stiff opposition to his plan of Muslim solidarity through the Muslim League Parliamentary Board which the Proja Party is offering He began by saying "I am thankful to the Muslims of Bengal for the great honour they have done me I appreciate it all the more because it is an honour from Muslim Bengal which constitutes 40 p c of the entire Muslim India But do you want to honour and welcome me by your words or actions?" The speaker then said that he had come to Bengal at the joint and unanimous invitation of the three Muslim groups of Bengal viz , Proja Party, United Muslim Party and Presidency Muslim League It was apparent from the tone and temper of Mr Jinnah's speech that he was not very hopeful of the results of his negotiations

[1]Public speech *Star of India* 21 August 1936

Referring to national unity he said

"Ours is not a hostile movement Ours is a movement which carries the olive branch to every sister community We are willing to co-operate, we are willing to coalesce with any group or groups provided their ideals, their objects are approximately the same as ours "

Tradition of 30 Years

Appealing to Muslims to come under the banner of the All India Muslim League Mr Jinnah said that as the oldest political organization of the Muslims founded at Dacca the League has got a tradition and history of 30 years to fall back upon So far the League had been in hands of groups It was now time to convert it into an all India mass organization which might speak with authority and one voice on behalf of the 80 million Muslims of India It must have a sanction of public opinion behind it Only the All India Muslim League could play this role in the future constitution of India He said I ask the Muslims, to whatever group they may belong to rally round this one flag and to produce that unity and that united front which will enable us to have our due place under the sun and our due share in the Government of the country

'*Patrika*' Refuted

Mr Jinnah further very vehemently refuted the misrepresentation made in the course of editorial notes by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* He said But I must say there are some quarters which will try to misrepresent us I am confident that they will fail For instance I read this morning a leader in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* a journal of some standing and reputation It has made certain statements referring to me which are totally false I give you one example The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* says

> The surprise of the student community will not certainly tend to diminish when they discover that Mr Jinnah who had stoutly defended the system of separate electorate for his own community at the Round Table Conference was the same amiable gentlemen who stood before them and suggested that the students of Bengal should come under one organisation irrespective of caste or creed

Let me tell you publicly that it is untrue that I fought for separate electorates Over and over again not only I but the Muslim delegation unanimously were willing to come to a settlement on the basis of joint electorate We do not mind that the newspapers should criticise us I welcome criticisms But I must repel misrepresentation of facts of this character By doing this the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* is doing the greatest disservice not only to the community for whom it speaks or professes to

speak, but doing the greatest disservice to the advancement and welfare of India"

Mr Jinnah again fervently appealed for Muslim unity in Bengal and said "If the Muslim League is triumphant, you will be educating and training people as an organised, disciplined team and you will be sending men through this single machinery for the purpose of contesting the forthcoming elections You require men to represent you truly, faithfully and loyally If you succeeded in bringing about that development outside the Legislatures and inside the Legislatures, I have no doubt in my mind that you would be making the greatest contributions to the advancement, welfare and to the attainment of freedom for India

All India Unity Needed

"I wish to see Muslim unity realized before I leave Calcutta If you achieve unity in Bengal of a solid and substantial section of the Muslims there is a bright day for Bengal But you must look beyond your own province You cannot neglect your brethren of faith in other provinces There are all India issues, all India problems — vital problems that have arisen and will arise from time to time If the entire Muslims of India were politically organized and if they remain united then they will be forging sanctions behind them in order to play their part in the decision of all India questions Bengal Muslims cannot neglect their brethren of other provinces You must be united under one banner of the League and go forward fearlessly This is the only way of getting your share, your due share, in the administration of your country The fate of the Muslims of all provinces is bound together They constitute an indivisible whole and a single political entity They must rise and fall together

Rise Above Pettiness

"Sink your differences, destroy personalities and jeolousies Rise above them You see in front of you all India pulsating and throbbing with political consciousness and the youths of Muslims and Hindus throbbing with a new life to attain freedom for us! This is not normal times We are going through very stirring times I say it is a most critical moment and do not allow this to be missed by you"

Prominenet among those present were Mr A K Fazlul Huq, Mr and Mrs K Nooruddin, Miss Jinnah, Dr and Mrs R Ahmed, Khan Bahadur Abdul Momen, Sir Syed Sadulla, Mr L P Atkinson, Khan Bahadur Obedul Bari, Kumar Saradindu Narayan Ray, Prof B B Roy, Prof Humayun Kabir Prince Akram Hossain Bahadur, Maulvi Muzibar Rahman, Mr

Shamsuddin Ahmed, Maulvi Nauser Ali, Khan Bahadur K M Asadulla, Hon Syed Abdul Hafiz, Maulvi Asrafuddin Chowdhury, Mrs S M Zakaria, Mr F Nurunnobi, Mrs S M Zakaria, Mr Aziz Ansari, Mr Kabiruddin Ahmed M L A, Maulvi Jan Muhammad, Qazi Syed Shah Md Osman, Malik Gholam Husain and Syed Abbas Ali

39. Addresses Calcutta University Students — No Indian "Freedom" Without Communal Solution[1]

"In the course of your career as students—whether you are Hindus or Mohammedans, Christians or Parsees or Buddhist—constantly coming in contact with each other, remember you have a golden opportunity of understanding each other, of knowing each other, of exchanging your views and of claiming lifelong friendship," observed Mr M A Jinnah, addressing a crowded meeting of the students of the post-graduate department of the Calcutta University at the Asutosh Hall, on Friday afternoon [21 August] Mr Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, presided

Mr Jinnah said that he was very glad that the students recognised him as a nationalist It was perfectly true and he was proud of it Their goal was that they must attain freedom for their country They should not quarrel over words Some people thought that it would be necessary to state that they stood for independence, other said 'full and complete responsible government, some said 'dominion status' He thought that they were all agreed on the point Their one issue, he said, was that 'we want free India and India that has the government of its country in their own hand '

Problem of Future

Proceeding, Mr Jinnah said that if they wanted to attain that goal, three things were necessary—defence, education and knowledge and trade, industry and finance That was, in his opinion, knowledge for independence, knowledge for responsible government, they might call it dominion status if they liked How they were going to attain the same, he continued, was the problem before them (the students) They were without defence forces They must confess that man was strong or the strongest who knew his own faults and his own weakness They were today divided In the first instance the communities that existed in their midst were not agreed

"You cannot all of a sudden make a new world or make a paradise You are going through a process for the attainment of freedom You ought to go through the crucifix of fire suffering and sacrifices Don't be disheartened Nations are not built in a

[1]Public speech *Star of India* 24 August 1936 A summarised version of the speech and the proceedings appeared in *Tribune* 22 August 1936

day But as we are going on let us adopt those steps which will take us forward and not backward Remember you cannot stand still for a very long time, either go forward or backward ' Mr Jinnah appealed to the youngmen—as he said, he had appealed to the conference of All India Students in Lucknow — to study the realities, analyse them and then build their decision That was the first thing he wanted to impress upon them The second thing was to understand each other during their contact with students of various communities and to make friends with them

"Remember, added Mr Jinnah, 'India cannot make any progress and India's salvation lies in the unity of all communities especially the Hindus and Muslims It is for you not to brush aside and be carried away by whims caprices and theories but find a solution as statesmen, as practical politicians and unless you find a solution of this problem, you will not make any real progress It is up to you all whether as Hindus and Muslims or Parsees or Christians, it is up to you neither as a Hindu nor as a Muslim but as an Indian to find this solution because this question must be solved and without a complete solution of this question India cannot make any appreciable progress in the direction of freedom '

Third Party Handicap

Concluding, Mr Jinnah said 'Strong as you look to a third party, so long as you depend upon a third party, you stand condemned and are unfit for self-government If there are differences and disputes between yourselves, you know to rise to the occasion and settle them amongst yourselves, as friends as partners and as countrymen This is the problem that will have to be solved " (Applause)

Mr Shyama Prasad Mookerjee welcomed Mr Jinnah on behalf of the University and on behalf of everyone of those present It was, indeed, very kind of him, said the Vice-Chancellor, to have agreed to come and visit the University and address a few words to the students of the Post-graduate Department This University in the past had had the opportunity of inviting distinguished Indians irrespective of caste or creed "You can ask what is the reason why Mr Jinnah's personality appeals so strongly to the youth of India,' he said 'I would not refer to his undoubted position as a lawyer of brilliance and is a keen debator, as these are well-known facts, but over and above these we claim him to be an Indian nationalist (hear, hear) Besides we claim him to be one of those fighters who knows how to fight stubbornly for the attainment of the ideal which they have made their own "

40. Message to Bengal Muslims — "Support ML Wholeheartedly"[1]

Calcutta, August 26 "My message to the Musalmans of Bengal is to support the All India Muslim League wholeheartedly and work under its banner", said Mr M A Jinnah, who is returning to Bombay today

He added the Musalmans of Bengal were united under the wise guidance of their leaders and occupied a unique position not only so far as their own interests were concerned but all over India They would be almost a deciding factor in regard to the fortune of the province and were in a position to help in the attainment of freedom for India more than any other section He sincerely hoped that they would use their power and influence wisely and in a statesman like manner — API

[1]Message, *Tribune* 27 August 1936

41 ML "Party of Progressive Men"[1]

Bombay, August 28 "I assure the public that in the formation of provincial boards of the All India Muslim League, we have not lost sight of the basic principle that ours must be a party of progressive, patriotic and independent men who will not only serve Musalmans but India as a whole", said Mr Jinnah in the course of a press interview on his return from his tour of the U P and Bengal Mr Jinnah said that he had come back doubly assured by his followers in the U P and Bengal that the Muslim League would get the fullest backing from progressive and independent Musalmans and almost all sections of politically minded Musalmans

Mr Jinnah declined to comment on the Congress election manifesto He was confident that the Muslim League would capture almost all seats His tour in Bengal he stated, had shown that all progressive sections of Musalmans were anxious to work under the banner of the All India Muslim League Parliamentary Board

[1]Press interview, *Civil & Military Gazette* 30 August 1936

42. Bombay Muslim Seat in Council of State Kassum Mitha "is Free to Contest"[1]

Bombay (By Mail) Mr M A Jinnah has issued the following statement

> Last February Sir Sulaiman Kassum Mitha and Sir Rahimtullah Chinoy left the question as to who should stand for and contest the election of the Bombay Muslim seat in the Council of State to my decision Since then the term of the Council was extended by six months and therefore there was no need to decide one way or the other But now that I understand that the elections of the Council of State are going to take place Sir Rahimtullah Chinoy has intimated to me that he does not wish to stand for and contest the election
>
> That being so it is not necessary for me to decide as to who should stand Sir Sulaiman Kassum Mitha is free therefore to stand for and contest the election if [unless] there is any other candidate in the field — API

[1]Statement, *Star of India* 16 September 1936

43 Reviews Progress of ML Parliamentary Board Provincewise[1]

Simla, September 19. A review of the work of the Muslim League since the constitution of the Central Parliamentary Board was given by Mr M. A. Jinnah, President, at a meeting of the Board held today. Those present were the Nawab of Dacca, Mr H. M. Ispahani (Bengal), Mr Murtaza Sahib (Madras), the Maharaja of Mahmudabad and Maulana Shaukat Ali (U. P.), Raja Gazanfar Ali (Punjab), Maulana Ahmed Said (Delhi) and Abdul Matin Choudhry (Assam). The following were co-opted on the Board:

From Bengal	Haji Nooruddin, Nawabzada Muhammad Ali Bogra, Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Pir Abu Bakar Sahib and Pir Badshah Mian
From Bombay	Mr Hossain Bhai Lalljee, Hakeem Muhammad Hassan of Malegaon
From Madras	Abdul Hakim Sahib and Mr Yakub Hassan
From Bihar	Syed Naqi Imam, Maulvi Badrul Hasan, M.L.A., and Haji Abdul Qadeer (Arrah)
From United Provinces	The Raja of Nanpara and Syed Zakir Ali
From Assam	Mr Abdul Musabbir Choudhry

Applications for affiliation to the Board were accepted from the U. P., Madras, Bombay, the Punjab, Bengal and Assam, the last mentioned body being one constituted by Mr Abdul Matin Choudhry and Mr M. A. Razak.

Mr Jinnah's speech

Mr Jinnah, reviewing the situation in several provinces, said that in Bombay the Board was in full vigour. A strong Board had been formed in Assam. These two provinces, though important in their own way, were not so important as the Punjab, Bengal and the U. P. In the Punjab, the progress was not so satisfactory as desired, but judging from recent reports, the situation was hopeful and would improve very soon. In the U. P., support and political consciousness behind the movement were more solid than in any other province. In Bengal, barring a rift in the lute recently created, everyone who was counted in public life was

[1]Speech, *Tribune*, 20 September 1936

represented on the Board and Mr Jinnah had no doubt that it would function better than any other province as the League's activities spread themselves The only province where no appreciable progress had been made were the Frontier, Sind and Bihar and Orissa There was a strong party in Sind, which would shortly seek affiliation In Central Provinces a resolution had been passed to form a Board and he had been requested to go there and help to constitute it In the Frontier, the situation was peculiar and Mr Jinnah informed the Board that he was visiting the Punjab some time in October and would also visit the Frontier and Sind The Board will meet next in Calcutta

The Board resolved authorising Mr Jinnah, President of the Board, to take such disciplinary action as he might think proper against any member of the Board who might be found guilty of insubordination, disloyalty or defiance of principles and policies laid down by the Board and remove the name of such member from the Board if necessary —API

44 Fazlul Huq "to Explain His Conduct"

"There was no question for the All India Muslim League or the Central Board or the Provincial Board which we were forming that it should accept the policy and the programme of the Nikhil Banga Proja Krishak Samity 'in toto' or in part It is absolutely untrue that I individually accepted the policy or the programme or the principle of that party," says Mr M A Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, in a letter calling upon Mr A K Fazlul Huq to explain his conduct in relation to the latest position taken up by the latter on the agreement among Bengal Muslim Parties Mr Jinnah characterises the action of Mr A K Fazlul Huq leaving Calcutta at a most critical juncture when Muslim Bengal was engaged in Calcutta in evolving one United Muslim Party, as "unfortunate and unjust" But, he emphasises that the only question that was left over after Mr Fazlul Huq's departure after authorising Mr Shamsuddin Ahmad, the Secretary of the Proja Party, to carry on was the question of the number and the quota to be allotted to the various groups on the League Board

The letter reads

"Dear Mr Fazlul Huq, — It is with considerable pain and great regret that I have to address this letter to you During my visit to Calcutta at the request of various leaders including yourself I discussed with you and your party the question of forming one solid Muslim Party under the aegis of the All India Muslim League and its Central Board of which you were one of the members according to the policy and the programme already defined by the Board After prolonged discussions you agreed on behalf of your group on August 20 1936 and you were good enough to put down the substance of the terms in black and white over your signature It runs as follows

'I have received the following as a proposal made by the Nawab Bahadur

> I am willing to agree that Mussalmans belonging to different parties in Bengal accept the All India Muslim League as the only representative organisation of the Muslims and further agree to work under the banner of the Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board provided that every member of the organisation shall sever his connection with any other political organisation '

I have no objection to the above proposal with this modification that the proviso provided that every member of the organisation shall sever his connection with any other organisation be omitted Apart from other consideration I feel that as long as any other political body does not run Muslim candidates for election except through the machinery of the All India Muslim League there should be no objection to anyone being a member of any such political organisation The Praja Samities have been existing now for a number of years as non communal institutions engaged in special kind of work and, as such it would not be fair to restrain people from joining the

[1]Correspondence, *Star of India* 5 October 1936

Praja Samities merely because the Muslim members of the Praja Samities agree to run their elections under the League ticket and through the League Election machinery only

Letter to Mr Ispahani

"On the same day you wrote another letter to Mr Hasan Ispahani which runs as follows

I could not tell you everything in detail as the night was far advanced and I was very much upset The Nawab Bahadurs attitude was fairly pugilistic and if I had followed his example there would have been a riot in front of Jinnah I was burning with indignation at the manner in which the members of the United Muslim Party want to browbeat the poor workers of the Proja Samity I shall feel very much grateful if you kindly convey to Mr Jinnah my last words to him on the question of compromise I am adding a note separately which I would ask you to hand over to him

We have told Mr Jinnah under what minimum conditions we can consent to the elections being run by the Muslim League It is for him as the head of the League to decide whether he will accept these terms or not It is not for any outsider to suggest whether there should be modifications of the conditions For instance it is not open to any outsider to say that the Proja Party cannot retain its separate entity before the members of their party become members of the Muslim League All that now remains for Mr Jinnah to consider if the other political organisations are willing to come under the banner of the League and if so under what conditions It will be for him to decide under what conditions he would allow the doors of the Muslim League to be opened to the new comers I am very busy today with court work otherwise I would have gone to see you You can have a talk with Rezai Karim and possibly I will meet you at Momins lunch today

The following is your note

1 Elections are to be run on the ticket of the Muslim League This presupposes that the candidates for election must be members of the Muslim League and must have signed the creed of the League and the declaration recently made by Mr Jinnah

'2 Election Board will be set up by Mr Jinnah in consultation with whomsoever he thinks necessary

3 Before a person can be considered eligible for membership of the Election Board he must have been duly enrolled as a member of the Muslim League and must have signed the creed as well as Mr Jinnah's programme No promise to sign the creed or the programme at a future date will be considered

After these two letters were received the various groups met and there was no question for the All India Muslim League or the Central Board or the Provincial Board which we were forming that it should accept the policy and the programme of the Nikhil Banga Proja Krishak Samity *in toto* or in part It is absolutely untrue that I individually accepted the policy or the programme or the principle of that party

In the meeting of the groups that took place you raised the question that the Bengal Muslim League Parliamentary Board should incorporate in their manifesto the abolition of Permanent Settlement The matter was discussed at considerable length in the presence of yourself and some members of your group and it was agreed by you that that question should not be pressed as you were satisfied that in the first instance it was not possible for the Bengal Legislature to undertake such a measure without the previous consent

of the Governor and for the matter of that the Governor General and the Secretary of State for India secondly it was such a vital matter that before it can be adopted the Central Board should be consulted and thirdly it was not for the moment practical politics Thereafter the only question that was left for consideration was the quota of representation for various groups to constitute then you suddenly decided at this most critical moment to leave Calcutta but you were good enough to send me your proposal as to the quota on August 23 late at night over your signature again Your proposal was as follows

Proja Party	10
Muslim Party	10
Bengal League	5
Majlis	5
Total	30

No nomination

I think you will agree with me that your leaving Calcutta at this critical moment was most unfortunate and unjust to me However you were good enough to communicate with me on the telephone before your departure that you had left the authority with the Secretary of your Party Mr Shamsuddin Ahmad, and he was good enough to continue on your behalf along with some other members of your group Ultimately the agreement was arrived at substantially on the very lines which you had indicated and agreed upon And here again I must make it clear that the only question that was left over after your departure was the question of the number and the quota to be allotted to the various groups On the 25th I received a letter from the Secretary of your Group Mr Shamsuddin Ahmad which is as follows

Dear Mr Jinnah on behalf of the Nikhil Banga Krishak Proja Samity we agree that the total number of Bengal Muslim League Parliamentary Board should consist of 48 members and to be chosen by the representatives of various groups as follows

1	Nikhil Banga Krishak Proja Samity	15
2	United Muslim Party	15
3	Muslim League	7
4	Muslim Majlis	7
5	Non party to be chosen by you	4

We will submit the names of our representatives according to the quota of 15 allotted to us after consulting our Executive Committee as soon as possible Yours sincerely Shamsuddin Ahmad (Secy etc)

Upon that I placed the agreement which was approved of by all the groups before the Bengal Board On August 23 Members of the Central Board who alone had the authority to constitute the Board (*sic*) The Agreement was as follows

An agreement was arrived at between the representatives of the United Muslim Party the League and the Muslim Majlis that the All India Muslim League Parliamentary Board of Bengal be constituted consisting of 33 members according to the following quota

1	The United Muslim Party	15
2	The Muslim League	7
3	The Muslim Majlis	7
4	Independent non party members to be nominated by Mr Jinnah	4
	Total	33

"The Secretary of the Nikhil Banga Proja Krishak Samity having intimated after this agreement was arrived at that they were willing to join the Muslim League Parliamentary Board for Bengal a quota of 15 for the Samity were agreed upon As soon as the Executive Committee of the Samity sends the names of their 15 representatives, they will be added to the Muslim League Parliamentary Board of Bengal

Only Representative Organisation

"It was agreed further by all the parties that the Muslims belonging to different parties in Bengal accept the All India Muslim League as the only representative organisation of the Muslims and agree to work under the banner of the Muslim League Central Board in accordance with the policy and the programme already defined by it and that the Bengal All India Muslim League Parliamentary Board would be autonomous so far as provincial matters are concerned subject to acceptance by it of the general policy and programme defined by the Central Board and affiliation to the Central Board

It was also agreed that none of the organisations who were a party to this agreement should set up any machinery or run election in any manner except and only through the machinery of the All India Muslim League Parliamentary Board of Bengal and that they agree to run the election on the League ticket and through the League election machinery only so far as the Musalmans are concerned

"Upon this report of agreement between all parties being put by Mr Jinnah before the representatives for Bengal on the Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board who have the power to constitute the Board according to the rules of the Central Parliamentary Board it was resolved

> That the Board consisting of the following 33 members be constituted and that as soon as the Executive Committee of the Nikhil Banga Proja Krishak Samity send the names of their 15 representatives they shall be added to the number of the Board now constituted

Before I left Calcutta the meeting of the Board so constituted was fixed for the September 6 again in consultation with Mr Shamsuddin Secretary of your group as he assured us all that he will be able to send the names of the representatives of the Samity as soon as possible

"Offensive Statement"

"From the Press reports it seems that you issued a statement on September 1 before the Board could meet which is not only full of misrepresentation but is offensive all round and in particular to your colleagues with whom you had agreed just a few days before to work Again I find from the Press reports that you issued a statement giving the account of your walk out on September 9 1936, as President of the Nikhil Banga Proja Krishak Samity Taking that statement of yours, it leads me to the conclusion that you have deliberately broken the solemn agreement to which you were a party because in your statement you say that you and your group insisted upon the question of the abolition of the Permanent Settlement Not only that but you insisted that all the members of the Board should accept and sign in toto the policy and the

programme of the Nikhil Banga Proja Krishak Samity These are the words from your own statement

Before the proceedings commenced Mr Shamsuddin Secretary of the Nikhil Banga Proja Krishak Samity asked and obtained the permission of the Chair to read out a statement containing the aims and objects and programme of the All India Muslim League and the Nikhil Banga Proja Krishak Samity and declared that all gentlemen present must accept and sign the creed and programme so defined before the representatives of the Nikhil Banga Proja Krishak Samity could consent to be party to further proceedings This in my opinion was raising the same issue over again which was abandoned long before the Bengal agreement was arrived at and constitutes a breach of faith The Secretary of the All India Muslim League Parliamentary Board Bengal has placed before me all the materials with regard to this controversy and he has drawn my attention to your conduct and attitude and so I am obliged to write this letter to you

'It is strange indeed that neither you and the Leader nor the Secretary of your group has upto the present moment even shown the courtesy to draw the attention of the Central Board to the controversy and the parts that you have played You know that you are a member of the Central Board and I think you owe if not to me as President to the Board to have drawn their attention to any difficulty or difficulties that may have arisen before breaking up so abruptly the Bengal Muslim League Parliamentary Board and establishing a separate Board of the Nikhil Banga Proja Krishak Samity You know that the Central Board has given me the power to deal with any member of the Board who is disloyal or defies or commits a breach of fundamental principles and the policy and programme of the Central Board to take such disciplinary action against him as may be necessary and also to remove his name from the membership of the Board In the circumstances I call upon you to explain your conduct which is not only a violation of the fundamental principles and policy of the All India Muslim League Central Board but is not worthy of any Leader who really wishes to truly serve his people — Yours sincerely M A Jinnah — API

45 Election Campaign at Lahore Wants "One Strong All India Party of Muslims"[1]

Lahore, October 12 The election campaign on behalf of the Punjab Muslim League Parliamentary Board was inaugurated by Mr M A Jinnah President of the Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board, last night [11 October] at a huge Muslim meeting held in the gardens outside Delhi Gate More than ten thousand Musalmans attended the meeting Khan Bahadur Malik Zaman Mehdi Khan presided

Malik Barkat Ali, addressing the meeting, paid a tribute to the work and selfless sacrifices of Mr Jinnah and said that he was a born nationalist whose nationalism and love of his country was as pure as that of any Congress man It was because of his fearless opposition to the proposed Federal Scheme in the first Round Table Conference that in his own words he was 'dismissed' from the Round Table Conferences that followed Mr Jinnah, said the speaker was personally in favour of joint electorate He was supporting the claims of the Punjab and Bengal Musalmans for a clear majority because their claims were justified

Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din said that the Unionists had an opportunity to work the old reforms for about 15 years and they were found wanting In fact they had done nothing to improve the poor lot of the Muslim masses Mr Jinnah he said had served their community and their country always and alike His career of political work was spotless and he appealed to the Musalmans in the name of Islam to muster strong under the banner of Mr Jinnah which was the banner of the Muslim League and save the Muslim community from any further divisions

'Simple Mr Jinnah'

The President in requesting Mr Jinnah to address the meeting said that he had served his community with a singleness of purpose He was the one man who could any day be an Executive Councillor or a Governor but because of his nationalism and his desire to serve his community and his country he still remained a simple Mr Jinnah He had come to them to organize the Muslims and see them together for fighting for their rights

Mr Jinnah's Speech

Mr Jinnah who spoke in English received an ovation when he rose to address the gathering

[1]Public speech *Tribune* 13 October 1936

Mr Jinnah said that he had come to Lahore several times in the course of the last few months That was because he found the Muslims here more backward politically, educationally and economically than the Musalmans of any other province that he knew of "Your province is the most official-ridden Some of your leaders, who hold high position, are the creatures of the Government They have no desire and no mind to co-operate with the intelligentsia of the Musalmans They have no desire but to exploit the masses," he said Referring to his own mission in the Punjab and the object of the League Board Mr Jinnah complained that a section of the press was misrepresenting them He thought that even the worst opponents of the League acknowledged the great and good work which the League had done 'But then' he added, 'we are told that ours (League) is a communal body and some of our very nice friends will not come to us just because of that But can anyone say that the Unionists form a non-communal party simply because there happen to be two Hindus among them (laughter)? Is there no Hindu party in the Punjab? Is a Sikh party non-existent in this province? I challenge the Unionists to disclose the names of their Hindu and Sikh supporters or members"

Continuing Mr Jinnah said that there was not a man who was more anxious to co-operate with the Hindus the Sikhs and the Musalmans than he He was willing to co-operate with any party including the Sikhs and the Hindus who could appreciate their programme and policy But then they had not joint electorate, but separate electorate and that system, he said, was there not because of his asking It was humanly impossible to have the Hindus and Musalmans returned on joint electorate because it did not exist at all

Continuing his speech, Mr Jinnah said that he felt amused to know that in spite of the communal electorate, some people claimed to have a non-communal party in the Punjab What sort of a non-communal party was that, he asked? They had 97 per cent Musalmans and 3 per cent Hindus and they claimed to have a non-communal party Now who could accept that party as being a non-communal party?

After reading out the resolution of the All India Muslim League authorising the formation of the League Central Parliamentary Board, Mr Jinnah said that the name of the capital city of their province would go down in history because it was in Lahore that the first meeting of that Board was held on June 8 The decision to form that Board was not arrived at overnight but was the result of thorough deliberations to bring the Muslims of India together on one platform and under one flag "What we

have in our mind is to have, under the circumstances, one strong All-India Party of the Muslims whose members may be governed by rules and regulations of that body so that we may be able to return to the new Provincial Assemblies such representatives as may without any speck of blackness in their hearts." This, he said, was undoubtedly a stupendous task but if once they succeeded they would achieve great things. "The first thing which would happen and that is why some of our friends are unwilling to come to us will be that the new Ministers will not be the creatures of the Governors, but be the chosen representatives of their own elected representatives."

Mr Jinnah said that he had been charged with intimidating the people to join the League Board. He had the Nawab of Chhattari and Nawab Yusuf Ahmed and would be glad to have Sir Sikander on the League Board. Some of their friends among the Unionists, he said, had been thinking that he considered them toadies or flunkies because they did not come to him. He denied that charge with the retort saying: "In spite of all (*sic*) what those friends are, I am not so stupid as to think of them like that." "What I want," said Mr Jinnah pulling his ownself a little and stretching his fist, "is to break the Ministries which have already been formed here. I am, however, not at all out to form a ministry myself for I am not the Governor." He warned the Hindus also against the formation of such Ministries lest they should lose few of their men who will go over to the other side. Speaking to the Hindus he said, "our desire is not to form a Muslim government with a view to terrify and crush the Hindus. We will support the Hindus even though we may differ now. If we are in a majority the Musalmans will not be true to their salt if they will not give a fair chance to the Hindus."

He refused to admit that being a non-Punjabi he was unaware of the strange circumstances of this province. He would not leave the Punjab on that score. "The brave Musalmans of the Punjab have been my right arm; they have never forsaken me before. The Musalmans of other Provinces have not forsaken them even in their hour of need. They have stood by you. Now will you betray them? No, I am sure you will stand by them."

"A Democracy of Muslims"

Continuing Mr Jinnah said that the Musalmans were faced with numerous all-India issues which would increase all the more and he wanted to organise the Muslims to be able to face those issues and work together in discipline. He wanted a democracy of the Musalmans (*sic*) to be formed and decide (*sic*) all matters for their community with an authority which could not be challenged by anyone.

Mr Jinnah, however, did not want to be aggressive, but said that with the help of the masses he would hammer out a strong block to march together with the Hindus for the freedom of the country He, however, thought that the Hindus had to weed out much of their stock too to keep company with the Muslims "When that happens and when better Hindus and better Musalmans are sent to the legislature and they come together there will be a genuine agreement between them and that is the likelihood and probability which is frightening the bureaucracy," said Mr Jinnah He wanted the Hindus to believe him that theirs was not an aggressive movement If Sir Sikander was so anxious to have a non-communal party and serve his people may I know why he did not resign from the Reserve Bank earlier? Why is he resigning now? May I also know why Nawab Muzaffar Khan has been granted leave and why is it that Sir Sikander is now coming to occupy that office again " asked Mr Jinnah, His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab is not far away from where I am speaking and I appeal to him and his Government to honour the pledge of complete official non-interference in the elections given by the Government of India in the Assembly '

Mr Jinnah, then asked the people to remember the value of their vote which would be double this time, for the representatives whom they would elect by their votes will in turn elect representatives on their behalf for the Federal Legislature when it came into existence He appealed to the voters not to be misled and not vote for any one because of relationship He asked them to make their own choice which he was sure would fall upon the League candidates for voters would vote for the best candidate only Concluding his speech, Mr Jinnah made an appeal to the Musalmans to join the Muslim League also

Palestine Resolution

The following resolution which was moved from the chair was passed 'This public meeting of the citizens of Lahore records its most emphatic protest against the pro-Jew British policy in Palestine which must result in the political and economic destruction of the Arabs and is causing greatest anxiety to the Muslims of India The meeting urges His Majesty's Government to reverse their policy and meet the natural aspirations of the Arabs and thus avoid alienating the friendship of the Muslims of the world " Another resolution moved from the chair sympathised with the Malirkotla *Mohajeerins* [refugees] and asked the Durbar to accede to their demands

46 Advises Lahore Students — "Don't be Mere Visionaries"[1]

Lahore, October 14 "Do not be mere visionaries or dreamers You have a great future You must learn to study, analyse and understand the conditions that prevail in your country The students should and they can, play a great part in moulding the future of our country by exercising their votes — which I understand most of them have -- if not for the general benefit of the masses at least for getting their own grievances redressed " In these words Mr M A Jinnah, M L A exhorted the students of Lahore at a public meeting held under the auspices of the Students' Union this evening in the Lajpat Rai Hall to 'awake from their slumber and organise themselves and see that they get honest, real sincere and patriotic representatives returned to the new legislature" Mr Manohar Lal Bar-at-Law M L C, presided at the meeting

Mr Jinnah who spoke on The Students and the future of India began by saying that from one point of view the future of the students and of the country was dark Unemployment was staring them in their faces But he added that by their effort young men could make their future bright He said I understand that a large number of students have votes By exercising that right of yours for right persons and parties you can play a great part in moulding the future of your country ' He however warned the students not to be carried away by talks of ideals They should think of the immediate future 'You may like it or you may not like it on the 1st of April next a new constitution is going to be enforced The question is what are you going to do? You must play a part in moulding and shaping the future of your country if not for the sake of general people at any rate for your own sake "

Referring to the future constitution, Mr Jinnah said, however bad it was it was going to be introduced Whoever may be the Governor and whatever may be his wishes under this constitution he cannot appoint Ministers unless they are backed by a majority" Now if you to have honest, sincere, patriotic and real representatives returned to form a Ministry what are you going to do and what have you already done? Organise yourself and do your best to secure the correct type of representatives Once you succeed in that you will have a Ministry that will be really responsible to the electorate Mr Jinnah re emphasised the point

[1]Public speech *Tribune* 15 October 1936

He said, "I am sorry for the repetition, but I must say that if the intelligentsia is not vigilant, the Ministry will be formed by somebody else and then the Ministry will carry out the orders of the powers that be"

He made a stirring appeal to the students "Now, youngmen" he said, "be up and doing, wake up from your slumber and in spite of the difficulties that lie before you and hinder your path in spite of the separate electorate — you may settle all these things later on — face the immediate issue Do not waste your time over academic discussions and talks of Dominion Status and independence " Proceeding, Mr Jinnah, said, "India is moving — and moving very fast You find a marked difference in the mentalities of a father of 35 years and his son or daughter of 10 years India is surely moving forward socially, economically and politically The people may not be sufficiently organised and harmonised but the awakening is there Concluding, Mr Jinnah said, I do not mean any disrespect, but I must say that the Punjab is not quite as advanced as some other provinces are But then it has its own virtues — warmth, cordiality, and virility Once the Punjab begins moving in the right direction it may leave others behind " (cheers)

The president, Mr Manohar Lal, after thanking the speaker for his words of wisdom said, that he had spoken with the authority of one who had studied the problem well The Punjab people were moving forward They had however to learn from people of other provinces how to organise themselves politically They were at the threshold of a new constitution and soon they would be called upon to lay the foundations of a Government They should make the best use of their vote for that purpose Proceeding, Mr Manohar Lal said that he did not want to enter into the question of formation of Ministry in the Punjab He was not in the know of secrets like Mr Jinnah Mr Jinnah 'No I am not in the know of any secrets But I see it in front of me and I am intelligent enough ' (Laughter) Mr Manohar Lal — Gentlemen, this may be a compliment to you But I must say that we are all as intelligent as anyone else is Concluding, Mr Marohar Lal spoke of Mr Jinnah in high terms and thanked him once again for the ideas he had put before them

After a vote of thanks to the chair and the speaker the meeting terminated

47 Punjab Politics — "Progressive Elements Su Unite"[1]

Lahore, October 14 Since his arrival at Lahore Mr Jinnah M L A President of the Muslim League C Parliamentary Board has been helping the Provincial Lea organising their Provincial Parliamentary Board The Leaguers have taken full advantage of his presence amongst and it is understood they are now putting their house in orde preparing to grapple with the Unionists Mr Jinnah has large number of Muslim leaders and has discussed with the chances of success of the various parties joining swords ensuing elections Mr Jinnah appears to be very optimist told the *Tribune* representative that he was confident th progressive forces among the Musalmans would certainly the day

Mr Jinnah discussing the prospects of the various part the Punjab and the grouping which might take place aft elections expressed his confirmed opinion that the progr elements were sure to unite But he added My warning various progressive elements in the Punjab be they H Musalmans or Sikhs is that the Punjab is in danger of saddled with a Ministry of the Governor Let us all conce on one vital issue We must in any case secure a ministry own choice which will be answerable and responsible progressive elements of the various communities

He added I fear that there is a caucus that is likely effective because they depend on Pocket-Boroughs subs press and active interference in the elections on the part officials If the intelligentsia of the Punjab is not vigilar caucus will succeed and a ministry will be formed which in name will be Indian yet in fact will carry out the behe the Governor Mr Jinnah expressed his grave apprehensi said If that comes about the position of the Punjab will worse than it is even under the present constitution D know what will happen then the Governor will tak greatest pride in declaring that he never exercised his or extraordinary powers and the Reforms worked in a satisfactory manner in this province I am convinced th Unionist Party is a spearhead of this scheme but the elements among the Sikhs and the Hindus who are likely up with them

1 view *Tribune* 15 October 1936

Referring to the criticism of the Press on his inaugural speech Mr Jinnah said that he had kept the door of the League Board open for anyone who would be willing to come under its flag and agree to abide by their rules and regulations He added, "even the most famous reactionary can have a place under the League flag but then he has to abide by the constitution of the League Board and not dictate it The controlling authority in the League Board must always be, and is, the progressive element Our door cannot be shut against any one who would willingly change his creed " Concluding he said 'Under the Muslim League Parliamentary Board there is nothing to prevent us from co-operating with group or groups where aims and objects and ideals are practically the same This can be done both before and after the elections, and it is surely possible for the progressive elements to agree upon a common programme of work in the Legislature "

48 Mission at Peshawar — to Unite Frontier Muslims[1]

Peshawar, October 18 Mr M A Jinnah, on arrival at the Railway station was received among others by Sir Abdul Quaiyum, Sir Hissamuddin, Mr Peer Bakhsh M L C, Abdur Rab Nishtar and certain members of the Congress Parliamentary Board. Later he was taken in procession through the city. Interviewed by the Associated Press, Mr Jinnah explained that his mission was to bring about unity and solidarity among the Frontier Muslims and organise a strong Muslim party based on principles and a policy and programme that would inspire confidence in the Frontier minorities also. He wanted to organise Muslims not against the other communities but in national interest.

Mr Jinnah will be interviewing leaders of different communities during his stay. He will address a public meeting tomorrow and a students' gathering at Islamia College on Tuesday. A deputation of the Congress Parliamentary Board will be shortly meeting Mr Jinnah.[2] —API

1. Interview. S[illegible] *In*[illegible] 20 October 1936.

2. For details of [illegible] and engagements during his stay in the Frontier province of the [illegible] see Aziz Javed, *Qu*[illegible] *aur Sarhad* (Urdu), Adara Tahqiq wa Tasnif, Peshawar, 1976, pp 55-75. Jinnah also signed the Khyber Union Membership book which [illegible] signatures of later years of Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, [illegible], Nawab of Bhopal, Khwaja Nazimuddin [illegible] Miss Fatima Jinnah. See book entitled Khyber Union [illegible] Members, Khyber Union Library, Islamia College, Peshawar [illegible] libraries of the Peshawar [illegible] College.

49 Wants a "Liberal-Minded Nationalist Bloc"[1]

Peshawar, October 19 'If out of the 80 million Indian Muslims I can produce a patriotic and liberal-minded nationalist bloc, who will be able to march hand in hand with the progressive elements in other communities, I will have rendered great service to my community," declared Mr M A Jinnah at a public meeting

Outlining the League programme, he appealed to the Frontier Muslims "to rise above personalities, think of their province and the people of India and unite to hammer out an advanced nationalistic bloc from among Muslims to send them to the Provincial Assembly" He said the same to the Hindus and Sikhs He wanted to bring the Frontier Muslims under party discipline and control by organising League branches He confessed that there was 'a great deal of rubbish in his community and elsewhere" They had black sheep everywhere and he wanted to weed them out Mr Jinnah advised the Frontier Muslims not to think in terms of revolution alone nor think that they could achieve everything by unlawful activities if only they captured the constitutional machinery coming into operation in April next

[1]Public speech *Civil & Military Gazette* 20 October 1936

50 "Congress Will Receive Our Co-operation in Legislatures"[1]

"A natural corollary of the success of the Muslim League scheme is that the progressive elements of different communities will cooperate with each other readily and with the sanction and authority of their respective communities behind them for the good of India," said Mr Jinnah, in the course of an interview with Associated Press on his return to Bombay from a tour of the provinces where he had gone to organize the Muslim League Board.

"Our course, it is obvious we do not agree with the programme and policy of the Indian National Congress. But in the various legislatures the Congress Party, or any other party, which stands for the progress and welfare of our motherland will naturally receive our co-operation as we expect to receive their co-operation for the same object. The foundations that have been laid for starting provincial Muslim League Boards are going to last, develop and grow into a much bigger movement and organization than many people at present realise."

"The Punjab," said Mr Jinnah, "is in my opinion an official-ridden province, there being reactionary elements in all three communities." Referring to the Frontier he said: "I have found the Frontier far more politically minded and I see there greater possibilities of cooperation and harmony and I should not be surprised if Frontier works its way up more successfully than most other provinces." He concluded: "I do not want to be aggressive but with the help of the masses we will be able to hammer out a strong bloc to march together with the Hindu for the freedom of the country. Our Hindu friends also have to weed out much of their stocks. When that happens better Hindus and better Moslems will be sent to the legislatures." — API

[1] The interview. *Statesman*, 1 November 1936.

51 Removes Fazlul Huq from League Board[1]

Bombay, November 3 Mr M A Jinnah, President, Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board, has removed Maulvi Fazlul Huq, M L A, from the membership of the Board holding him guilty of breach of solemn agreement, insubordination, disloyalty and defiance of principles and policies laid down by the Board

In a press interview in connection with Maulvi Fazlul Huq's letter appearing in the press charging Mr Jinnah with sudden change of front after his visit to Government House Calcutta, Mr Jinnah said he had not received any such letter from Maulvi Fazlul Huq Mr Jinnah further said the Bengal Governor was his personal friend long before he became the Governor Mr Jinnah did not think there was any need for explanation on his visit to the Governor, which was a friendly one Mr Jinnah further told the press representative that he had written a letter to Maulvi Fazlul Huq dated 2nd October calling for an explanation regarding his certain activities in defiance of the fundamental principles of the League Board He had not received a reply to the above letter till 29th October when he read a summary of the letter, supposed to have been written by Maulvi Fazlul Huq Mr Jinnah said he had not received any such letter from Mr Huq and on 30th October he wrote another letter to him removing his name from the membership of the Board — United Press

[1]Press interview *Tribune* 4 November 1936

52 Addresses Muslim Students— Only ML Will "Deliver the Goods"[1]

Bombay, December 15 Addressing a meeting held under the auspices of the Muslim Students Union, Mr M A Jinnah said When an issue comes, wherever we are, either in the legislatures or outside we will never desert the national cause to fight for the country Replying to criticism levelled against the Muslim League in certain quarters Mr Jinnah said There is no sinister motive behind our organisation We are striving to gather strength so that we may be able to be independent progressive, patriotic and nationalist to stand by the interests of the country We have got to hammer out plans by which two great communities shall come together and work for the common good of the country

Under the present conditions, don't be carried away by slogans entirely divorced from realities of the present conditions of the country The object of the Muslim League is to co-operate with all nationalist and progressive groups of the country At present the Muslim League is the only organisation in the country which will act to deliver the goods on behalf of Muslims The Muslim League is pledged against the new constitution or for replacing it by democratic full self-government Though the League is pledged for the rejection of Reforms it will work to extract the maximum benefit out of the constitution for the uplift of the people Mr Jinnah after explaining the Lucknow Pact, prophesied that it would not be long before leaders of Hindus and Muslims join together to work under a common programme and chalk out a common policy At present it was difficult since the Congress had pledged and had determined a policy with which even a section of the Hindus do not agree He regretted that separate electorates would continue till the time Hindus and Muslims ceased thinking as Hindus and Muslims

[1] Public speech *Civil & Military Gazette* 16 December 1936

53 Appeal for Communal Unity[1]

Nagpur, January 1. "Hindus and Muslims should present a united front. They must stand together and work together for the welfare of this province and the freedom of our motherland", declared Mr. M. A. Jinnah, M.L.A., President of the All India Muslim League, addressing this evening a mixed audience estimated at over 3,000 Hindus and Muslims at Chitnis Park.

Explaining the objective of the League he said that it stood for independent, progressive ideas. Their desire was to send the best representatives to the new Legislatures, who would co-operate with other progressive groups for the uplift, progress and freedom of the Motherland. His advice to Muslims, as also to sister communities, was to produce by the process of hammering fine steel and weed out those who were obstructing their march to freedom. Mr. Jinnah was sure that better minds among both the communities would concentrate on achieving the common objective. He emphasised their duty to ensure that every section of the people of the country was raised to a higher standard and reminded the audience that there could be no hope of progress so long as they had amidst them people, who were neglected or remained useless units of the country.

Depressed Classes

Stressing the need for the uplift of members of the depressed classes, whom the speaker looked upon as equals, he said that he did not bother about temple entry and did not desire to hurt the sentiments of orthodox people. But he wanted to remind them that it was their duty to see that each community secured its proper place in the country.

Since his arrival this morning Mr. Jinnah had been busy holding conversations with the spokesmen of two rival sections of Muslims of the province with a view to bringing about an understanding amongst them on the question of setting up Muslim candidates for the fourteen seats allotted to the community in the new legislature, but so far no agreement has been reached. The conversations are continuing. — API

[1] Public speech. *Tribune*, 3 January 1937.

54. Tributes to Maulana Muhammad Ali: "ML only Organization that Counts"*

A mass meeting of the Muslims of Calcutta was held at Muhammad Ali Park, under the auspices of the Khilafat Committee, to celebrate (*sic*) the death anniversary of the late Maulana Muhammad Ali, on January 3 Mr M A Jinnah presided Over 20 thousand Muslims attended the meeting Dr Zainul Abedin of the Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi and Mr Shafa'atullah Khan in their speeches dwelt on the life, services and sacrifices of Maulana Muhammad Ali and exhorted the Muslims to follow and emulate his great example of a dedicated life and a fight for Islam to the last moment of earthly life

"Champion of Islam"

Mr M A Jinnah was loudly cheered with thundering cries of 'Allah o-Akbar' when he rose to deliver his presidential speech in English in the course of which he said

> Gentlemen I feel proud to be asked to preside over this meeting Maulana Muhammad Ali was a dear friend of mine for more than 30 years I was most closely associated with him This is my proud privilege to preside over this anniversary meeting to mourn his loss and honour his sacred memory
>
> Muhammad Ali was a great champion of Islam He was one of the foremost leaders of India he was a great journalist a master of literature and a scholar He could have shown reason [shone and risen] to the highest position in any walk of life in the world But, as one of the speakers said his was a mission of sacrifice for principle and he actually sacrificed everything for India and Islam He fought Muslims and joined the Congress He fought Hindus and joined the Muslim League He was almost the founder of the All India Muslim League The torch that was lit by Maulana Muhammad Ali and the illustrious father of the present Nawab of Dacca 30 years ago in Bengal was carried by him and by many smaller men right up to the moment of his death He is no more with us in body but his soul is with us Let us carry that torch onward gain strength by his noble and inspiring example of self sacrifice and serve Islam and India to the best of our ability (cheers) This great gathering of the citizens of Calcutta is an unmistakable proof of the greatness of the departed soul We must learn this lesson from it that those who serve and sacrifice are never forgotten by the people The Muslims would not forget the faithful services of a sincere worker It is a lesson to learn
>
> **Torch Lit 30 Years Ago**
>
> Gentlemen Mr Muhammad Ali as I told you was a great political leader Today we are on the threshold of a new

*Public speech *Star of India* 4 January 1937

Constitution in the provinces We shall not be doing justice to the blessed memory of the late Maulana Muhammad Ali if we do not carry the torch he lit 30 years ago onward and forward We are fighting elections and I am sure if he had been living today he would have fought for the Muslim League The Muslim League is the only Muslim political organization that counts I appeal to Muslims to join and make it a strong and really representative Parliament of Muslim India, a body that may speak with unchallenged authority on behalf of the 80 million Muslims of this sub continent

Support League Candidates

"People would come to you for votes with promises It is easy to make big and empty promises but very difficult to fulfil them in real practice You have to judge you have to vote it is for you to see that you do not make mistakes It would not be fair for me to say that every candidate of the Muslim League Board is the best, (I mean by the best a great parliamentarian a great statesman and a great orator) Nowhere in the world you can find a party composed of all parliamentarians and orators That is absolutely impossible But still I say that Muslims should vote for the Muslim League candidates You would ask me why should you support the League and not independent individual candidates

"We are all for League"

'I again answer The All India Muslim League has got its Policy and Programme laid down in black and white Do you approve this policy and programme? (cries of Allah o Akbar and ('we are all for Muslim League') If you do approve why do you not support the League? I do not see any reason why a man should approve the policy of the League and should not work under it Demand of every independent candidate if he has got a different coherent programme to present? What is it that he objects to in the League Programme? What exactly is that different policy? Do not be led away by the cries of Hunger and *Dal Bhat* You must remember that nobody in the world can solve fundamental economic financial and social problems of a country overnight

"Machinery of Control"

Muslim League is not dictated by one or a few persons We have a Central Board and under it Provincial Boards These Boards are responsible bodies When a representative — even a leader of the position of the Nawab of Dacca — departs from the policy and programme of the Muslim League, we will haul him up We have our own rules We have our own regulations We have our machinery of control We can remove his name from our party No individual can defy us Your Muslim League Boards are composed of some men at least whom you can trust There are some persons at least who have served you in the past and who are capable of serving you in the future Your national policy and principles will be maintained through this national controlling Board What an independent member will do? What control is there for an independent member? Who will watch and see whether he was behaving or not?

"Leave Muslims Alone"

'Gentlemen I find in this province too much interference of the Hindus and the Congress in Muslim affairs I warn the Hindus I warn the Congress Leave the Muslims of Bengal alone (Allah o Akbar) Our policy and programme is not a selfish one We are ready and willing to co operate with any group of progressive and independent character provided its policy and programme approximately correspond with that of our own We are not going to be camp followers of any party Mr Jawaharlal Nehru is reported to have said that there are only two parties in India — the Government and the Congress — and others must line up I refuse to line up with the Congress (Allah o Akbar) I refuse to accept this proposition There is a third party in this country and that is Muslim India (Allah o Akbar — loud cheers) We are not going to be dictated to by anybody We are willing as equal partners to come to a settlement with our sister communities in the interest of India

Problem of Poverty

Gentlemen I again warn you Don t be misled by beautiful promises, clap trap and bamboozlement of electioneering campaign I feel more than any man in this country the dire poverty from which our people are suffering You are not going to change it overnight Ours is not the only country that is suffering from it It is an all pervading world disease of civilization We are *ashamed* to acknowledge that it is perhaps worst in India But still I am bold to say that you are not going to abolish poverty tomorrow

Men may promise to abolish the Permanent Settlement tomorrow But in fact it is a moonshine and a false promise Poverty low standard of living suffering disease insanitation and illiteracy can only be removed if you wake up yourself and put the right men in the legislatures and dictate to them the right policy

No Empty, False Promises

We are not going to make false promises The bedrock of our policy and programme is the uplift of the poor Ten items of our programme are entirely for the benefit of the poor and the uplift of the backward classes and we mean to do it We have our men who are determined to carry them out and we will force them to do it Gentlemen believe me that even if we succeed in carrying 5 out of these 10 points we will do a great thing for India and her teeming millions and I assure you that we are firmly determined to implement every word of it wholeheartedly and sincerely The managers of the party are *men* who mean business and are resolved to realize them in practice Gentlemen I appeal to you in the name of the solidarity of the 80 million Muslims of India, I appeal to you in the name of your own interest, I appeal to you in the name of your national organization and unity to see that those who create differences in your camp at this critical juncture are smashed up and the flag of the Muslim League is carried into the Legislatures

Prominent men on the dais were Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, Mr Ferozuddin, Khan Bahadur Muhammad Jan, founder of the Calcutta Muslim School, Maulana Abdur Rauf Danapuri, Hakim Nisar Ahmad Khan, Syed Muhammad Osman, Mr K Nuruddin, M A H Ispahani, Dr Gholam Imam, Yaqub Abdus Sattar, Abdul Aziz Ansari, Mulla Jan Muhammad, Mohsin Khan, M Gholam Hasan, Hashim Abdur Rahman, and Seth Rajab Ali The Khilafat volunteers and the Boy Scouts of the Calcutta Muslim High School with flags made excellent arrangement of the huge meeting which terminated amidst cries of 'Allah-o-Akbar'

55 Challenges Nehru — "There is a Third Party, namely, Musalmans"[1]

Calcutta, January 4 "I regret the Congress interfering in the affairs of Muslims by putting up Muslim candidates in opposition to the League candidates", declared Mr M A Jinnah in Calcutta on Sunday [3 January] when he inaugurated the election campaign on behalf of the Muslim League Parliamentary Board Bengal Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru', continued Mr Jinnah, 'is reported to have said in Calcutta that there are only two parties in the country namely, the Congress and the Government, and others must line up There is a third party namely Musalmans We are not going to be dictated to by anybody We are willing to co-operate with any group of a progressive character provided its programme and policy correspond with our own We are not going to be the camp followers of any party We are ready to work as equal partners with a settlement for the welfare of India

When Mr Jinnah arrived from Nagpur on Sunday morning he was received by members of the Muslim League at the Howrah railway station where a demonstration against him was staged by a group of Muslims with black flags — AP

[1] Public speech *Civil & Military Gazette* 5 January 1937

56. ML Board Dissension Among Two Nagpur Groups[1]

Nagpur, January 2 (By Mail) With reference to the failure of his efforts to bring about an understanding between two sections of Muslims in the province, Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League Board, has issued the following Press statement

Both parties have accepted the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League Of this I was glad and when they came to Bombay their differences were only with regard to the nomination of candidates and hence the two boards stood apart and both wanted to be recognised by the Central Board of the All India Muslim League

'I was pleased when they agreed to a pact agreeing to a common list of candidates to be adopted on 22 December There was to be one Board to be affiliated to and recognised by the Central League Board as soon as possible according to our rules But unfortunately after their return (to Nagpur) Mr M Y Shariff and his colleagues informed me that Mr Syed Rauff Shah and his colleagues had repudiated the pact whereas Mr Rauff Shah and his colleagues informed me that Mr Shariff and his colleagues had repudiated the pact This brought me to Nagpur Without going into the question as to who was responsible for not being willing to carry out the terms I asked whether they were now in my presence willing to stand by the pact and carry out the terms they had agreed a few days ago in Bombay I found that Mr Rauff Shah and his colleagues were willing to stand by the pact, but Mr Shariff (President of the Provincial League Board) informed me that as his party had already passed a resolution adopting their candidates after the repudiation of the pact by Mr Rauff Shah and his colleagues they now could not go back and were unable to implement the pact Hence no settlement could be arrived at

[1]Press statement, *Tribune* 6 January 1937

57. Unite Under ML Banner[1]

Nagpur (By Mail) "I want Muslims to unite and maintain their position in public life," observed Mr Jinnah addressing a large gathering of Muslims held under the auspices of the Muslim Association, while here After stressing the need of inculcating, patriotic and national feeling he said that in the first place they must devote their attention to setting affairs at home in order They had to do a good deal of spadework as they were still backward, socially, economically and politically

India today, continued Mr Jinnah, was in a melting pot The India Act was not a permanent thing and owing to its transitory nature could not last for more than a decade What they were not concerned with was the problem of their uplift He wanted that Muslims should stand on their own merits, not as beggars looking for concessions either from the Government or other communities Pandit Nehru said the other day that there were two parties in the country, the Government and the Congress, and others must line up with the latter Mr Jinnah said that the Congress with its predetermined policy naturally claimed to represent the country What he wished to emphasise was that Muslims must organize themselves under the banner of the Muslim League and speak with united voice It was for them to decide whether they were with one of the two parties, government or the Congress but let them reach a unanimous decision If they organised themselves, whichever way they went they would be respected and heard The position today was that none seemed to care 'what you think' The speaker, therefore, advised them to organise the community into one compact body whose voice could not be challenged

Mr Jinnah concluding, declared that he was convinced that Indian freedom would be won the day when Muslims and other communities cleansed those elements which obstructed their common path to progress — API

[1]Public speech *Star of India* 6 January 1937

58. "Hindus and Muslims Could Join Hands"[1]

Dacca, January 8 Mr M A Jinnah who arrived here yesterday with Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque, Education Minister, Bengal, addressed a public meeting last night at the Curzon Hall explaining the policy and principle of the All India Muslim League

He said that at present there was a fundamental difference between the Muslims and the Congress and he felt that the Lucknow Pact between the Congress and the League stood out as a landmark in the political history of India and if the Muslims had been able to settle their differences once, Mr Jinnah saw no reason why the same could not be achieved again It was for that reason that the League was endeavouring by systematic organisation to produce the best materials among the Muslims

Both the Hindus and Muslims, he said, were required to weed out the obstructive and objectionable elements He asked those of his Hindu friends who got delirious over the Communal Award to drop that attitude and not to make a fetish of it He asked them to think of the larger interests of the country There was a certain section of the Press, he said, that suffered from the communal phobia Mr Jinnah asked them to understand that it served no purpose On the contrary it led to bitterness They could not achieve anything by using the Press for the purpose of misrepresentation and propagation of untruth Proceeding, Mr Jinnah said, what was required was sound common sense, practical wisdom and better understanding to achieve the freedom of India, and he was sure the Muslims would not lag behind in the struggle for freedom

Common Programme

In spite of separate electorate and in spite of the difficulty that faced the country, continued Mr Jinnah, the Hindus and Muslims could join hands and form one party, provided they could agree upon a common policy and programme according to which they could work together both inside the Legislature and outside This was in their hands today He appealed to the Muslims to support the All India Muslim League and its policy and programme It was the only organised body and an all-India body Solidarity and unity among the Muslims were the first essential for their progress

[1]Public speech, *Star of India* 9 January 1937

The League candidates, when returned on their pledge to the League and its policy and programme, would be under the control of the League's Board and party discipline Any independent candidate or mushroom group, he said, would not, when returned, be responsible to anybody and they would act and do what they liked They were selfish and standing in the way of unity of Muslims

Charge Repudiated

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M Azizul Haque, Education Minister addressing the meeting exhorted the students to study and understand the present political facts and circumstances in the country but advised them to keep aloof from party politics and party factions as long as they remained students in the interest of their studies He repudiated the charge of communalism which was brought against the Muslims The great Indian civilisation comprised Hindu and Muslim cultures equally He refused to believe that to become a good Indian a Hindu must cease to be a good Hindu and a Muslim must cease to be a good Muslim The salvation of the country lay in proper and equal development of both the great communities

From Curzon Hall, Mr Jinnah and the Education Minister went to the Muslim Hall where they addressed the students the former on the necessity of Muslim organisation and the latter on the great ideals of Islam They left Dacca this morning for Mymensingh from where they will proceed to Comilla — API

59 Vote for ML Nominees[1]

Mymensingh, January 9 Mr M A Jinnah, League leader, arrived at Mymensingh on January 8, accompanied by the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque Large number of people including Pleaders, Muktears and leading men of the district received them at the station amidst shouts of Allah-o-Akbar

A public meeting was held at the Muslim Institute where a mammoth gathering had assembled Mr Jinnah explained the aims and objects of the Muslim League, necessity of Muslim solidarity and the importance of League Party's success in the Assembly election and requested Muslims to vote for League nominees who are pledged to carry out the policy and programme of the League and serve the Proja [People's] interest Any breach of the pledge would render the League members' removal from the Party even if they were the biggest of men He warned the voters not to believe false promises of designing people Other communities have strong parties, the Muslims should forget differences and unite under the banner of the Muslim League

Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque explained Mr Jinnah's statements in Bengali and assured them that the Muslim League would sincerely work for the Proja interest It was this conviction which induced a Proja man like himself to join the League The Hon'ble Minister and Mr Jinnah will address meetings at Muktagacha Gopalpur and Ghatail in Tangail Moulana Ruhul Amin addressed monster [*sic*] gatherings at Sombuganj, Fullpur, Shorarchar and Gonentola The mammoth gathering was favourably impressed by these speeches and promised to support wholeheartedly the Muslim League candidates

[1]Public speech *Star of India* 9 January 1937

60 "Separate Electorate would bring out Best Minds of Muslims"[1]

Dacca, January 10 Mr M A Jinnah, addressing the students of the Salimullah Muslim Hall of the Dacca University, laid special stress on the Muslim solidarity not only of Bengal but of the whole of India The Muslim League programme, he said, contains cent per cent national principles Mr Jinnah yet longed for separate electorate because it would bring out the best minds of the Muslim community for co-operating with those of the sister community if the latter would consent to co operate

The Bengal Muslims will have 119 seats in the Bengal legislature which meant greater responsibility to be discharged satisfactorily and manfully Though the Governor theoretically will have special power in the coming constitution he would not be able to do whatever he liked against the opinion of the legislature and the ministry He expected the Muslim Hall students to lead the whole of Bengal nay the whole of India and to carry the torch of Muslim unity throughout the length and breadth of the motherland who expected much from them — United Press

[1] Published in the *Tribune*, 12 January 1937

61. Ghuznavi-Burdwan Pact[1]

Bombay, January 14 Mr Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, returned to Bombay this morning from the tour of Bengal

Interviewed by the Associated Press regarding the Ghuznavi-Burdwan Pact,[2] he said "I have read the correspondence between Sir A H Ghuznavi and the Maharaja of Burdwan I was not invited to the Third Round Table Conference for reasons well-known and, therefore, I cannot say what took place in England in 1933, nor have I any knowledge of what is referred to in Sir A H Ghuznavi's letter I had no knowledge nor information nor any one consulted me regarding these proposals On the merits of the proposals themselves I shall not be justified in expressing any opinion without the authority at any rate of the Council of the All India Muslim League It will be for the Council of the Muslim League to consider and decide one way or the other, but I must say that these two gentlemen have proceeded in their individual capacity and, therefore, they have adopted a wrong procedure "

Regarding the suggestion that he had been requested as Leader of the Independent Party in the Assembly to instruct his colleagues not to attend the session till February 23 Mr Jinnah said that he had received a letter from Mr Bhulabhai Desai, Leader of the Congress Party, to that effect, but he had no time to consult his colleagues and, therefore, he did not know what was going to happen He agreed that it was inconvenient to attend, and he himself might not be able to attend the session for sometime as he would be engaged in election work — API

[1]Interview, *Tribune*, 15 January 1937

[2]Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi (1876 1953) a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly from 1926 to 1945 and Maharaja of Burdwan Sir Bijay Chand Mahtab (1881 1941) President of the Bengal Anti Communal Award Committee signed a three point agreement on 7 January 1937 concerning communal settlement in Bengal The points were That the Communal Award (1932) should be accepted subject to revision at the end of 10 years unless modified earlier by mutual agreement of the communities concerned that the provincial cabinet shall contain an equal number of Hindu and Muslim Ministers that there shall be equal proportion in government services subject to the reservation of an agreed percentage for members of the European, Anglo Indian and Christian communities The acceptance of the agreement, according to Sir A H Ghuznavi, was subject to the proviso that all agitation against the Communal Award must cease

62. ML Ready to Co-operate: Condemns Nehru's Statement[1]

Bombay (By Mail) "The urgent question facing every nationalist in India today is how to create unity out of diversity and not fight each other. The All India Muslim League is trying to do this in its own humble way and it has no quarrel with those who are fighting for the country's freedom. As I have always maintained, the Muslim League is prepared to join hands with any progressive party in the fight for the country's freedom but to achieve this the question of minorities must be settled satisfactorily. Here I am not talking of only Muslims but all minorities. Further, we are not prepared to merge ourselves into any organisation, however great it may be and however advanced its programme and policy may be, unless it is determined by common consent."

This passage appears in a long statement issued by Mr. M. A. Jinnah in reply to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

"On November 3, 1936," continues Mr. Jinnah, "I stated in my interview: 'It is obvious that we do not agree or endorse the programme and policy of the Indian National Congress. But in the various Legislature the Congress party or any other party which stands for the progress and welfare of our motherland will naturally receive our co-operation for the same object.' This statement of mine incurred the displeasure of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and he instead of appreciating it, gave a reply that he did not care what 'may be or might be,' but what he wanted was real fighters. I did not wish to take any notice of this flippant criticism because it is no use indulging in controversies amongst ourselves. The thing is that we should try and understand each other. I might have replied to him, and I do so now in self-defence. Where was this great fighter when he agreed to the Second Round Table Conference after having boycotted the first? Did he not know that the Round Table Conference was called on the basis of the announcement made by His Majesty's government on October 31, 1929?[2]

British Policy

"It runs as follows:

> The goal of British policy was stated in the declaration of August, 1917 to be that of providing for the gradual development of self governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of

[1] Press statement, *Civil & Military Gazette*, 22 January 1937.
[2] For the text of this announcement see appendix V.

> responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire But in view of the doubts, which have been expressed both in Great Britain and India regarding the interpretation to be placed on the intentions of the British Government in enacting the statute of 1919 I am authorised on behalf of His Majesty's Government to state clearly that in their judgment it is implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress as there contemplated is the attainment of Dominion Status In the full realisation of this policy it is evidently important that the Indian States should be afforded an opportunity of finding their place and even if we cannot at present exactly foresee on what lines this development may be shaped it is from every point of view desirable that whatever can be done should be done to ensure that action taken now is not inconsistent with the attainment of the ultimate purpose which those whether in British India or the States, who look forward to some unity of All India have in view '

"But this is not all When the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was arrived at what did this great fighter do, again? Where was he? The Congress accepted this position and I am quoting from the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement, Clause 2, which runs as follows

> "As regards constitutional questions the scope of future discussions is stated with the assent of His Majesty s Government to be with the object of considering further the scheme for constitutional government of India discussed at the Round Table Conference Of the scheme there outlined Federation is an essential part so also are Indian responsibility and reservations or safeguards in the interests of India for such matters as for instance defence, external affairs the position of minorities the financial credit of India and discharge of obligations '

"Does it lie in his mouth to parade so much that he stands for complete independence of India, which when it suits him becomes the substance of independence?

Incoherent

"Now, coming to his recent pronouncement I am glad that he admits that he has not given full consideration to my speech as he has been rushing about from place to place That may account for his incoherent statement In the first place, what he said, which was reported in all the papers, is as follows

'There are only two parties in the country — the Government and the Congress The rest must line up ' I was addressing a meeting where I was appealing to Musalman voters to support the League candidates and I said I regret to say I find much interference of the Hindus and the Congress in setting up candidates against the Muslim League candidates Our policy and programme is not a selfish one We are ready and willing

to co-operate with any group of a progressive and independent nature, provided its policy and programme approximately correspond with that of our own

"Then I naturally could not allow the claim of Pandit Jawaharlal that the Congress represents the whole of India and that there is no other party of any consequence It is not only devoid of any foundation, but calculated to do enormous harm I was speaking only on behalf of the Musalmans But surely Pandit Jawaharlal knows that there are other parties also in the field May I remind him that he wrote at least three essays recently with regard to the policy and the attitude of the Congress towards the Communal Award in order to placate the other parties and the Congress men and that he temporarily secured some agreement which is again in the melting pot? And yet in his [own] fashion he considers that the communal question is not vital

'Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is torn between Benares and Moscow and the rest of his statement where he deals with social and economic matters and his claim that he has got a large body of Musalman followers cannot be accepted by any intelligent man If he has got the solid backing of the Musalmans why is he not contesting every seat from the Musalman electorate instead of confining himself only to one or two seats in Bombay and Bengal and one or two in the Punjab? All told I do not think there are more than a dozen candidates that are set up by the Congress in the Musalman electorates And why create this controversy and attack the Muslim League whose policy and programme is a full-blooded national one? Only we do not agree with certain methods and means to which the Congress stands pledged The communal question or the Hindu Muslim question, he ought to know by now is purely a question of minorities and political problem which must be adjusted Musalmans happen to be the largest, but besides the Musalmans there are other minorities in the country and it is the duty of every Indian to create a sense of security and confidence so far as they are concerned by meeting them equitably

If I remember right not very long ago Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru speaking to the Frontier Pathans promised to give a blank cheque to the Musalmans which he was willing to write with an Indian pen on swadeshi paper Was it an important issue at that time and not a trifling matter as he is now preaching? What has happened to that blank cheque? The Congress has not the monopoly, nor is it the sole custodian of Indian nationalism

Independent Party

"When he refers to the Independent Party in the Assembly with contempt he utterly ignores all the services that they have rendered But for this party the Congress party would not have carried a single measure and, if he looks at the division list for the last two years, as admitted by Mr Bhulabhai Desai, the majority of the Musalmans have voted for national interest in spite of the fact that they are returned on their individual efforts and from separate electorates He says that the Muslim League represents a group of Muslims, no doubt highly estimable persons, but functioning in the higher regions of the upper middle-class But what is the Congress high command composed of? They are also estimable persons of the upper middle class Where are the peasants and workers and besides what is the total number of the members of the Congress? Even a large bulk of patriotic and nationalistic Hindus are not members of the Congress, because they do not believe in the Congress methods

"I am thankful to him for his kind offer when he says "The Congress welcomes all co-operation — It will co-operate with pleasure with the Muslim League as with other organisations (and I am glad that he recognises that there are other organisations also) but the basis of this co operation must be anti-Imperialism and the good of the masses In its opinion no pacts and compromises between handfuls of upper class people and ignoring the interests of the masses have any real or permanent value It is with the masses that it deals It knows that the masses, Hindu or Muslim, care little for communal questions They demand urgently and insistently economic relief and in order to obtain this political freedom on this broad basis there can be the fullest co-operation between all the elements in the country who seek the good of the people as a whole and their freedom from Imperialism

"Does he think that the policy and programme which he is preaching will meet the demand which he describes as urgent and insistent for economic relief and would obtain this political freedom? Let him draw up a concrete and practical scheme, which will meet the urgent and insistent demand of the masses and which will give them real economic relief immediately, and I assure him that the Muslim League will offer its fullest co-operation, because he is not the only Indian who feels for those who are suffering from poverty and hardships

"He makes a great mistake when he assumes to be the sole custodian of the interests of the masses I would ask him also

to define how he wants us to fight Imperialism. At one time he says we must wipe off all the Princes and the Indian States, destroy all capitalists, confiscate their lands and property etc. and set up immediately a Socialistic form of government. At another time he says we must present a united front for the achievement of freedom first and we will decide everything else through a constituent assembly at some unknown date, when we have got possession of power or when we are on the verge of the possession of power. I wonder whether the masses, who demand and require urgent and insistent economic relief, can understand what he means.

League's Aim

"The Muslim League is willing and ready and, in fact, it is part of our programme and policy to co-operate with any other responsible party, provided a common policy and programme can be agreed upon and which will create a really united front. The League does not believe in assuming a non-communal label, with a few adventurers or credulous persons belonging to other communities thrown in and who have no backing of their people, and thus pass off as the only party entitled to speak and act on behalf of the whole of India. I flatter myself that I am put in the same category as Bhai Parma Nand by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru but may I draw his attention to the fact that there is a vital difference between him and me for he stands for Hindu Raj whereas I stand for a full democratic responsible government for the people of India?

"I wonder whether he realises where his preaching will land him and the innocent people who may follow him. I would request him to come to earth and study more the existing conditions and facts facing us and apply his energy and his ability as a practical man to the solution of problems that are facing us and cry a halt and give up his fantastic programme. Is he going to rise or remain as Peter Pan,[1] who never grew up?"

[1]Hero of J.M. Barrie's play (1904) of the same name: a person who retains youthful features and is immature.

63 Election Campaign — Reported Heckling at Ahmedabad Meeting[1]

Ahmedabad, February 1 Uproarious scenes marked the proceedings at a meeting of Muslims which was addressed late last night by Mr M A Jinnah in support of the Muslim League candidates for the Bombay Legislative Assembly Mr Jinnah said that the Government that was to be set up under the new Government of India Act would be quite different from the existing one A Voice "Muslim League candidates are pro-Government" Mr Jinnah retorted "But that Government is gone"

Mr Jinnah was subjected to continuous heckling[2] and uproarious scenes followed He tried to continue his speech several times, but the uproar continued and finally he left the meeting The meeting was subsequently addressed by speakers opposed to the Muslim League — API

[1]News report *Civil & Military Gazette* 2 February 1937

[2]A contradiction of the news report appeared in *Civil & Military Gazette*, 5 February 1937 which is as follows Bombay February 3 With reference to the report from Ahmedabad published on Tuesday regarding the meeting addressed by Mr M A Jinnah at which he was stated to have been heckled the Associated Press is informed that the report is incorrect It was stated that Mr Jinnah was not allowed to complete his speech which is wrong He completed the speech and after that a supporter of an anti Muslim League candidate wanted to ask a few questions Although this was not part of the programme of the meeting, the man was permitted to do so Questions were asked in a manner in which they probably did not find favour with the audience who shouted him down Mr Jinnah himself and the President of the meeting tried their best to persuade the audience to give the questioner a chance to speak, but the audience refused to do so and therefore the President declared the meeting closed — AP A similar report of contradiction also appeared in *Star of India*, 4 February 1937

64. Reply to Brelvi's Statement[1]

Bombay, February 9 Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has issued the following statement in reply to Mr S A Brelvi, Congress candidate, contesting the Bombay South Urban Muslim Constituency

I am issuing this statement as an appeal has been made to me by the *Bombay Chronicle* although I feel that we have already been prejudged and condemned and owing to the unfortunate candidature of Mr Brelvi I feel I am before a tribunal where the judge and the prosecutor are the same Big headlines are given and the poster in question has been associated with the All India Muslim League No enquiry was made from the League office as to the origin before we were associated with it and after making careful enquiries now I find that the All India Muslim League machinery has nothing to do with it

Interview and After

'It is well known that Mr Brelvi has carried on one sided propaganda in the *Bombay Chronicle* and maligned the All India Muslim League and everyone connected with it ever since his interview with me before the Muslim League candidates were adopted in October last He made to me most improper proposals that I should keep one seat vacant in the South and allow him to stand on the Congress ticket Failing that I should adopt nominally a League candidate but in fact should not oppose him It is obvious that I could not do that It is incorrect when he says that he informed me that he was standing as a candidate and that I said I would fight him by every means What I did tell him was that if he stood against a League candidate I had no alternative but to support the League candidate and fight him Thereafter it is unfortunate that Mr Brelvi appealed to the religious sentiments of the voters and issued on his card an isolated sentence of Maulana Muhammad Ali I wish to declare that if India wins *Swaraj* it will satisfy the religious requirements of a Muslim in India This was in December and January

Not content with that he started in January answering imaginary questions A question was What is the Congress policy with regard to Islamic questions and Muslim interests? The next question was If any question about Islamic religion and Islamic interests comes up what would be your attitude towards it? His answer was I assure you that as far as purely Islamic questions are concerned I shall act according to the principles of Islam

All About Poster

Not content with that he in his speech on the 27th January, 1937 says It was the Congress and the Muslims in the Congress

[1] Press statement *Deccan Times* 9 February 1937

who took the lead in organising the non co operation to redress the Khilafat wrong Where, then were Mr Jinnah Sir Ali Md Khan Dehlavi Md Ali Allahbux and the Knights and Khan Bahadurs who are now the leading lights of the Bombay Presidency Muslim League? When a similar issue arises in regard to the honour of Islam will these gentlemen be prepared to make the sacrifice that Congress Muslims are always prepared to make in accordance with the dictates of Islam? In fact nothing would be more appreciated, observed Mr Brelvi amidst laughter If Mr Jinnah or Mr Allahbux or Mr Hosen Beg Muhammad courted imprisonment in the cause of Islam

As a Congress man whose attitude is one of non intervention in the matter of religion Mr Brelvi has excited the religious passions of Muslims Having taken the initiative if from some source the poster is published surely the League is not going to be condemned for it The Muslim League wants to stand on principles and policies and wants to fight for the programme which is political

What did Mr Brelvi say about the League in his speech on January 27 1937? He says I consider it my duty as a Muslim to work for the independence of my country and it is because I am placing this clear issue before my Muslim brethren whether as Muslims they want independence or political slavery I am receiving from them an increasingly encouraging response that has frightened the political reactionaries who have taken possession of Muslim League organisation in Bombay in spite of Mr Jinnah Surely this insinuation that the Muslim League and everyone connected with it stand for political slavery is not a clean way of fighting Mr Brelvi says 'The Muslim League does not want complete independence for this country The League does not want to reject the constitution but to work it for what it is worth Will Mr Brelvi not take the oath of allegiance when he is elected? Is that better than creed of All India Muslim League which stands for full democratic responsible government for India? Even Gandhiji has made his position clear recently that he is willing to accept Dominion Status? Does he also stand for political slavery of India?

Vital Differences

'The vital difference between the Congress policy and programme and the League's is not confined to the mere slogans of independence and wrecking The fundamental differences between the Congress ticket and the League are with regard to the methods and principles Does Mr Brelvi stand for the vital principles of the League that the rights and interests of minorities should be safeguarded on an equitable basis and that until we come to our own settlement which I desire more than anybody else the Communal Award should stand? Will Mr Brelvi stand by the political economic and social interests of the Musalmans or follow the orders and the mandate of the Congress as he is bound to The Congress stands for direct action The Musalmans are not prepared to such a course at present as it is bound to be suicidal under the present conditions

I must say that I am surprised that anyone who understands the elementary principles which should guide a party should think that the Muslim League should be expected to support a man who

stands on a different party ticket against a candidate adopted by the Muslim League I cannot believe the United Provinces Muslim League Board having put up an official candidate of the League and yet are supporting the Congress candidate contesting against the League candidate But where there is no League candidate certainly it is open to a party to support a candidate standing on the ticket of another party

Plea for Clean Fight

In the conclusion I desire that whatever may be our differences the contest should be on honest and clean lines and on principles policies and programme and I appeal to everyone to cease personal vilification and misrepresentation

M A Jinnah
February 9 1937'

65. Appeal to Legislators Join ML Party[1]

Mr M A Jinnah, President, All India Muslim League, invited all the elected Muslim Members for the Bombay Provincial Legislature on Sunday, the 28th February 1937, at the Islamia Club The following members of the Muslim League party and the Independents attended the meeting

1 Sir A M K Dehlvi
2 Mr I I Chundrigar
3 Mr M I Patel
4 Mr Faizmohamed Khan
5 Mr Mohamed Amin Tambe
6 Mr A G Kazi
7 Khan Bahadur Abdul Latif Haji Hazrat Khan
8 Khan Bahadur S Janmohamed
9 Mr K A Janvekar
10 Mr A N Ilkal
11 Mr M S C Mitha
12 Mr S M Hasan
13 Mr M M Patel
14 Khan Sahib Abdur Rahim Hakim
15 Mr Gheewalla
16 Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim
17 Mrs Salima Faiz Tyebji
18 Mr Mohamed Ali Allah Bux
19 Mr Husein Baigmohamed
20 Mr M M Killodar

Independents

21 Dr K A Hameed
22 Mr A Sattar Khan
23 Mr Fazal I Rahimtoollah
24 Mr Ali Bahadur Khan
25 Mr A H I Bhagat
26 Mr M Y Nurie
27 Mr A E Singapuri
28 Khan Sahib Ahmed Kassam Kachi
29 Mr Khawja Bashiruddin Kazi
30 Haji Amir Saheb Mohiuddin

Mr Jinnah addressed all the members present In his speech Mr Jinnah stressed the need for concerted action by the Muslim

[1]News report, 28 February 1937 National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad, Quaid-i-Azam Papers File 139, pp 21 2

members in the Legislatures and pressed upon them the importance of achieving unity and solidarity in the Muslim group Mr Jinnah then asked the Independent members individually to join the League Party in the Legislature The Independent members requested that time should be given to them till 6 P M They came and met the League Party at 7 P M Except Mr K B Kazi they all made a statement which was read out at the meeting by Mr Nurie The purport of their statement was that the time had not yet come for them to join the League group and that they could better serve the interest of the Muslim Community and the country by remaining Independent for the present They have also asked in their statement whether Mr Jinnah contemplates to dissolve the present Parliamentary Board and reconstitute it on proper lines Thereafter the League Party commenced its business, Mr Jinnah being in chair

Sir A M K Dehlvi was duly proposed and seconded for the Leadership of the Party and was unanimously elected Mr S M Hasan and Khan Bahadur Jan Muhammad as well were unanimously elected as the Secretary and the Whip of the Party respectively After the election of office bearers of the party following resolution was passed unanimously

> That no member of the Muslim League Party in the Legislatures shall negotiate with any other group or party or the Governor except through their Leader and subject to the confirmation by the party

By a separate resolution a committee consisting of the following members was formed to frame the rules of the party for the conduct and business of the party, and submit the draft rules for the approval and confirmation of the party at its next meeting Members of the Committee are

1 Sir A M K Dehlvi
2 Mrs Salima Faiz Tyebji
3 Mr S M Hasan
4 Mr M E Patel
5 Mr K A Jaivekar

Sir Dehlvi then proposed a vote of thanks to Mr Jinnah which was carried amidst applause And the meeting terminated its business for the day

66. Statistics of Election Success: Features of ML Policy[1]

The programme and policy of the Muslim League candidates who have been returned to the provincial councils was outlined by Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, in an interview Mr Jinnah said that the two main features in their programme would be that the League Party would utilise the legislatures with a view to extracting the maximum benefit to the country and that they would attempt to get the present provincial constitution and the proposed central Constitution replaced immediately by full democratic self-government The President of the League also reviewed the position of the Party in the various provincial legislatures

"This is the first time that the All India Muslim League from the centre, without effective provincial or district organisations, has made an attempt at mass contact, and has entered the field of elections to the provincial legislatures under the new constitution, and the task was, as I have often repeated, "stupendous," said Mr Jinnah He added 'This was so, firstly because the Muslims are in every way backward and are not organised, and, secondly, because we have not a network of existing organisation in the shape of provincial and district bodies But a beginning had to be made and I am more than satisfied at the result of the first attempt "

Features of Policy

"Our policy and programme are well known," continued the League President "It is summed up in two main features (1) that the present provincial constitution and the proposed central constitution should be replaced immediately by full democratic self government, and (2) that in the meantime, the representatives of the Muslim League in the various legislatures will utilise the legislatures in order to extract the maximum benefit out of the constitution for the uplift of the people in various spheres of national life We shall co-operate with any progressive group in the legislatures for the welfare and in the interests of the provinces and the country generally "

Referring to the strength of the League Party in the various legislatures, Mr Jinnah said "The result of our efforts has been that in Bengal, the Muslim League Party has secured 50 per cent

[1]Press interview *Times of India* 1 March 1937 A shorter version of the report appeared in *Tribune* 2 March 1937

of the seats and is the largest Muslim group In the United Provinces, it put up only 35 candidates for the lower house and secured 29 seats out of a total of 66 In Madras, the Muslim League Board put up 11 candidates for the Assembly and three for the Council, and has succeeded except for one seat in the Assembly Bombay has achieved the highest success It has secured two-thirds out of a total number of 30 seats, and I have already received telegrams from the independent candidates expressing their desire to join the League Group

Failure in Punjab

"In the Punjab, I admit, most regretfully we have failed In Bihar, no Muslim League Parliamentary Board was set up In the Central Provinces, both the parties of Mr Rauff Shah and Mr Shariff applied to be affiliated to the Muslim League But under the rules, Mr Rauff Shah and Mr Shariff being members of the Central Parliamentary Board, had the authority to constitute a board, and as they could not agree with me in spite of my strenuous efforts, and as the applications to be affiliated were not given in time, it was considered best that they should take the verdict of the electorate, and whichever party commands a majority, that party board may be recognised by the Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board

Situation in Assam

"With regard to Assam, the Muslim League has carried away nine seats out of 34 In the North-West Frontier Province, Orissa and Sind, no Muslim League Board was formed

"Muslims have every reason to be congratulated on this achievement after a work of only a few months," Mr Jinnah went on to say "It is up to them now to organise throughout India and to take their proper place and share in the administration and governance of the provinces and the country The constitution and policy of the League do not prevent us On the contrary, it is part and parcel of our basic principle that we are free and ready to co-operate with any group or party from the very inception, or inside the legislature, if the basic principles are determined by common consent "

67 Post-Election League Policy[1]

Bombay, February 28 "We are free and ready to co-operate with any group or party if the basic principles are determined by common consent", says Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League Parliamentary Board, in a Press interview reviewing the position of his party in various legislatures

He adds that the League members in the legislatures would utilise the legislatures with a view to extracting the maximum benefit from them for the country League members would attempt to get the present provincial constitution and the proposed central constitutions replaced immediately by a full democratic self-government

Reviewing the elections, Mr Jinnah said that this was for the first time that the All India Muslim League, without effective provincial or district organisations, made an attempt at mass contact from the centre and the League's task had been stupendous This was so firstly because Muslims were in every way backward and were not organised and secondly League had not got the network of provincial and district organisations A beginning had, however, been made and Mr Jinnah was satisfied with the results In general the League has captured 50 per cent of Muslim seats In the U P 29 out of 35 League candidates have been successful In Madras, 10 out of 11 League nominees have succeeded In Bombay two-thirds of Muslim seats in the Assembly have gone to the League Mr Jinnah regretfully admitted that the League had failed in the Punjab The League had not set up League Parliamentary Board in Bihar, N W F P, Orissa and Sind In Assam nine out of 34 Muslim seats have gone to the League while two parties led by two different members of the Muslim League Parliamentary Board contested and the League would take the verdict of the electorate and affiliate the party which commands a majority of seats

League Party

On the invitation of Mr M A Jinnah the elected Muslim members of the Bombay Legislature, both League members as well as Independents, met today and three of the latter agreed to join the League, bringing the League Party's strength in the

[1]Press interview *Star of India* 2 March 1937

Bombay Assembly to 22 The remaining 9 Independents, including Dr Hamid, Mr Nurrie of Ahmedabad and Mr Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtoola an ex-Tariff Board member, have issued a statement declining to join the Assembly League Party, holding that "the time has not yet come for them to join the League group' They add We think that we shall better serve the interests of the Muslim community in the country by remaining Independents for the present We, however, wish to state that we have at our heart equally great feelings of regard for the Muslim community and shall always unhesitatingly support its cause"

In conclusion the signatories wish to know if Mr Jinnah contemplates dissolving the present League Parliamentary Board and 'reconstitute it on proper lines"

The Assembly League Party later elected Sir A M K Delhavi as leader, Mr S M Hasan (East Kandesh) as Secretary and Khan Bahadur S Jan Muhammad as Whip of the Party The Party also resolved that no member of the League Party shall negotiate with any other group or party or the Governor except through the leader and subject to confirmation by the party By another resolution the League appointed a committee to frame rules for the conduct and business of the Party — API

68. "Heart Pulsating" for Indian Freedom[1]

New Delhi, March 13 Addressing the Arabic College Union last night, Mr M A Jinnah ridiculed the idea of the Congress 'wrecking' the new Constitution by accepting office Acceptance of offices meant, declared Mr Jinnah, working the new Constitution which the Congress had not the courage to admit On his part, he frankly admitted that the new Constitution was not acceptable to the Muslims and that the Muslims were determined to replace it by a full democratic Constitution In this demand they should not budge an inch

Proceeding, Mr Jinnah said that there was no difference between the Congress and the Muslims except that the latter stood for the establishment of the rights of the minority community He declared that his heart was pulsating for the freedom of the country Genuine unity he concluded between Muslims and Hindus was only possible when both the communities had developed a better mind by an internal organisation — API

[1]Public speech, *Star of India* 15 March 1937

69. Independent Elected Members Told "Door is Open"[1]

London, (*sic*) March 15 In the course of a statement to the Associated Press, Mr Jinnah said

> I was invited by various members who were elected as independents and on the ticket of the N A P After hearing their views and discussing with them matters relating to achievement of unity and solidarity which were pressed upon me by them I placed their views before the Muslim League Parliamentary Party and they are willing to reciprocate their desire for complete unity and have passed resolution This is one more proof on the part of the All India Muslim League that we stand on our policy programme and principles and if those who are sincerely willing to stand by them, sign our pledge and follow our policy the door is open and they are welcome " — API

[1]Press statement *Tribune* 16 March 1937

70. Office Acceptance Congress Formula Same as League's[1]

New Delhi, March 20 Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, in an interview, with an Associated Press representative on the Congress resolution on acceptance of office said

"I congratulate the right wing Congress leaders for having carried the Congress with them They have adopted a formula which is practically the same as was adopted by the All India Muslim League on April 12 1936 namely in the present conditions we should utilise the constitution for what it is worth The condition that ministerships shall not be accepted unless the leader of the Congress Party in the Legislature is satisfied and able to state publicly that the Governor will not use his powers of interference or set aside the advice of the Ministers in regard to their constitutional activities is a surplusage

Governor's Duties

"The Instrument of Instructions (clause 8) enjoins the governor as follows

> In all matters within the scope of the executive authority of the province save in relation to the functions which he is required by or under the Act to exercise in his discretion our Governor shall in the exercise of the powers conferred upon him be guided by the advice of his Ministers unless in his opinion so to be guided would be inconsistent with the fulfilment of any of the special responsibilities which by the Act are committed to him or with the proper discharge of any of the functions which he otherwise under the Act is required to exercise in his individual judgment, in any of which cases our Governor shall notwithstanding his Ministers advice act in exercise of the powers by or under the Act conferred upon him in such a manner as to his individual judgment seems requisite for the due discharge of the responsibilities and functions aforesaid But he shall be studious so to exercise his powers as not to enable his Ministers to rely upon his special responsibilities in order to relieve themselves of responsibilities which are properly their own '

Sole Judge

"What will be the value of such a futile assurance which is implied and has been repeatedly proclaimed by the various Governors and the Governor General? The test is who will be the judge and who will decide as to whether a particular measure of Act proposed by the Congress in the Legislature or in the administrative

[1]Press interview *Civil & Military Gazette*, 21 March 1937

sphere is or is not constitutional activities So long as the Governor is the sole and ultimate judge the position remains exactly the same as laid down in the Act and the Instrument of Instructions It may, however appeal to the imagination of some people that the Congress has laid down something novel But it is obvious that no wise Governor will wantonly attempt to restrict the operation of responsible Government conceded within a limited sphere Anyhow the bogey of wrecking the constitution has disappeared and we are now within the domain of constitutional activities and this we are obliged to do because there is no united front

"Now struggling as we are for national self government perhaps it will be easier for the All India Muslim League parties to co operate with other progressive parties as the Congress is also lined up I now urge upon the Musalmans of India to make every effort to organise the Musalmans all over India and make the All India Muslim League and its policy and programme a success I appeal to those Musalmans particularly who feel strongly as anybody else in this country for national self government and freedom of India to rally round the Muslim League banner

Bahraich By Election

We have decided to contest the seat which was won by the Muslim League at Bahraich but the member who won the seat, I sorrowfully have to say is no more with us So we have to capture that seat again The Congress I believe is going to contest that seat It will be a great mistake on the part of the Congress to do so There is really no substantial difference now at any rate between the League and the Congress as wrecking of the constitution has disappeared from the Congress programme

I have often said that I am trying to see that Musalmans should wholeheartedly and sincerely adhere to the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League which is both national and patriotic and we shall always be glad to co operate with the Congress in its constructive programme It is no use encouraging an individual Musalman to come into the fold of the Congress for the sake of a prize In conclusion I urge that let us now concentrate on those causes which stand in the way of a united front " — AP

71 Post-Election Strategy "Carry Message from Village to Village"[1]

New Delhi, March 21 A meeting of the Council (Executive) of the All India Muslim League, held here under the Presidentship of Mr M A Jinnah decided to hold the next annual session of the League on April 17 18 and 19 at Lucknow and unanimously elected Mr Jinnah President for the session Nawab Sir Mohd Yusuf who proposed Mr Jinnah's name for presidentship of the session is understood to have stressed that at this psychological moment there was no one so eminently suited for guiding the destinies of Muslim India as Mr Jinnah Sir Mohd Yusuf's views in this respect were shared by speakers who participated in the discussion and the meeting appointed a Sub-Committee to suggest revision in rules of the League

Need For Organisation

Prolonged discussions for devising ways and means to organise Muslims and to bring them within the fold of the League were held The necessity of establishing mass contacts was stressed and it was also suggested that in order to preserve the solid unity of the League, Muslim legislators in the various provinces should be allowed some liberty of action suited to particular exigencies of local politics There was also a proposal that the League Parliamentary Board should now be dissolved as it was set up for the specific purpose of selecting and supporting candidates in provincial elections which had now been fulfilled and that powers of the Board should be vested in provincial branches of the League to be formed in every province

Mr Jinnah's Speech

Mr Jinnah explained that the Council had no power to dissolve the Board as it was not created under its authority Mr Jinnah, reviewing the work done by the League during the recent elections, outlined its future policy and programme He stressed that the primary issue before them should be mass organisation of the Muslims He wanted them to concentrate on the basic principles of the League which, together with its programme, could be altered if they so desired He denied the charge levelled against him by some people that he had acted as a 'dictator' during the elections As regards the suggestion that the Parliamentary Board should be dissolved, Mr Jinnah observed that some people wanted to do away with it as it was

[1]Speech *Star of India* 22 March 1937

not suited for their purpose Alluding to the proposal to establish mass contacts, he pointed out that it was exactly what he was trying to do but the task was of such a stupendous nature that it could not be achieved in a short time

Muslims and Nationalism

Proceeding, Mr Jinnah said that there was no single decent Indian who did not yearn for national independence Opinions on that issue differed not because of any lack of nationalism among the Muslims but due to other causes It was not possible for Muslims and Hindus to merge their identities because of the fundamentally different social heritage and culture of the two communities, but it was at the same time most feasible for them to join hands and march together to the goal of freedom His creed was national self-Government and if the Muslims decided to join the march to the goal of freedom he assured them his wholehearted support He, however, did not want them to do this to please any particular person or organisation Moreover, he did not want them to play a role of camp-followers but be in the vanguard

Mr Jinnah exhorted members of the Council to carry the message of organising Muslims from village to village "Sink or swim, die or live but live as a united nation," Mr Jinnah concluded The meeting passed a resolution urging that immediate steps should be taken to establish provincial and district branches of the League all over India The resolution expected that every member of the Council would endeavour to establish district and provincial branches and help in their revival

The 'Associated Press' understands that there was an exchange of views between some leading Muslim members, who have been elected to the United Provinces Legislative Assembly and who are now on a short visit to Delhi, and Sir Sikander Hyat Khan leader of the Punjab Unionist Party, who had also been here Discussions centred mainly on the future course the Muslim members should adopt in the legislatures of those provinces where they were in a minority It is believed that Sir Sikander's view is that the Muslims should not form parties in these legislatures on communal lines, though they should work as a single organised team for the protection of Muslim rights and interests So far as the question of alliance with other parties is concerned foremost importance should be attached to the protection and furtherance of Muslim interests Sir Sikander left for Lahore tonight Mr Jinnah is leaving for Bombay tomorrow morning — API

72. Condemns Congress Programme of Muslim Mass Contact[1]

Bombay, April 19 "I must condemn the deliberate attacks that are being made by our opponents to misrepresent the policy of the All India Muslim League," says Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, in a statement to the Press

"It is absolutely untrue to suggest that the Muslim League does not stand to fight for the freedom of our country If anyone cares to read honestly the policy and programme that have been laid down now by the League in black and white and have been broadcast repeatedly, he will find that it stands for full national self government for the people of India but at the same time it considers that there cannot be and will not be, any real national Government established in this country until the rights and interests of the minorities are protected and safeguarded by an honourable settlement This alone will create a sense of security in them and will win their trust and confidence in the majority rule The League has stood since the Lucknow Pact of 1916 and stands today for this basic principle

Congress Idealists

"I regret to find that a few of the Congress leaders have been actually talking as idealists who have adumbrated a new policy This recent orientation of their policy towards Muslims and the Muslim League is bound to fail and lead to disaster I find that efforts are being made in a somewhat deliberate fashion to divide Muslims for an ulterior object by appealing to their patriotism and national feelings by falsely representing that the Congress alone has got the monopoly to champion and fight for the freedom of India and that no other party has a right to exist if they do not cent per cent agree with the Congress When the question of the protection of the minorities is raised by anybody who dares to raise it, he is dubbed as a Communalist for there is in their opinion no such thing as a Hindu Muslim question in reality This is so far from the truth that we can only come to the conclusion that the object of these people is to split Muslims and break the Muslim League This policy I venture to say will set back the national advance of the country The unity and an honourable settlement between the Hindus and Muslims and other minorities is the only pivot upon which national self government for India's 350 millions can be constructed and maintained

Minorities' Interests

"May I here quote Mr Gandhi He says It therefore pains me to find Lord Zetland playing the old familiar tune of divide and rule The Congress cannot exist for two days if it disregards

[1]Press statement *Times of India* 20 April 1937 See also *Star of India* and *Civil & Military Gazette* both dated 20 April 1937 which gave a summarised version of the statement

the interests of the minorities. It cannot bring about mass rule by dividing India into factions. The Congress Ministries, if they ever come into existence, will dig their own graves without the Governor's safeguards the moment they trample upon the rights of the minorities or resort to injustice otherwise.

Of course, this statement assumes that people cease to exist the moment they do an injustice or a wrong thing, but in this practical world, and he must be aware, in many parts of the world majorities have flourished by trampling upon the rights of minorities resulting in grave injustice to them and yet they (the majorities) are not buried although they may be taking their course towards digging their grave for a long long time. Why put this temptation then in the way of the majority and keep the minority in constant and terrible fear?

League's Position

May I quote Mr Gandhi again from his recent statement. He says if the assurance asked for by the Congress is not given by the Governors, I prefer an honourable deadlock to dishonourable daily scenes between Congressmen and the Governors. That is precisely the position of the Muslim League — that they prefer an honourable settlement to the dishonourable daily scenes that are taking place and will take place between the Hindus and Muslims.

This sort of game of dividing the two great sister communities by such methods has been the historical misfortune of India with the result that we are now saddled with a foreign domination and further efforts by the Congress in that same direction to divide and rule Muslims will only lead to an indefinite stay of that domination. Anyhow, I am glad that the President of the Congress has now admitted that they have so far neglected the Muslims and that was the reason why the Congress failed to get support in the recent elections from Muslims. It is to the good that the Muslim League has at least convinced him that it is essential to have some regard for their opinion and sentiments. But I regret that he should have found a solution which will produce more bitterness and will frustrate the object that every nationalist has at heart.

Propaganda among Muslims

In his circular letter, which he issued recently to the various Provincial Congress Committees, he urges upon them to work amongst the Muslim masses. He suggests the formation of Provincial Muslim mass contact committees under the provincial committees to enrol Muslim members and generally to rouse the interest of Muslims in the affairs of the Congress. For this purpose he wants them to publish their notices, meetings, etc. in Urdu as well. The All India Muslim League and every Muslim who can read and write, except those who obey the Congress implicitly, are to be ignored.

We are told by another Congress leader, who is no less an authority than the President himself, viz. Mr Sarat Chandra Bose: That the problem before us is that of *dal bhat* and fundamentally there is no difference between Hindus and Muslims. What is needed at present is a bit of propaganda on economic lines amongst the

Muslim masses? I suppose he has forgotten the insistence of the Hindus recently in Bengal for a fifty fifty share in the Ministry. Does he know that besides the poor masses there are others whose problem of *dal bhat* also requires to be settled on economic lines and will he, instead of carrying on a bit of propaganda amongst the poor Muslim masses, formulate a programme which will give immediate and real relief to the masses? I assure him that if he does that the Muslims will readily join with him for the achievement of any such programme without any further bit of propaganda.

Muslim Intelligentsia

So now I find that the Congress leaders have no use for the Muslim intelligentsia as they are to a man incapable of serving their country or the interests of their community; they are so dense that they do not understand the Hindu intelligentsia and hence these few estimable gentlemen of the upper middle class have issued a *ukase*. While declaring non-co-operation against the Muslim League parties in the legislatures immediately after the success in six provinces, they have declined to have anything to do with the League party in any of the Legislatures unless they surrender their principles and their convictions, forswear their party policy and programme and sign the Congress pledge unreservedly and unconditionally. This they find is not possible. So now they think they will persuade the Muslim masses to disown every Muslim leader or representative of theirs and these few men, super-nationalists of the Congress, expect the Muslim masses to follow their lead. Their interests, they say, will be more and better looked after by them because the problem of protection of minorities in a representative Government will be better understood by the masses because you can always talk to them in terms of *dhal bhat* and throw in a bait of Urdu notices, otherwise Hindi is to be the national language of Muslims.

Hartal Incidents

What surprises me most is Babu Rajendra Prasad's satisfaction. He says that the Muslims of Bihar joined the hartal demonstration on April 1 in spite of my opinion to the contrary, but I think Babu Rajendra Prasad knows that my expression of opinion was not followed up by any organised effort. Does he want me to make such an effort in future? Besides, with his experience as a practical man, does he not realise that Muslims love any demonstration or *tamasha* and always enjoy excitement? But is this all that he can say of the co-operation and support of Muslims? I am afraid he has grievously misunderstood the Muslims.

'We have revived the Bombay Presidency Muslim League and we are going to carry on our work of organisation throughout the Presidency of Bombay and throughout the country at large. I appeal to Muslims all over India to organise the provincial and district Leagues and enlist as many members as they can. Nothing is going to deter us from pursuing a policy which we know is in the best interests not only of the Muslims but of the country at large. We are prepared to co-operate as equals but we will not submit to dictation or subjugation.

73. Nehru "has taken the position of a Dictator"[1]

Bombay, April 24 In reply to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's terms for Congress co-operation with the Muslim League, Mr M A Jinnah, President of the League, in the course of a statement to the *Jai Bharat*, a local vernacular daily, says

> I have seen Pandit Jawaharlal's telegram and it appears to me that he has taken the position of a dictator It comes to this Accept what I have already decided and then I shall talk to you This is not the way to arrive at a settlement —United Press

[1]Press statement *Tribune* 25 April 1937

74 Condemns Congress Move to Win UP ML Members[1]

Bombay, April 25 Mr M A Jinnah, President, All India Muslim League, has issued the following statement

I understand that there is a move to invite to a meeting of the members of the Congress Party in U P to be held on 2nd and 3rd May some Muslim members who have been elected on the Muslim League ticket in the United Provinces I am entirely in the dark as to what the object of this move is But I want to make it clear that it will be useless for any individual or individuals effectively to carry Muslims behind them if any settlement is arrived at with a particular group or even for that matter the whole province I say it is a pity that these round about efforts are being made The only object of it can be to create some differences between Musalmans It is no use dealing with those men who are in and out of the Congress and in and out of the League one time out of the one and another time of the other as it suits them I am sure that Muslims of the U P will not betray the Musalmans of India and therefore any effort at a settlement by individuals such as may be advantageous to them for the time being will not carry us anywhere I have been promised by Mr Khaliquzzaman Leader of the Muslim League Party in the U P Assembly that he will let me know what the situation is in the U P I sent reminders and I have been waiting to hear from him for the last three weeks and cannot understand the mystery of his silence I only trust he will not enter into any commitments which may be repudiated not only by Muslims of his province but by Muslims of the whole of India The method of dealing with individuals or groups can only result in isolating and dividing the Muslims group by group or province by province and destroying their united front — API

[1]Press statement, *Tribune* 27 April 1937

75. On Jawaharlal's Statement Denying Hindu-Muslim Question[1]

Bombay, (By Mail) Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has issued the following reply to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's recent statement

My attention has been drawn to two successive statements of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru dated about April 25 and I wish I can honestly say some Congress leaders have been asserting that there is no Hindu Muslim question and that the minorities problem does not exist in India I did not say that Pandit Jawaharlal was functioning as a Dictator but I did say that he was talking as such and it is quite clear from his statement that he is talking as if he were a sovereign authority He says Personally I find it difficult to think of any question on communal lines

'That may be so but 99 per cent of the people who surround him not only think on communal lines but their words and their deeds speak eloquently However I am glad that the President to put it in his own words attaches the greatest importance to the building up of a united India and of removing differences and suspicions which unfortunately separate sometimes various religious groups '

"Very Great Injustice"

It is not only religious group but political groups which do not agree with the Congress with regard to its policy and programme I think he is doing a very great injustice when he talks of the Muslim League as a religious group The Muslim League is a political organisation and its policy and programme differs in vital respects from that of the Congress For instance the Congress policy as interpreted by him in his latest statement is to use his own words the objective of the Congress is political independence that is the capture of power by the people of India, that when that power is captured he will by means of a Constituent Assembly frame the constitution for India with a strong hand When he was asked when will this be achieved his reply was during my lifetime I wish him long life

In the meantime he is preparing for a revolution to destroy the imperialistic power not only in India but all over the world and thus he will succeed in removing our crushing poverty and unemployment for which he is working In his school of thought there is no programme pending the achievement of the great ideal except to destroy every other party who dares to differ from him in any way He is welcome to put forward this ideal and utopia, but I regret to say that I cannot subscribe to it having regard to the conditions and realities of the situation in India I see in this no immediate relief on economic lines to the poverty and unemployment which is facing us I warn the Muslims therefore,

[1]Press statement *Star of India* 3 May 1937

not to jump into this and take a leap in the dark, and I may say to the better minded Hindus please think before it is too late'

Muslim League Policy

"Next, the policy and the programme of the All India Muslim League are laid down and until they are changed by the All India Muslim League we are bound to pursue our programme that we must work the provincial constitution for what it is worth having regard to the present conditions of our country This does not mean that we are not as stoutly opposed to the Government of India Act, 1935, as any other party Whereas the Congress policy and programme is to wreck the constitution whatever that may mean I say this because it is being interpreted and construed in different ways by different spokesmen of the Congress

'Third we stand by the Communal Award until a substitute is agreed upon by the various communities concerned, whereas the Congress is out to destroy it and refuses even to accept it provisionally till we may come to an honourable settlement of our own

Next our basic principle is that the rights and the interests of the minorities must be safeguarded in any constitution by whomsoever it may be framed The Congress considers this as utter nonsense

'Next in the present circumstances and the realities of India the Muslim League is not prepared to resort to direct action because it will be suicidal in the present divided condition of India Thus it will be seen that the vital differences are not confined only to minorities problems I am rather amused when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru refers to the Congress resolution passed at Karachi and proceeds to say that this assurance has been repeated in the Congress election manifesto and is the basis of the Congress policy and says It applies to all majorities and minorities alike and it is unthinkable that the Congress will even vary it

Here then it is obvious that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru not only talks platitudes but speaks as if he possessed sovereign authority over the minorities Surely Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has studied the histories of other countries where the minority question is not only limited to the assurances embodied in the Congress election manifesto which any decent Government is bound to give The spirit of his attitude is again indicated in the next paragraph where he states having given this solemn assurance the Congress has nothing further to do with religious or cultural matters and it pursues its political struggle Does he not know that besides such religious and cultural matters there is an absolute necessity for political adjustment as to the rights and interests of the minorities

Need For Organisation

However no useful purpose would be served in continuing this controversy I appeal to the Muslims to organize themselves We want no assurance from one party or the other in this country or for the matter of that, from the British Government It is only

by organising and presenting a united front that the Muslims will secure their rights which are due to them in the future Government of our country, and it is only by organising and gaining strength on our own merits that we shall be able to defend any encroachment by or dictation from others and that is the reason why frantic efforts are made to prevent the Muslims from organising and we are asked to liquidate and wind up the Muslim League

I have been appealing to the Congress leaders not to pursue this new orientation of their policy and programme It is sure to lead to greater bitterness Of course in theory nobody disputes that any party has a right to put up a candidate in any constituency they like but it is the spirit and intention of such a move which has got to be considered and judged I have repeatedly said that if the Congress or any other party is willing to co operate our hand is there to the extent that we can agree for the betterment and the advancement of India's welfare I appeal to the better mind of Hindus and say that proceeding on the lines of alliances and honourable settlement as equals is a surer course and path towards a united front which will alone win freedom for India
— API

76. Revision of ML Constitution Report "Misleading"[1]

"The report appearing in some newspapers regarding the recommendations of the sub-committee appointed to consider the constitution and rules of the All India Muslim League is entirely incorrect and misleading', declared Mr M A Jinnah, the President of the League, in an interview in Bombay on Monday [3 May]

"In the first place", said Mr Jinnah, "the present creed of the League is as follows "The attainment of full responsible government for India by all peaceful and legitimate means with adequate and effective safeguards for Muslims and not, as is reported, Dominion Status by constitutional means

"It is equally incorrect and misleading to say that the office of the president is a permanent one The present rule of the League on the point is as follows "The president of the League shall be elected by the Council of the League each year, and shall hold office until the next annual session" Whereas under the present rule the president of the annual session is elected only for the session, the other president continues for the whole year"

Dealing with the press report, Mr Jinnah said that it was a fact that a small committee under the chairmanship of Nawab Ismail Khan had been appointed to consider the whole constitution and the rules and make such recommendations as the committee might think proper to the Council of the All India Muslim League for its consideration Until he received the committee's report he was not in a position to say what amendments and changes the committee had recommended

[1]Press interview, *Times of India*, 4 May 1937

77. Advice to Majority — "Take Minorities With You"[1]

Bombay, May 5 "You can't possibly construct a full, complete democratic responsible government in any country unless you take the minorities with you and create a sense of security and confidence in the minorities,' said Mr M A Jinnah addressing a joint meeting of the European and Indian Progressive Groups last evening on the "Minorities Problem "

Mr Jinnah added "It is no use discussing the fact that the heredity, language and social life and outlook vary from community to community and in some respects fundamentally Democratic, full responsible government means the rule of the majority and before a stable Government is possible the minorities problem should be adjusted Had we been able to settle the minorities problem, the new constitution would have been written differently" After referring to 'the many futile efforts undertaken so far to solve the communal problem " Mr Jinnah said "I believe in the policy of the spider Try and try, for it is no use crying over spilt milk The Communal Award is only a provisional arrangement till a substitute is found "

Mr Jinnah deplored the attitude of the Congress towards the communal problem in treating it as a trifling matter and continued "Congressmen say that the question before the country is economic, namely, poverty and hunger It seems to me that this is putting the cart before the horse This policy and plea of hunger and poverty may succeed temporarily for the reasons are obvious

United Front

No party is really satisfied with the present Government so much so that anything against the present Government goes [*sic*] and dissatisfaction, disapproval and condemnation against the Government have been carried on for many years If only some basis be found for a united front, the communal problem will be solved and there is no hope for India to achieve her goal without it

The Muslim League is justified in its demand from the majority community for what is the position of the 60 millions of depressed classes in India today who have been refused even their elementary rights?

[1]Speech *Civil & Military Gazette* 6 May 1937

He was opposed to the Congress for he did not agree with the policy, programme and methods pursued by the Congress If he were the "Zaghlul Pasha of India,' he would have called all the minority communities, granted what they wanted and presented a united front for winning responsible government for India — AP

78. UP ML "Emerged Stronger"[1]

Lucknow, May 10 "The Muslim League has emerged in the United Provinces, notwithstanding the attempts on the part of some Congress leaders to undermine the League, stronger and more united than ever it was," said Mr M A Jinnah in an interview to the Associated Press

Mr Jinnah continued I have had opportunities during the last three days of consulting various leaders of Musalman opinion and I am glad to say that the Musalmans of the United Provinces are absolutely sound in heart and head and I have not the slightest doubt that they will rally round the All India Muslim League flag I have always looked upon Musalmans of U P as the heart of Muslim India The attempts that were made by some individuals which I can only characterise as mean intrigues have been foiled rightly

No amount of vilification or misrepresentation in the columns of a certain section of newspapers is going to deter us from pursuing the policy and programme which we have launched I know that Musalmans are not organised and are weak and know that we have no press of our own and therefore we are greatly handicapped but we are earnest and it is our grim determination to organise Musalmans all over India and we do not wish to submit to slavery or dictation either of the British Government or any majority party or Community We stand for the freedom of India and I can say without hesitation that during the period that I had the honour of being the President of the League the record of the League speaks that we had never allowed the national interest of India to be prejudiced We have maintained that it is not the monopoly of any party or community It is the duty of every Indian to fight for the attainment of national self Government for India

'We have appointed a very powerful and influential committee in the United Provinces and the personnel, and aims and objects of that committee are already published in newspapers I therefore appeal to Musalmans of this province and all over India that if they want to live and play their part and secure and maintain their honourable position in the Government of the country they must organise themselves and stand on their merits and play the fullest part in the rapid developments that are taking place and will be taking place in the near future and I may point out to our opponents that they will not advance the welfare of India and attainment of our goal merely by misrepresenting and vilifying Musalmans but on the contrary they will be putting the hands of the clock back The way to achieve our goal is to create an atmosphere of friendship between Hindus and Muslims and to find a solution as speedily as possible which will create a complete sense of

[1]Press interview *Tribune* 12 May 1937

security and confidence in the largest minority in the country and thus bring about a united front which will bend the British Government to submit to our demands

'The Muslim League has emerged in the United Provinces, notwithstanding the attempts on the part of some Congress leaders to undermine the League stronger and more united than it ever was and I am glad that the position of Jamiat ul-Ulema-i Hind and the Ahrars has been also made clear by recent pronouncements of their meetings at Lucknow and Moradabad' Concluding Mr Jinnah says, 'Musalmans must rally round one platform and one flag throughout India and that is the All India Muslim League Ours is a full blooded nationalistic policy and no amount of intrigues and misrepresentations will make it otherwise —API

79. "We also Stand for Freedom"[1]

Bombay, May 16 Addressing the annual general meeting of the Bombay Presidency Muslim League, Mr M A Jinnah said, "It is a scandalous statement to make that if you are with the Muslim League you are pro-Government and if you are with the Congress you are pro-freedom We also stand for freedom of the country and willing to fight for freedom It is not the monopoly of any political body to fight for freedom We want to gather all Muslims and claim that Muslims back the Muslim League You have heard it said that the Muslims either should look to the British Government or another organisation that has acquired a certain amount of power I want Muslims to have self-respect and self-confidence and be self-reliant to build our own house "

Mr Jinnah continued, 'We are glad we are communalists Instead of waiting at other's doors if you want to create self-respect and self-reliance organise yourselves If that is communalism, I am proud of it' The meeting adopted rules and regulations for the Presidency Muslim League -- API

[1]Public address *Tribune* 9 May 1937

80. Advice to Hindus—No Freedom Without Muslim "Friendship"[1]

"We are prepared to fight for the country's freedom as equals with other parties but never as camp followers nor shall we submit to anybody's dictation," declared Mr M A Jinnah, addressing a mammoth Muslim meeting held under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Muslim League at Mahomed Ali Road, Bombay, on Friday night [21 May] The entire gathering demonstrated its willingness to fight under the banner of the Muslim League

Mr Shaukat Ali, referring to the Congress programme for Muslim mass contact, said "For God's sake do not waste your money and time bullying the Muslims, the Muslims will not be bullied Try honourable friendship and understanding, and the Muslims will be ready to accept the proffered hand"

Long before the arrival of the leaders, the large enclosures behind the Mandvi Post Office was occupied by more than 10,000 Muslims Mr Jinnah and Mr Shaukat Ali received an enthusiastic ovation on their arrival at the meeting Mr Jinnah, who presided, said that their work had not finished with the elections A more important work — that of organising Muslims not only in Bombay but all over the country — had now been launched by the Muslim League He appealed to every Muslim to join the League and he assured them that within a short time the League would become a strong party capable of fighting any other party in the country

"Will not be Slaves"

The League's policy, Mr Jinnah explained, was that they were prepared to fight for the freedom of the country but not to become the slaves of others They would fight as equal partners with the Hindus but would not follow anybody's dictation Bombay Muslims had been dubbed *Mawalis*,[2] but within a very short time the League had removed that wrong impression They had secured 20 out of 30 seats in the Provincial Assembly —and that was no small matter They had also demonstrated that they were not job-hunters

[1]Public speech *Times of India* 22 May 1937 Quaid i Azam Papers, File, 811,p 180 *Civil & Military Gazette* and *Star of India* both dated 23 May 1937 reported the proceedings of the meeting briefly

[2]Plural of the Arabic word *Mawala* meaning slaves and servants In Bombay, the word has been used in a derogatory sense to describe the Bombay Muslims as jobless people who led a life without purpose and principle

Mr Jinnah observed that from 1916 to 1935 he had been under the impression that the Hindus and Muslims would join hands and work together In 1935, he spent four or five weeks holding conferences with Babu Rajendra Prasad (then President of the Congress) and trying to get the Muslim viewpoint accepted at least by the Congress leaders if not by the Hindu Mahasabha But he did not succeed

The new Constitution had now been in operation for more than a month, and conditions were different He wanted to make the Hindus realise that without the friendship of the Muslims the fight for freedom would be futile Mr Jinnah said his idea was to form a progressive independent nationalist group to work with the Congress for the common good of the country He had always been prepared for an honourable settlement, but finding no way to further that objective he had decided to strengthen the Muslim League

81 Appeals For Funds Muslim Press Needed[1]

Bombay, June 7 Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has issued the following appeal to Muslims

For the uplift and advancement of Musalmans and working for their welfare, much work remains to be done in political economic and social spheres of life by establishing different centres in India for supplying up to date political and economical information and knowledge and establishing relief centres to aid and assist poor Musalmans in different parts of India It is also necessary to have an independent Press for giving advanced political views to Musalmans by publishing a weekly or daily paper both in English and Urdu, in order to contradict false and malicious propaganda which is carried on in different places by prejudicial and interested parties in India

'For this purpose a few prominent and patriotic Musalmans of the U P who at present desire to remain anonymous have placed in my hands a large sum of Rs 50 000 for advancement of the Muslim cause and interests in general and for protection of political rights of Musalmans in particular The object mentioned above and many other similar works require very large amounts, and sister communities in India have collected large funds amounting to lakhs of rupees with an organisation extending all over India For the protection and safeguards of Muslim rights and interests, it is also necessary that a well organised body should be formed with large funds at its disposal to look after the interests of the Musalmans of India through the press and public propaganda and by the establishment of different and useful institutions which can help assist and guide them

'Many useful and valuable suggestions from prominent men all over India have been received by me from time to time but to carry them out large funds are required I therefore appeal to the Musalmans all over India to give me such support as they can to carry out the policy and programme which I am pursuing and to send me direct their contributions so that a central fund can be established from which all the activities for the betterment and uplift of Musalmans in general may be started, supported and followed with success and continuity Any contribution will be received with thanks My address Little Gibbs Rd Malabar Hill Bombay

[1]Press statement, *Tribune*, 8 June 1937

82. Condemns Congress Mass Contact — Muslims No "Toadies"[1]

Bombay Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the President of the All India Muslim League, has issued the following statement

My attention has been drawn to the statement issued by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru from Allahabad dated 30th June to the effect that I have issued an appeal addressed to the voters of the Jhansi Jalaun Hamirpur Muslim Rural Constituency where a bye election is taking place for the Provincial Legislative Assembly. I have issued no statement of any kind whatever up to the present moment nor have I seen the contents of the alleged statement which is attributed to me. I maintain what I have often said that the All India Muslim League is a political organisation and we stand by the policy and programme and the basic principles enunciated by the All India Muslim League.

"Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru says that every person is entitled to preach and advocate the policy and programme of his party. But may I point out to him that a large body of Congressmen and a section of the Congress press instead of placing before the public the policy and programme of the Congress and attacking and criticising the policy and the programme of the Muslim League are resorting to misrepresentation and vilification of the Muslim League and all those who are connected with it by giving out slogans and catchwords such as that the Muslim League and all those connected with it stand for political slavery that they are the allies of the British Imperialistic power that they are against national freedom and that they are all toadies and flunkeys. I am personally attacked in a large section of the press and it is made out that I am the greatest enemy of India a rank communalist, that I stand unmasked in my true colours and that I am making a bid for leadership of the Musalmans.

"Is this the way of explaining to the people the policy and programme of the Congress? Is this how Congress proposes to establish mass contacts with Muslims? In my opinion this policy of mass contacts with Musalmans by Congress is fraught with very serious consequences. There is plenty of scope for Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to improve his own people the Hindus as there is a lot of undesirable elements amongst them. Similarly the Muslim League should do the same thing as there is plenty of undesirable elements among the Musalmans.

A Disingenuous Interview

Coming back to the question of personal attacks I shall give an instance. No less a person than the Secretary of the Indian National Congress gave an interview to the press. The interview is crooked disingenuous and totally untrue. Mr Kripalani in his statement dated May 19 said Mr Jinnah's fourteen points (one would have thought they were exhausted) having been granted by the foreign Government and guaranteed by the Congress unless Musalmans relinquished them

[1]Press statement *Star of India* 7 July 1937

voluntarily, may we ask what more is needed ? I ask Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru if it is true that the Congress has guaranteed the fourteen points of the Muslims

"Mr Kripalani referred to my Bombay speech of May 21 in which I said that in 1935 I spent four or five weeks holding conferences with Babu Rajendra Prasad the then President of the Indian National Congress, trying to get the Muslim point of view accepted at least by the Congress leaders if not by Hindu Mahasabhaites But I did not succeed With reference to this speech I am accused that I have a short memory and in support of this accusation the Congress Secretary relied on a press message as his authority Surely a man who has risen to the position of the Secretary of the Indian National Congress ought to know better than rely on press reports The statement which I made in my speech is absolutely true and I repeat it

At times it is very difficult to say who are Congress leaders and who are Mahasabha leaders, for the line of demarcation between the two with regard to a large number of them is very thin indeed Neither Babu Rajendra Prasad nor I had any authority to come to a binding agreement as the talks were naturally subject to confirmation by the Congress and the Muslim League Babu Rajendra Prasad tried to ascertain the consensus of opinion among Congress and Hindu Mahasabha leaders regarding the formula which he himself had approved but it was found that not only the Hindu Mahasabha leaders rejected it out of hands but even a certain section of influential Congress leaders were deadly opposed to the formula which therefore had to be dropped as it was useless to proceed further — AP

83. On Congress Demand that Muslims "Unconditionally Surrender"[1]

Bombay, July 6 Mr M A Jinnah has issued the following statement

"I am surprised to read the statement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru Instead of admitting that the statement of Acharya Kripalani which I quoted from his interview was absolutely incorrect and misleading he puts forward an explanation which is not worthy of him Pandit Nehru says that when Acharya Kripalani said that the Congress had guaranteed the 14 points of Mr Jinnah he had obviously meant that the Congress had said that it seeks to change the Communal Award in co operation with and with the goodwill of the parties concerned including Muslims If Pandit Nehru cannot see the difference between the two I leave the public to judge I regret that he should give the explanation which he has given in support of the accusation that I am suffering from a short memory

"The question is not whether Babu Rajendra Prasad assured me of his ability to get the formula approved by him accepted and passed by the Congress The statement I made was that I was unable to get Congress leaders to accept the Muslim point of view and even in regard to the formula which Babu Rajendra Prasad approved of an influential section of Congress leaders was deadly opposed thereto which statement, I repeat is absolutely correct and it is no use sidetracking and introducing other matters

Minorities

But what is the position today of the Congress as preached by Pandit Nehru? He considers the question of the minorities and safeguarding and protection of their rights and interests as nonsensical He has repeatedly said that there can be no pacts and no alliances and the Congress after the elections declared non co operation with the Muslim League Party and every Musalman unless he unconditionally surrendered and pledged himself to the Congress policy and programme That today is the position — surrender submit no question of any honourable adjustment or settlement either with regard to the minorities question or any other question of general policy and programme which is pursued by the Congress With regard to his accusation that there are some prominent members in the League whose record of political activity is reactionary surely the Congress is not pure gold and after all a party has to be judged by its policy programme and basic principles

As to the rest of the statement it is the usual platitude in regard to mass contact of which Pandit Nehru thinks he has the sole monopoly and he is the only exponent of their rights and interests which need not be discussed any further and I am glad to learn that there is no such thing as a section of the Congress press and the President is not responsible for their vilification and misrepresentation of the Muslim League — AP

[1]Press statement, *Civil & Military Gazette* 7 July 1937

84. Offers Congress "Hand of Co-operation"[1]

Bombay, July 8 Mr Jinnah, interviewed, said

'I am glad that the Working Committee of the Congress has now decided to do what I have been urging having regard to the prevailing conditions in the country for the last 18 months This policy was adopted by the All India Muslim League as far back as April 1936 in its Bombay session Of course when we said it was the right policy we were told that we were wrong, reactionary and unpatriotic But the moment the Congress decides and adopts the same policy it becomes right national and patriotic

I hope that Congress won't stand on prestige with regard to our own people and will co operate with the Muslim League Parties in the legislatures I have often repeated that our own hand of co operation is always there for any programme in the legislature or outside which is calculated to advance the welfare of the people of the Province and the country I am glad that blind man's buff and Dutch auction have ended India's need is the creation of a united front

[1]Interview *Tribune* 9 July 1937

85. Palestine — "Britain Must Honour her Pledges"[1]

Bombay, July 11 Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, says that the Palestine Report[2] does most grievous wrong to the Arabs, and that if the British Parliament puts its seal upon it the British nation will be breaking its pledges "It is wrong", he says 'to do a thing which is unjust because it will minimize trouble or suit some special interest Great Britain must honour her pledges fearlessly "

The Working Committee of the Bombay Presidency Muslim League also condemns the Report in a strongly worded resolution

[1]News report, *The Times* 12 July 1937

[2]The Royal Commission on Palestine was announced on 29 October 1936 by the British Government as a Mandatory Power under the League of Nations to investigate the Arab Jew strife in Palestine It was headed by Lord Peel, formerly Secretary of State for India 1928 29 The Commission arrived in Palestine on 11 November 1936 took evidence from Government and Jewish spokesmen and at the last stage of the Arabs who had originally boycotted the Commission The Commission remained in Palestine until the third week of January 1937 The Commission s Report which was published (see Cmd 5479) on 7 July 1937 recommended the division of Palestine and Trans Jordan into three regions — a Jewish sovereign state including all of Palestine north of Beisan and the entire coastal region north of a point halfway between Jaffa and Gaza an Arab State incorporating Trans Jordan and the rest of Palestine and a subvention (£ 2 millions) to Arabs and an area under British mandate which would include Jerusalem Bethlehem Lydda Ramleh and a Corridor to the sea at Jaffa

Simultaneously with the publication of the Report the British Government issued a White Paper announcing the adoption of the Commission s recommendation in favour of Partition These developments had their repercussions on the Indian Muslims as above See Paul L Hanna *British Policy in Palestine* American Council on Public Affairs Washington, DC 1942 pp 126 31

86. Congress Post-Election Strategy to Ignore ML[1]

Bombay, July 25 An important statement on communal negotiations, which have been given great importance by the attitude of the Muslim League members at Lucknow, has been issued by Mr M A Jinnah, President of the League, who says that he would welcome an honourable settlement between the Hindus and Muslims and that he is ready to help in bringing about such a settlement Mr Jinnah adds that as an earnest on his part, he sent a message to Mr Gandhi in May last appealing to him to take up the Hindu-Muslim question with a view to finding a solution Referring to the threatened secession of some of the members of the Muslim League Party in the United Provinces legislature, Mr Jinnah states that if those members had a shred of conscience they would resign their seats and seek re-election on the Congress ticket [2]

A "Sporting Offer"

The President of the Muslim League also refers to the part he played in the negotiations for a settlement of the communal question in 1935 when he and Mr Rajendra Prasad, the then Congress President had prolonged discussions He quotes Mr Rajendra Prasad as saying, 'It is not correct to maintain that even a certain section of influential Congress leaders were really opposed to the formula,' and points out that by now Mr Rajendra Prasad must have been satisfied on this point by the statement of the Bengal leaders who had declared that this was not true Mr Jinnah then proceeds

> In what he (Mr Rajendra Prasad) characterizes as a sporting offer he makes another statement which also is absolutely incorrect and without foundation He says I am making a

[1]Press statement *Statesman* 26 July 1937

[2]On this *The Times*, 26 July 1937 reported as follows

> **Bombay, July 25** Mr M A Jinnah President of the All India Muslim League referring today to the threat of secession to the Congress Party of some members of the League in the United Provinces said that if they had a shred of conscience they would resign their seats and seek re election on Congress tickets
>
> The Congress Party he continued had decided not to co operate with Muslim League parties in the various Provincial Legislatures They were getting stray Muslims here and there to accept a Ministership but the waverers who had or were about to betray their community for jobs need seek no loopholes or excuse The All India Muslim League was better without such men

sporting offer to Mr Jinnah I offer to get the formula accepted by the Congress even today if he on his part offers, as he did then, to get it signed by all the Muslim leaders barring one or two whom he has named '

Communal Award

"This is a conditional offer and is devoid of any sporting spirit In the first place I never offered to get Mr Rajendra Prasad's formula signed by Muslim leaders He appears to have forgotten the genesis of our conversation I was requested by him and by other Congress leaders to meet him (Mr Rajendra Prasad) and the question at issue was how to put an end to the bitter controversy which was raging at the time between Hindus and Muslims over the Communal Award The Muslim point of view which I placed before them was that the Hindus should provisionally accept the Communal Award until a substitute was agreed upon between the two communities and that we should utilize the Provincial constitution for what it was worth and carry on a united struggle until we had secured a constitution for our country which would satisfy our people This was not acceptable to Mr Rajendra Prasad and his friends I was next asked that if they could propose a substitute on the basis of joint electorate which might secure for Muslim interests more than that offered in the Communal Award would I consider the scheme I naturally said that if any such proposal was put forward which had the universal support of the communities concerned namely the Hindus and Sikhs I would place it before the session of the All India Muslim League without delay, and in my reply to Mr Rajendra Prasad s letter asking me again to meet him I wrote on January 27 1935 stating that I had consulted a few friends and that I would be glad to meet him in my individual capacity for the purpose referred to in his letter

Far reaching Question

I had no authority from the League to come to any agreement and my position today is exactly the same as before It is astonishing that Mr Rajendra Prasad should have adopted the method and manner he has flinging a sporting offer at me in regard to an issue which involves the fate and future of 80 000 000 Muslims and the country at large In all seriousness I would ask him if he thinks that this is the right way of opening negotiations through the channel of the Press for the settlement of this vital and far reaching question His sporting offer amounts to this that I must get the formula signed by all Muslim leaders throughout India except one or two and then request him to have it adopted by the Congress Surely if a substitute for the Communal Award which the Muslims have already accepted is to be proposed, it can come from the Hindu and Sikh leaders who are opposed to it Mr Rajendra Prasad s sudden change of front, his manner method and the channel that he has adopted together with newspaper reports about a few Muslims in the United Provinces threatening to leave the League if I do not carry out what he has enjoined me lead me to suspect that it is not a genuine desire for an honourable settlement but it is an attempt to divide the Muslims split the Muslim League and strike a blow at Muslim unity for which I have been working '

Mr. Gandhi's Message

Continuing, Mr Jinnah refers to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's comment in respect of the rights and interests of the minorities and says

> 'The Congress, according to the latest statements by Pandit Nehru and the Secretary of the Congress is out to destroy the Communal Award as it has not been acceptable to them and we have been told, that if we want any settlement, to apply to the Hindu Mahasabha In the meantime Congress policy is that Muslims must join the Congress unconditionally and sign the Congress pledge Nobody would welcome an honourable settlement between the Hindus and Muslims more than I and nobody would be more ready to help it, and as an earnest on my part I sent a message to Mr Gandhi when he was at Tithal [Gujrat Surat] in May last appealing to him to take over the question of a Hindu Muslim settlement Mr Gandhi replied Mr Kher has given me your message I wish I could do something but I am utterly helpless My faith in unity is as bright as ever only I see no daylight out of the impenetrable darkness and in such distress I cry out to God for light In conclusion I want to say a word to the Muslims Those few waverers who have betrayed us or are about to do so for jobs need not seek any excuse or loophole to justify their threatened secession from the Muslim League They may go but if they have a shred of conscience left they should tender their resignations and contest the seats again on the Congress ticket I am sure that the Muslim League would be all the better without such men

87. Rejects Rajendra Prasad Offer Condemns ML "Deserters"[1]

Bombay (By Mail) Interesting details are now available of the negotiations for a communal settlement between Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the President of the All India Muslim League, and Babu Rajendra Prasad In releasing for publication the correspondence which passed between him and the former Congress President, Mr Jinnah states why he refused the offer of Babu Rajendra Prasad, which he characterises as "conditional and devoid of any sporting spirit"

Mr Jinnah also strongly condemns "deserters" from the Muslim League "who are ready to betray us for jobs"

In the course of his reply to Babu Rajendra Prasad Mr Jinnah also reveals that in May last he wrote to Mr Gandhi at Thithal appealing to him to bring about a settlement, to which Mr Gandhi replied I wish I could do something but I am utterly helpless My faith in unity is bright as ever, only I see no daylight out of the impenetrable darkness and in such distress I cry out to God for help'

Mr Jinnah says

I have seen the report of the statement of Babu Rajendra Prasad under the heading Rajen Babu returns to the charge Babu Rajendra Prasad begins by saying I have seen Mr Jinnah's statement regarding the breakdown of the Delhi negotiations I am afraid that there is nothing in my statement which I should withdraw

"The statement that I complained of was made by him in his interview which was published on July 6 1937 in which he stated it is not correct to say that even a certain section of the influential Congress leaders were deadly opposed to the formula I think he must be satisfied now after the statement of the Bengal leaders who say that that is not true In what he characterises as a sporting offer, he makes another statement which also is absolutely incorrect and without foundation He says I am making a sporting offer to Mr Jinnah that I offer to get the formula accepted by the Congress even today if he offers as he had done then to get signatures to it of all Musalman leaders barring one or two whom he had named to me

It is a conditional offer devoid of any sporting spirit In the first place I never offered to get signatures to Babu Rajendra Prasad's formula of all Musalman leaders barring one or two whom I had named or any leader Babu Rajendra Prasad has forgotten the

[1]Correspondence *Civil & Military Gazette* 28 July 1937

genesis of our conversations I was requested by Babu Rajendra Prasad and other Congress leaders to meet him and the question was, how to put an end to the bitter controversy that was raging at the time over the Communal Award between the Hindus and the Musalmans The Muslim point of view which I put before them was that the Hindus should provisionally accept the Communal Award until a substitute was agreed upon between the communities concerned and that we should utilise the provincial constitution for what it was worth and carry on our united struggle until we secure a constitution for our country which will satisfy our people This was not acceptable to Babu Rajendra Prasad and his friends

"Next it was suggested that if he could propose a substitute on the basis of joint electorates which would go better and secure more in the interests of the Musalmans than the Communal Award had given to them would I then consider it I naturally said if any such proposal come with the universal support of the communities concerned namely the Hindus and the Sikhs I would place it before the session of the All India Muslim League without delay and in my reply to his letter asking me to meet him I wrote as follows

"Improper Channels"

'Dear Rajendra Prasad — Thank you for your letter of the 24th instant I have consulted a few friends and I should be glad to meet you in my individual capacity for the purpose referred to in your letter as requested by you Yours sincerely M A Jinnah

' I had no authority from the League to come to any agreement and my position today is exactly the same as before It is somewhat astonishing that Babu Rajendra Prasad should have adopted the method, the manner and the channel of approach through which he has flung this sporting offer with regard to an issue which involves the fate and the future of 80 000 000 of Musalmans and the country at large In all seriousness I appeal to him does he think that this is the right way to open negotiations through the channel of the press for a settlement of this vital and far reaching question

' His 'sporting offer amounts to this that I must get the signatures of all the Musalman leaders from all over India except one or two, and request him to get it passed by the Congress

Surely if a substitute for the Communal Award which the Musalmans have already accepted is to be proposed it can only come from the Hindu and Sikh leaders who are opposed to it and the two communities directly concerned I can repeat now what I said when we commenced our talks at Delhi in January 1935 that if Babu Rajendra Prasad is so sure of getting the Congress to adopt his formula as a substitute for the Communal Award and informs me to that effect with the authority and sanction of the Congress, I will place it before the All India Muslim League without delay

Muslim Unity

'I do not wish in any way to make the course of negotiations or settlement difficult but I must say in self defence that this sudden change of front and the manner the method and the channel, namely,

the Press, that are adopted and what is being reported in newspapers about a few Muslims in the United Provinces threatening to leave the Muslim League if I do not carry out what Babu Rajendra Prasad has enjoined me to do lead me to suspect that it is not a genuine desire for an honourable settlement but is an attempt to divide the Musalmans — to split the Muslim League and to strike a blow at unity among Musalmans for which I have been working

"For until yesterday, not to go beyond the Pirpur resolution, according to the pronouncements of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, speaking with the authority of the President of the Congress the position was that to talk about the rights and interests of the minorities and their safeguard was utter nonsense The Congress, according to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the Secretary of the Congress in their latest statements was out to destroy the Communal Award as it was not acceptable to them and we were told that if we wanted any settlement we must apply to the Hindu Mahasabha In the meantime the Congress policy was that Musalmans should join the Congress unconditionally and sign their pledge

'After the Congress was flush with its majority in six provinces, the Congress deliberately decided to ignore nay decided to non-co operate with the Muslim League parties in the various provincial legislatures and they have in forming the Ministries vindicated the justice and the fair treatment to the minorities urged and promised by Mahatma Gandhi very recently by having made a good feast of all the loaves and fishes that are at present available for the Congress party in the various legislatures and getting a stray Musalman to exchange a pledge overnight to accept Ministry the next morning I regret that I should be obliged to point out these matters and that I should have to resort to a post mortem inquisition

As to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's statement which appears side by side with that of Babu Rajendra Prasad on July 20 what can I say to that busy body President? What does he know of what to place between me and Babu Rajendra Prasad? He seems to carry the responsibility of the whole world on his shoulders and must poke his nose in everything except his own business Again he comes back to another point with regard to the statement which was alleged to have been issued by me as an appeal to the voters of the Bundel Khand Jhansi (electorate) which I have already repudiated and said that no such statement was issued by me

I assure the Musalmans and the public at large that I am not in the slightest degree affected by anything that has happened in the past and nobody will welcome an honourable settlement between the Hindus and Musalmans more than I and nobody will be more ready to help it and as an earnest on my part I sent a message to Mr Gandhi when he was at Thithal only in the month of May last appealing to him to take up the question of Hindu Muslim settlement and concentrate his great influence and efforts to which I received the following reply on May 22 1937

Mr Gandhi

> Dear Mr Jinnah — Kher has given me your message I wish I could do something but I am utterly helpless My faith in unity is bright as ever only I see no daylight out of the impenetrable darkness and in such distress I cry out to God for Light Yours sincerely M K Gandhi

In conclusion I want to say a word to Musalmans Those few waverers who are ready or about to betray us for jobs need not seek excuses or loopholes to justify their threatened secession from the All India Muslim League They may go but those members of the League if they have a shred of conscience left should tender their resignations and contest the seats again on the Congress ticket I am sure that the All India Muslim League will be all the better without such men To those who easily get the cold feet and suffer from defeatist mentality I say have courage and faith *Delhi dur ast* And I say to all Musalmans of India to organise, consolidate and establish solidarity and unity Service suffering and sacrifice are absolutely essential conditions before we can achieve anything big and secure our rightful place in the national life of our country — AP

88. Rajendra Prasad Formula — "My Offer is Still Open"[1]

Bombay, August 2 "The straightforward, plain course open to Babu Rajendra Prasad is, if he thinks that he can get his proposal passed by the Congress, to do so and to communicate with me My offer is open, as it was before, and I will place the proposal before the Muslim League without any delay" says Mr Jinnah replying to Babu Rajendra Prasad's latest statement from Patna

Mr Jinnah says that he is glad that Babu Rajendra Prasad has given up discussing further what took place in 1935 But he adds the original statement which he (Mr Jinnah) made in regard to what happened in 1935 has now been established to the hilt What he then said was that the Hindu Mahasabha had rejected his formula out of hand, that a body of Sikh leaders was opposed to it and that an influential section of Congress leaders was greatly opposed to it Mr Jinnah reiterates that he never agreed to Babu Rajendra Prasad's formula It emanated from Babu Rajendra Prasad and his friends and this fact was stated by him in a statement which he issued to the press on April 24, 1935 almost immediately after the conversations had terminated As to his doubting the capacity of Babu Ragendra Prasad to get the Congress to pass his proposal Mr Jinnah says, it is a matter of opinion but the question did not arise then at all

It was obvious he adds that the proposal was intended to be a substitute to replace the Communal Award and when it was found that it did not have the backing of Hindus and Sikhs and that even the Congress leaders were divided, it was dropped Mr Jinnah refers to Babu Rajendra Prasad's concluding sentence and says that he never promised to get the signatures of all Muslim leaders in India barring one or two and that he did not tell Babu Rajendra Prasad that he could get the singatures of Muslim leaders barring some whom he had named

Mr Jinnah asked Did Babu Rajendra Prasad expect me in 1935 to call a special session of the League to place before it his proposal and to tell the session that the Hindu Mahasabha would not look at it, that the Sikhs in a body, were opposed to it and that the Congress leaders were divided because that was the position in 1935 and I regret to say that is the position today, and what does his sporting offer amount to — that I should get the signatures of all Musalman leaders all over India to an

[1] Press statement *Civil & Military Gazette* 4 August 1937

appeal to him so that he may prove his ability to get the Congress to pass his formula "The straightforward plain course for him is to get his proposal passed by the Congress, communicate with me and my offer is still open as it was before and I will place it before the Muslim League without any delay"

89. Indian Commercial Interests at Zanzibar Would Oppose Congress Motion[1]

Mr M A Jinnah has issued the following statement to the Press

"There seems to be widespread confusion and want of clear understanding with regard to the decision of the Independent Party on the adjournment motion concerning Zanzibar Hence I am obliged to issue this statement The position the Indian community has taken up and the way some interested persons are encouraging them is not in their interest The Government of India have not committed themselves irrevocably but they have endeavoured to get a working agreement the terms of which are such that if carried out properly they are not likely to seriously prejudice the interests of the Indian community

"The Clove Growers Association is not a body working for profit It is analogous to the Marketing Board set up by the Government of Zanzibar and will be composed of two representatives of the Indian community two of Arabs and Africans and two officials If the Association does get any benefit or profit in the working of the terms of the agreement and the scheme which the Government of India have secured it will be utilised for the relief of growers and cultivators There is no British interest directly or indirectly involved nor is there any possibility of any interest exploiting Indian trade as has been wrongly given out in certain quarters

Exploitation

It seems to me that the Congress Party and a section of the Press is unconsciously being exploited by Indian commercial interests and are being misled I will appeal to the Indian community in Zanzibar to adjust itself reasonably to the economic conditions and requirements that face them there and not to maintain an impossible position that their vested interests should continue to be kept intact The question is not a question between the British and the Indian community but is purely an economic question in which the bulk of the people concerned are Musalmans The Indian community in Zanzibar is 15,000 while Arabs are 33 000 and Africans 187 000 Indians are mostly money lenders and traders while Arabs and Africans growers and cultivators

[1]Press statement *Civil & Military Gazette* 2 September 1937 The question was debated in the Indian Legislative Assembly Jinnah spoke on S Satyamurti s motion of adjournment on 23 August 1937 See proceedings and speech Waheed Ahmad (ed) *Quaid i Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Speeches* op cit pp 234 40

I would like the public and those interested in this question to read the terms of the agreement which were published on July 23 and I request the Indian community in Zanzibar not to be misled If we find in the working of the agreement and scheme that the position of Indian community is in any way seriously prejudiced, it will be then open to us to reconsider the whole question because neither the Indian legislature nor the Government of India are irrevocably committed to it In these circumstances the Independent Party could not support the motion of adjournment which meant definite censure of the Government of India, and had to oppose the motion moved by the Congress Party when the same was pressed to a division" — AP

90. Gaya Muslims Join ML and Boycott Congress[1]

Gaya (By Mail): A mammoth public meeting of the Muslims of Gaya district consisting of over 5000 Muslims was held on 31 August at 7-30 p m in Anjum Rice Mill compound

There has never been such a huge gathering of the Muslims of this district for the last 20 years It was attended by Muslims of all sects and opinions and almost by all the respectable and noteworthy Muslims The President of the Gaya district Muslim League, Mr Mohammad Ashique, presided As the meeting commenced, he read out a message from Mr M A Jinnah 'Wish your conference every success Organisation and Unity should be watchwords of Bihar Musalmans" The meeting adopted a suggestion to join the Muslim League The entire gathering decided to boycott the Congress and join the Muslim League

[1]Message *Star of India* [illegible] September 1937

91 Demand for Constituent Assembly: Wants Congress Resolution Amended[1]

Simla, September 13 Mr M A Jinnah has given notice of an amendment to the Congress resolution on a Constituent Assembly urging that the words "a Constituent Assembly elected on a basis of adult franchise", be substituted by the following, "a convention or a conference elected on the basis of electorates as provided in the Communal Award in the absence of any agreement to the contrary and further that the rights and interests of Musalmans and other minorities should be effectively safeguarded, only with the mutual consent of the communities concerned "[2]

[1]News report, *Civil & Military Gazette* 14 September 1937

[2]The resolution was moved in the Indian Legislative Assembly by S Satyamurti on 17 September 1937 so also was Jinnah s amendment, proceedings being brief For Satyamurti s and Jinnah s remarks during the proceedings see Waheed Ahmad, (ed) *Quaid i Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Speeches*, op cit pp 321 22

92. Unqualified Majority Rule Unacceptable[1]

Simla, September 20 "There is no difference between the ideal of the Muslim League and that of the Congress or any other recognised political organisation in the country, the ideal being complete freedom for India There cannot be any self-respecting Indian who favours foreign domination or does not desire complete freedom and self-government for his country", said Mr M A Jinnah in replying to an address presented to him at a largely attended reception held in his honour on Saturday afternoon [18 September]

The question to consider, said Mr Jinnah, was how to achieve this ideal "I honestly tell you", he added, "that no one dislikes the present conditions more than myself, but at the same time I hold that the realities must be faced There can be no solution if people continue to believe in the principle of 'acquisition first and distribution afterwards' or in the latest dictum, 'possession first and partition afterwards' What is required is to evolve a mentality by which our people can think only in terms of citizenship

> I may add that our country is not alone in this problem Other countries had to face similar problems England had its Roman Catholics and Protestants and Canada its British and French But they ultimately solved their problems and I make bold to say that we can also solve this problem I therefore appeal to every patriotic Indian that instead of fighting for a distant ideal to mould the whole of India into mere citizens when the Hindus will cease to be Hindus and Musalmans Musalmans politically let us first solve this problem of the minorities
>
> **Why the League?**
>
> I have repeatedly been asked why there should be a Muslim League My answer is that those who question the existence of the League should read its constitution and ideal They will honestly find that there is no difference between the ideal of the League and that of the Congress or any other political organisation The election manifesto speeches of prominent Muslim League members would test the testimony that we wanted to send in the legislature men who were patriotic nationalists and independent
>
> It will be conceded that there is an undesirable element in the Muslim community just as there is an undesirable element in any other community in India Our aim and purpose has been to weed out this undesirable element from the public life of the country and only have a body of men who will be independent, selfless and think and act in terms of nationalism With this view I also hold that Hindu leaders and Muslim leaders can exercise greater

[1]Public address *Civil & Military Gazette* 21 September 1937

influence over members of their community and this is possible under the present conditions by means of separate organisations

"This to my mind is the best and quickest road to advance and the realisation of our goal Because when we have hammered out the best minds of the Hindus and the Musalmans it will and must lead more quickly towards unity and a united front which is essential for our struggle This is reality and the shortest road, while the other is ruin and will lead us to the longest road It is no crime if I wish to make my community strong as long as my activities are not anti-national, are not obstacles in the way of the freedom of the country and not against any community If I make my community strong independent and patriotic during my life time I will feel that the purpose of life has been achieved and I have not lived in vain and if Mr Bhulabhai Desai can achieve the same for his community he would have done his part

The Main Work

Separate electorates or no separate electorates we then both will first work for the freedom of our country But the freedom of our country does not mean freedom for the majority and the rule of the majority I may assert that even the ordinary majority can be extremely oppressive and tyrannical It, therefore stands to reason that the majority with a fundamentally different culture traditions social life and outlook always tries to force its ideals on the minorities

Historical instances come from Czechoslovakia That country is governed by a sovereign majority while we are all slaves and yet two million Germans out of 14 million Czechs and Slavs had apprehensions and fears of the majority After a long and strenuous struggle and no doubt under pressure from the League of Nations, which is responsible for the protection of the minorities in sovereign States and with backing from the German nation, this small German minority compelled the sovereign majority to guarantee to it security of its culture and language Is this religious? Is this communalism? Germans Czechs and Slavs are all Christians They are more homogeneous than any community in India They dress alike eat alike live alike and intermarry and yet their fear and apprehensions of the destruction of their culture and language had to be removed In the same way the Musalmans want that their religious culture language and political existence in national life should be adequately and effectively safeguarded There is no communalism or religion involved in this demand

"It was pure and simple a question of the minorities which had to be faced by statesmen in other countries and was to be solved In conclusion I may state that none desire a settlement with majority community more than myself I want unity I want a united front So does the other community and party but our definition of what is fair and just has come to bear a different meaning interpretation and standard If India is to have freedom — and there is no self respecting man who does not desire the freedom of his motherland — then the problem of the minorities must be solved bravely and justly and must be solved at once In any honest attempt towards the solution of this problem other communities and parties will not find the Musalmans or myself lagging behind"

The address which was presented to Mr Jinnah on behalf of the Muslim community of Simla expressed the completest confidence in his leadership and urged upon him to further elucidate the ideals of the Muslim League which would be acceptable to all political parties in India, stressing the need of making complete independence as the political ideal of the League Among those who attended the reception were Sir N N Sircar, Sir Sultan Ahmed, Sir Jagdish Parshad, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Mr Desai, Mr Aney, Mr Chapman Mortimer, Mr Satyamurti, Mr B Das, Sardar Jogendra Singh, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Sir Abdul Halim Ghaznavi, Sir Mehar Shah, Sir Sher Muhammad Khan, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Sir Abdoola Haroon Mr Ghias-ud-Din and many other members of the Central Legislature — AP

93 Unite Under ML Flag — Advice to Students[1]

'The crying need for the Musalmans is to organise themselves and stand on one platform and under one flag of the only organisation of the Muslims namely the All India Muslim League Our hope lies in our young men who will soon have to bear the burden and responsibility of the immediate future I feel that in the present conditions and the way in which things are moving, if the Muslims are not organised and solidarity and unity is not established, they are likely to be crushed nay even wiped out of their proper place in the national affairs of the country and of the Government that is set up and may be set up hereafter I therefore appeal to you young men not to be led away by visionary ideas but act as practical men in the light of realities which face us I wish you all success '

[1]Message on the occasion of the establishment of Punjab Muslim Students Federation, *Tribune* 1 October 1937 cited in Sarfraz Hussain Mirza, *The Punjab Muslim Students Federation An Annotated Documentary Survey, 1937-47* Research Society of Pakistan Lahore 1978 p 233

94. Lucknow ML Session "Musalmans Cannot Expect Justice or Fair Play" from Congress[1]

'Ladies & Gentlemen! This Session of the All India Muslim League is one of the most critical that has ever taken place during its existence for the last more than thirty years

"The Policy and the Programme that you are called upon to formulate and lay down involves the fate and the future of the Musalmans of India and the country at large On the 12th April, 1936 the Muslim League at its Sessions the first time in its history, undertook the policy and programme of mass contact The League considered the prevailing conditions and surveyed the situation that we had to face the forthcoming elections on the eve of the inauguration of the new provincial constitution embodied in the Government of India Act 1935, and had no alternative but to enter the field and contest the elections to the Provincial Legislatures It was also felt that there was no alternative but to utilise the provincial constitution for what it was worth although it was far from being satisfactory I may here reproduce the resolution that was passed on the 12th April 1936

> Whereas the Parliamentary system of Government which is being introduced in this country with the inauguration of the new constitution presupposes the formation of parties with a well defined policy and programme which facilitate the education of the electorate and co operation between groups with approximate aims and ideals and ensures the working of the constitution to the best advantage and whereas in order to strengthen the solidarity of the Muslim community and to secure for the Muslims their proper and effective share in the Provincial Governments it is essential that the Muslims should organize themselves as one party with an advanced and progressive programme it is hereby resolved that the All India Muslim League do take steps to contest the approaching provincial elections and for this purpose appoint Mr Jinnah to form a Central Election Board under his presidentship consisting of not less than 35 members with powers to constitute and affiliate Provincial Elections Boards in various Provinces having regard to the condition of each province and devise ways and means for carrying out the aforesaid objects

In pursuance of that decision the Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board was established in June 1936 and also in various Provinces provincial Boards were established to give effect to the resolution and the instructions of the League It was not without difficulty and it was no small task to be performed in the absence of any previous preparations or any existing sufficient organization and machinery It was a stupendous undertaking to contest elections in all the provinces specially when Musalmans all over India are numerically in a minority and weak educationally

[1] M A Jinnah *All India Muslim League Lucknow Session October 1937 Presidential Address* Saxon Press 43 Fort street, Fort Bombay n d Jinnah delivered the speech on 15 October 1937 See also *Star of India*, 16 and 17 October 1937 for details of the session's proceedings

backward and economically nowhere There never had been made any systematic effort for their social and economic uplift whereas our sister communities have gone far ahead with their organizations and the systematic programme supported by a large bulk of people, especially the Hindus who are not only in a majority but better trained, more disciplined and far better equipped educationally, economically and financially

"But here I may mention that within a short time of about six months' work before the elections were over the results were very hopeful and there is no need for us to despair In each and every Province where League Parliamentary Board was established and the League parties were constituted we carried away about 60 and 70 per cent of the seats that were contested by the League candidates and since the elections were over I find that hundreds of Districts Leagues have been established in almost every province from the farthest corner of Madras to the North West Frontier Province Since April last the Mussalmans of India have rallied round the League more and more and I feel confident that once they understand and realize the policy and programme of the Muslim League, the entire Mussalman population of India will rally round its platform and under its flag The Muslim League stands for full national democratic self government for India A great deal of capital is made as to phrases more for the consumption of the ignorant and illiterate masses Various phrases are used such as *Purna Swaraj self government, complete independence, responsible government substance of independence and dominion status* There are some who talk of complete independence But it is no use having complete independence on your lips and the Government of India Act 1935 in your hands Those who talk of complete independence the most mean the least what it means Was the Gandhi Irwin pact in consonance with complete independence? Were the assurances that were required before the offices would be accepted and the provincial constitutions could be worked were consistent with *Purna Swaraj* and was the resolution after the assurances were refused accepting offices and working the provincial constitution enacted by the British Parliament and forced upon the people of India by the imperialistic power in keeping with the policy and programme and the declarations of the Congress party? Does wrecking mean working? These paper declarations slogans and shibboleths are not going to carry us anywhere What India requires is a complete united front and honesty of purpose and then by whatever name you may call your government is a matter of no consequence so long as it is a government of the people by the people for the people

"The present leadership of the Congress especially during the last ten years has been responsible for alienating the Musalmans of India more and more by pursuing a policy which is exclusively Hindu and since they have formed the Governments in six provinces where they are in a majority they have by their words, deeds and programme shown more and more that the Musalmans cannot expect any justice or fairplay at their hands Wherever they are in a majority and wherever it suited them they refused to co operate with the Muslim League parties and demanded unconditional surrender and signing of their pledges

"The demand was insistent, abjure your party and foreswear your policy and programme and liquidate Muslim League but where

they found that they had not a majority like the North West Frontier Province, their sacred principle of collective responsibility disappeared and promptly the Congress party was allowed in that province to coalesce with any other group That any individual Musalman member who was willing to unconditionally surrender and sign their pledge was offered a job as a minister and was passed off as a Musalman minister although he did not command the confidence or the respect of an overwhelming majority of the Musalman representatives in the legislatures These men are allowed to move about and pass off as Muslim minister for the loyal services they have rendered to the Congress by surrendering and signing the pledge unconditionally and the degree of their reward is the extent of their perfidy Hindi is to be the national language of all India and that *Bande Mataram* is to be the national song and is to be forced upon all The Congress flag is to be obeyed and revered by all and sundry On the very threshold of what little power and responsibility is given the majority community have clearly shown their hand that Hindustan is for the Hindus, only the Congress masquerades under the name of nationalism whereas the Hindu Mahasabha does not mince words The result of the present Congress party policy will be I venture to say class bitterness communal war and strengthening of the imperialistic hold as a consequence I dare say that the British Government will give the Congress a free hand in this direction and it matters very little to them nay on the contrary it is all to the good so long as their interests imperial or otherwise are not touched and the defence remains intact but I feel that a fearful reaction will set in when the Congress has created more and more divisions amongst Indians themselves and made the united front impossible

Here it will not be out of place to state that the responsibility of the British Government is no less in the disastrous consequences which may ensue It has been clearly demonstrated that the Governor and the Governor General who have been given the powers and special responsibility to safeguard and protect the minorities under the constitution which was made so much of by Lord Zetland the Secretary of State for India during the controversy of the assurances demanded by the Congress party have failed to use them and have thereby been a party to the flagrant breach of the spirit of the constitution and the instrument of instructions in the matter of the appointment of Muslim ministers On the contrary they have been a party to passing off men as Muslim ministers by appointing them as such although they know full well that they do not command the confidence of the Muslim representatives or the public outside If in a matter like this the Governors have shown their utter helplessness and disregard for their sacred obligations which were assumed by the British Government for the protection of minorities could they or would they be able to afford protection in hundred and one other matters which may not come up to the surface or known in the day to day working of the Legislature and the administrative machinery These are very serious and noteworthy signs of the time The one wholesome lesson that I ask the Musalmans to learn before it is too late is that the path before the Musalmans is therefore plain They must realise that the time has come when they should concentrate and devote their energies to self organization and full development of their power to the exclusion of every other consideration I have pointed out before that a section of Musalmans is divided that there is a group that stands

with face turned towards the British if they have not learnt by now of the bitter consequences they will never learn God only helps those who help themselves There is another group which turns towards the Congress and they do so because they have lost faith in themselves I want the Musalmans to believe in themselves and take their destiny in their own hands We want men of faith and resolution who have the courage and determination and who would fight singlehanded for their convictions although at the moment the whole world may be against them We must develop power and strength till the Musalmans are fully organised and have acquired that power and strength which must come from the solidarity and the unity of people without which nothing can be achieved

No settlement with the majority is possible as no Hindu leader speaking with any authority shows any concern or genuine desire for it Honourable settlement can only be achieved between equals and unless the two parties learn to respect and fear each other there is no solid ground for any settlement Offers of peace by the weaker party always mean confession of weakness and an invitation to aggression Appeals to patriotism justice and fair play and for the goodwill fall flat It does not require political wisdom to realize that all safeguards and settlements would be a scrap of paper unless they are backed up by power Politics means power and not relying only on cries of justice or fair play or goodwill Look at the nations of the world and look at what is happening everyday See what has happened to Abyssinia look what is happening to China and Spain and not to say of the tragedy of Palestine to which I shall refer later

The Congress High Command speaks in different voices One opinion is that there is no such thing as Hindu Muslim question and there is no such thing as Minorities question in the country The other high opinion is that if a few crumbs are thrown to the Musalmans in their present disorganized and helpless state you can manage them They are sadly mistaken if they think that the Musalmans can be imposed upon The All India Muslim League has now come to live and play its just part in the world of Indian politics and sooner it is realized and reckoned with the better it will be for all interests concerned The third opinion is that there is no light to be seen through the impenetrable darkness but as the Congress goes on acquiring strength and power so the past promises of the blank cheques remain unfilled and unsigned

I want the Musalmans to ponder over the situation and decide their own fate by having one single definite uniform policy which should be loyally followed throughout India The Congressite Musalmans are making a great mistake when they preach unconditional surrender It is the height of defeatist mentality to throw ourselves on the mercy and goodwill of others and the highest act of perfidy to the Musalman community and if that policy is adopted let me tell you, the community will seal its doom and will cease to play its rightful part in the national life of the country and the Government Only one thing can save the Musalmans and energise them to regain their lost ground They must first recapture their own souls and stand by their lofty position and principles which form the basis of their great unity and which bind them in one body politics Do not be disturbed by the slogans and the taunts such as are used against the

Musalmans *Communalists*, *toadies* and *reactionaries* The worst *toady* on earth the most wicked *communalist* today amongst Muslims when he surrenders unconditionally to the Congress and abuses his own community becomes the nationalist of nationalists tomorrow These terms and words and abuses are intended to create inferiority complex amongst the Musalmans and demoralise them, and are intended to sow discord in their midst and give us a bad name in the world abroad This is the standard of propaganda which can only be treated with contempt

'The All India Muslim League certainly and definitely stands to safeguard the rights and interests of the Musalmans and other minorities effectively That is its basic and cardinal principle That is the *Causus belli* That is why the Muslim League and those who stand by it have incurred the displeasure of the Congress for what else are we doing which the Congress object to Congress is doing exactly what we decided two years ago The League is not going to allow the Musalmans to be exploited either by the British Government or any other party or group inside the legislature or outside The Congress with all its boasts has done nothing in the past for the Musalmans It has failed to inspire confidence and to create a sense of security amongst the Musalmans and other minorities The Congress attempt under the guise of establishing mass contact with the Musalmans is calculated to divide and weaken and break the Musalmans and is an effort to detach them from their accredited leaders It is a dangerous move and it cannot mislead any one All such manoeuvres will not succeed notwithstanding the various blandishments catchwords and slogans The only honest and straightforward course is to give the minorities a fair deal All the talk of hunger and poverty is intended to lead the people towards socialistic and communistic ideas for which India is far from prepared The Muslim League in the present conditions considers the policy of direct action as suicidal and futile Two such attempts have hitherto failed and have entailed untold misery and suffering to the people and it had to be wound up after two decades of persistent efforts in that direction with the result that a more reactionary constitution is forced upon the people and the Congress is working it now

To ask by a resolution the Governor General to convey to the Secretary of State for India to call a constituent assembly on the basis of adult franchise is the height of all ignorance It shows lack of any sense of proportion A constituent assembly can only be called by sovereign authority and from the seat of power — a special body of men chosen as the representatives with the authority of the sovereign people to frame such constitution of the government of the country as they may think proper and their function ceases and the constitution so framed by them would automatically take the place and function as the constitution of the Government of the country Who is to constitute the electorates on the basis of adults franchise and how many representatives will be chosen by these electorates constituted on the basis of adult franchise and what will happen to the minorities in such constituencies and what will the electorates understand and how will they make their choice of this special body of men with final authority and power to frame the constitution of this great continent? Who will direct the machinery to choose the special body of men with representative authority to frame such constitution as they may think proper? Who will set in motion the

machinery And above all what will happen to the minorities in such a body? Is the Congress really serious that the Secretary of State is going to carry out all these requirements? When only a few days ago the representative of the British Government speaking with the highest authority, His Excellency the Viceroy, said that he was full of hope that they might succeed in securing the federation of India in the near future, that when he came out to India he had expressed the hope that the scheme of federation was on the whole one calculated to secure federation within a reasonable time after the inauguration of provincial autonomy and that his experience of the last 18 months had confirmed him in that view regarding the establishment of federation within a reasonable time

Taking the country as a whole the Congress is still far from occupying the seat of authority and it is a travesty of realities to think of British Government calling a constituent assembly and for the ability of the Congress to do so is a pure moonshine Let the Congress first bring all principal communities in the country and all principal classes of interest under its leadership To ask a Foreign Government who is the ruling and sovereign authority in this country to convene such a body before even the communal problem has been solved and before all important communities in India have accepted the leadership of the Congress is like putting the cart before the horse and not to forget that 1/3 of Indian India stands on a very special footing constituting the Indian States and Ruling Princes

Instead of ploughing the sands let the Congress at least concentrate and see that the All India Federation scheme embodied in the Government of India Act 1935 which is more reactionary than even the present central constitution is not brought into being as now it is so emphatically and confidently asserted by those who speak with authority on behalf of the British Government that it is soon going to be inaugurated What is the Congress going to do? Do they think that they can single handed as a party prevent it? Or will some other formula be evolved and Congress quietly accept it as a *fait accompli* as it has done the provincial constitution in spite of all the rantings of some of the foremost leaders of the Congress against it

May I now turn and refer to the question of Palestine It has moved the Musalmans all over India most deeply The whole policy of the British Government has been a betrayal of the Arabs from its very inception Fullest advantage has been taken of their trusting nature Great Britain has dishonoured her proclamation to the Arabs which had guaranteed to them complete independence of the Arab homelands and the formation of an Arab Confederation under the stress of the great war After having utilised them by giving them false promises they installed themselves as the mandatory power with that infamous Balfour declaration which was obviously irreconcilable and incapable of simultaneous execution and having pursued the policy to find a national home for the Jews Great Britain now proposes to partition Palestine and the Royal Commission recommendation completes the tragedy and if given effect to must necessarily lead to the complete ruination and destruction of every legitimate aspiration of the Arabs in their homeland and now we are asked to look at the realities But who created this situation? It has been

the handiwork and brought about sedulously by the British statesmen. The League of Nations has, it seems, and let us hope, not approved of the Royal Commission's scheme and a fresh examination may take place. But is it a real effort intended to give the Arabs their due? May I point out to Great Britain that this question of Palestine, if not fairly and squarely met, boldly and courageously decided, it is going to be the turning point in the history of the British Empire. I am sure I am speaking not only of the Musalmans of India but of the world, and all sections of thinking and fair minded people will agree when I say that Great Britain will be digging its grave if she fails to honour her original proclamation, promises and intentions — pre war and even post war — which were so unequivocally expressed to the Arabs and the world at large. I find that a very tense feeling of excitement has been created and the British Government, out of sheer desperation, are resorting to repressive measures and ruthlessly dealing with the public opinion of the Arabs in Palestine. The Muslims of India will stand solid and will help the Arabs in every way they can in their brave and just struggle that they are carrying on against all odds. May I send a message on behalf of the All India Muslim League of cheer, courage and determination in their just cause and struggle and I am sure they will win through.

'To the Musalmans of India in every province, in every district, in every tehsil, in every town, I say your foremost duty is to formulate a constructive and ameliorative programme of work for the people's welfare and to devise ways and means of social, economic and political uplift of the Musalmans. We shall not hesitate to co-operate with any party or group in any practical and constructive programme for the welfare and advance of the provinces or the country. I entreat and implore that every man, woman and child should rally round one common platform and flag of the All India Muslim League. Enlist yourself by hundreds and thousands as quickly as you can as members of the All India Muslim League, Provincial Leagues and District Leagues. Organize yourself, establish your solidarity and complete unity. Equip yourself as trained and disciplined soldiers. Create the feeling of *esprit de corps* and of comradeship amongst yourselves. Work loyally, honestly and for the cause of your people and your country. No individual or people can achieve anything without industry, suffering and sacrifice. There are forces which may bully you, tyrannise over you and intimidate you and you may even have to suffer. But it is by going through this crucible of fire of persecution which may be levelled against you, tyranny that may be exercised, the threats and intimidations may unnerve you, but it is by resisting, by overcoming, by facing these disadvantages, hardships and suffering and maintaining your true conviction and loyalty that a nation will emerge worthy of its past glory and history and will live to make the future history greater and more glorious not only of India but in the annals of the world. Eighty millions of Musalmans in India have nothing to fear. They have their destiny in their hands and as a well knit, solid, organised, united force can face any danger and withstand any opposition to its united front and wishes. There is the magic power in your own hands. Take your vital decisions — they may be grave and momentous and far reaching in their consequences. Think hundred times before you take any decision but once a decision is taken, stand by it as one man. Be true and loyal and I feel confident that success is with you.

95. Muslims "A Third Party" — "*Charkha* Won't Win Independence"[1]

Lucknow, October 21 '*Charkha* will not win independence for India, Hindu-Muslim unity will, but the Congress is indifferent to Hindu-Muslim unity,' declared Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, addressing in Urdu a public meeting held under the presidentship of Maulana Shaukat Ali, says a Bijnor message

Continuing, Mr Jinnah said that ' Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru thought that there were only two parties — Britishers and the Congress in the country There was a third party, namely eight crore Musalmans whose existence the Congress refused to admit The Muslim League would prove that there was a third party whom nobody could ignore The Muslims from every nook and corner of the country gathered under the flag of Islam at the Lucknow session The need at this moment was to close up the Muslim ranks and work for the economic and political programme of the League " — API

[1]Public speech *Tribune* 23 October 1937

96 Congress Ministries "Wounded Muslim Feelings"[1]

Patna, October 25 A warm reception was accorded to Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President, All India Muslim League, today by the Muslims of Patna Gates decorated with green leaves were erected in several places with slogans like 'Jinnah Zindabad' 'Muslim League Zindabad' in golden letters on red and green pieces of cloths flying in the air On both sides of the streets leading from the Station to the Anjuman Islamia Hall, poles were fixed with coloured flags and festoons adding charm to them

With the dawn of the day Muslims in batches carrying green flags in their hands and shouting 'Muslim League Zindabad' and 'Jinnah Zindabad' gathered at the station Mr Jinnah arrived at the station at six in the morning As the time given for the procession to be taken out was eight so he had to wait in his compartment while the crowds were surging outside and becoming impatient to have look of him By that time thousands of Muslims had thronged on the station and the platform On the platform the volunteers who wore green badges were formed into two lines Outside the platform a huge gathering waiting anxiously for the saviour of Muslims Mr Jinnah, formed themselves into a queue with arches formed of flags

Mr Jinnah, when he alighted from the compartment, was profusely garlanded Mr Jinnah's neck was bending down under the pressure of garlands Alighting from the compartment he was taken into the cordon of volunteers amidst shouts of 'Allah-o-Akbar' and 'Jinnah Zindabad' Passing through the passage formed by volunteers there he was taken out in procession He was hid in the centre of the crowds with flags roofed over him under the canopy of arches made by flags When the procession was passing the streets a sea of heads looked flowing there

Presentation of Sword

On his way to the Anjuman Islamia near Bakerganj, the procession was stopped before passing through the gate and the Imam of the Juma Masjid Bankipore presented a sword to Mr Jinnah addressing him thus *Mohib-i-Millat, Fakhr-i-Qaum* and *Mohib-i Watan* Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah on behalf of the Muslims of Bakerganj who have the proud privilege of being the gatekeepers of this ancient city welcome you today and declare you in unequivocable terms to be the Leader of Muslim

[1]Public speech and welcome at Patna *Star of India* 28 October 1937 It will be observed that the language of news reports in the *Star of India* is on occasions faulty This news item is an example

India in token of which we surrender our sword to you Henceforth we shall be the faithful soldiers to the cause of the freedom of Islam and our country We pray Allah may give us strength enough to conquer our cause Amen' Mr Jinnah touched and kissed the sword

After this the procession headed onward to the Anjuman-i-Islamia Hall Crowds had already gathered there On shops and roofs, men and children had taken their seats to have a view of the great leader who was gracing Patna by his visit The procession reached in about two hours to the Anjuman-i-Islamia Hall where Muslims eager to see and hear Mr Jinnah had gathered from before The small passage leading to the Hall was very tastefully decorated and the Hall had assumed the appearance of a bride owing to the heavy tasteful and brilliant decorations here Those who study things comparatively say that taking into considerations the percentage of the population of Muslims in Patna and also their economic condition the reception accorded to him excelled the reception given to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru when he came to Patna last time to support the cause of the Congress candidates in the elections

When Mr Jinnah arrived at the Anjuman-i-Islamia Hall there was an onrush of people because the big Hall could not accommodate all of them The big Hall was packed to overflowing [*sic*] and thousands remained standing on the doors and outside the Hall All the leading Muslims of Patna including Mr S A Aziz, Khan Bahadur S M Ismail, Hon'ble Mr Hossain Imam, Member Council of State, Mr S A Manzar, Mr Jafar Imam, Khan Bahadur Ibrahim Hussain, Mr Badruddin Ahmed and Mr Zamiruddin Ahmed were present there

Khan Bahadur Ibrahim Hussain presented the address on behalf of the Muslim citizens of Patna Mr M A Waris read out the address on behalf of Muslim Students' Federation of Bihar

Bengal Ministry

"Bengal is being attacked by the Congress press and platform but if any ministry has done anything to ameliorate the conditions of the poor it is the Bengal Ministry," said Mr M A Jinnah replying to the address presented to him by the Muslim citizens of Patna in the Anjuman-i-Islamia Hall today Mr Jinnah proceeding said "we yearn for independence more than Hindus but we want to keep the rights of nine crores of Muslims alive Islam undoubtedly teaches to be freedom-loving and so we want freedom but we want a freedom in which we should not be slaves of Hindus"

Continuing he said, that the time had changed Under the new Constitution any legislation can be passed by the majority in the legislature He pointed out that he tried to make efforts for

compromise but his efforts failed and the Communal Award was given to them and Muslim accepted it for what it was worth He said that though here was nothing of much good for Muslims in the Award still the Mahasabha and the Congress were trying to crush it down He further said that there was always appeal for trusting the majority for the rights of Muslims Muslim who were in minority were naturally afraid of the majority Muslims did not want simply to put their trust in the majority but they should be given the same rights as minorities in Canada and Egypt Simply assurances by Hindu leaders were not enough The assurances must be given practical shape and no practical shape would be given to them unless Muslims established their own solidarity and organised themselves It was exactly this all-India Muslim solidarity and organization for which the Muslim League stands

In seven provinces, he stated, the Congress had assumed power and the result was that they wounded Muslim feelings and sentiments by singing *Bande Mataram* as national anthem and forcing Hindi on Muslims as national language

Four Parties

Replying to the address presented to him by the students Mr Jinnah said, "I am at the moment a servant of the Muslim League The difference between the Muslim League and the Congress is that I mean what I say while the Congress does not mean what it says The Congress has supreme confidence in its followers We, Muslims, however, are fallen backward We may have always honesty of purpose We are on the chessboard of politics and our dreams cannot be realised by mere wish It requires great patience, diplomacy and struggle to come out successfully He welcomed students taking practical view of things although youths would not be youths unless they dreamt dreams Concluding he said that the Congress would always get angry when told that there was more than one party but as a matter of fact there were four parties — the Muslims the Hindus, the Native States and the British A realistic politics of India must be built on the full recognition of these four basic political factors

The citizens of Patna presented an address of welcome to Mr M A Jinnah today in the Anjuman-i-Islamia Hall They further acknowledged in the address that it was a personal triumph of Mr Jinnah that the thirty-one year old Muslim League which had become dissipated for sometime has again come back to full vigour and life and was assuming blooming colour The address stated that now Muslims had come to realise that the Muslim League was the only political institution which stood for safeguarding the rights of Muslims The citizens expressed their

gratitude and pleasure at the opportunity afforded to them of meeting him

The Address

The following address was presented to Mr M A Jinnah, by the Bihar Muslim Students Federation on October 26, at the Anjuman-i-Islamia Hall, Patna

'We, the members of the Bihar Muslim Students Federation, feel the greatest pleasure today that providence has favoured us with the opportunity of welcoming a leader of your capability and experience Islam has enjoined upon us the necessity of working under the guidance of a capable and farsighted leader It is the height of our fortune that your person is the embodiment of the finest qualities of head and heart Your magnanimity and firmness of decision your sincere conviction and spirit of sacrifice your love and affection for your fellowmen your high ideals your political sagacity and your constitutional acumen have combined, in making you a great popular leader in following whom lies the path of national prosperity and general well being

We are proud of having our own association in this province which looks after our affairs and protects our interests In our effort to conserve its integrity and prestige we shall not fall back I assure you Sir that we are ever ready to co operate with you and shall deem it a pleasurable duty to act on your advice Like the students of the other nations of the world who have proved their worth by taking active part for the prosperity of their own land we are ready to take part in the struggle of freedom for our own community and country We are determined to leave an indelible impression for the coming generation by working shoulder to shoulder with our elders for the uplift and betterment of the nation We are confident Sir that we possess in the fullest measure the enthusiasm ardour and ambition which are necessary for an active body and we declare it with a sincere heart that we are ready to make sacrifices however great in the interest of our community and country We firmly believe in the maxim 'What Muslim students think today Muslim India will think tomorrow

Faith in Discipline

Our ideal Sir is to serve humanity at large We assure you therefore that besides serving our own community we feel it our bounden duty to sympathise with and extend a helping hand to any other nation or community in distress We are proud to affirm our faith in perfect discipline which we consider as necessary steps for national reconstruction and therefore it is our duty to maintain it with all its highest traditions Though our brethren have overstepped the limit of discipline in their national zeal we assure you we shall never deviate from its straight path

Our esteemed leader we do not find adequate words to convey our sincerest feelings of gratitude though we use no high flown words in expressing our confidence in you We assure Sir in a plain language that we are ever ready to serve the cause of a free Islam within a free India under your able leadership

97. Hindu Aim to "Swamp" Punjab and Bengal — "I Can Only Reason"[1]

"When the Hindus blame us, do you know what they mean? They want you to be reduced to a minority in the Punjab, Bengal, Sind and N.W.F.P. They have majority in seven provinces where Providence has given them overwhelming majority. They know that in the Punjab and Bengal they can swamp the Muslim majority under the device of joint electorate. Here is the proof. When we get separate electorate, what is the policy of the League? I ask my Hindu friends to read the League resolutions over and over again. They will then find that the policy of the Muslim League is one of full blooded Nationalism. Why can't they yet co-operate with us and insist on joint electorate?" declared Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, in the course of his speech at *Rizwan*, the house of the late Syed Hasan Imam, Patna, on October 27. Mr Jinnah was lustily cheered when he rose to speak. Thanking the citizens of Patna for according him a magnificent reception" on his arrival he said:

> I know that that reception was not given to me. I know the significance and the inner meaning of that reception. It is not because I am Mr Jinnah but because of the policy and the programme of the Muslim League. You have demonstrated your approval in the fullest degree this morning. It is one more signal of encouragement to me to work with all the more energy for the policy and programme I stand for. It seems that the issues — the vital issues, the paramount issues — issues which are matters of life and death to the Muslims — I venture to say not only to the Muslims but to the country that we live in — these issues I am now beginning to see are being clarified. The more they are clarified the easier it will be for the communities to find a solution of them.
>
> I am not a poet. I am not an orator. I can only reason. One gentleman here has characterised me as the Mustafa Kamal Pasha of India. I wish I were Mustafa Kamal. In that case I could easily solve the problem of India. But I am not. I have not the army behind me. Therefore I have got to reason. My strongest and longest gun is this reasoning. I want you therefore to realise that with our shortcomings, with our weaknesses we are just on the fringes of organising our community. It is a stupendous task. But with your assistance and support I shall be able to accomplish it.

The Real Issue

> What is it we are fighting for? What is the real issue before us? I have lived all my life — it cannot be said that I have ever thought otherwise than to fight and if necessary to die for the freedom of my country. Two year ago I was the same Mr Jinnah

[1]Public speech. *Star of India*, 1 November 1937.

as I am today Two years ago I was also president of the Muslim League Since 1913 I have always stood for what is the creed of the Muslim League, namely that the rights and interests of the Muslims and other minorities must be safeguarded I have not changed Yet two years ago I was the hero of nationalism If you look up the papers — the same papers which are now abusing me and vilifying me — you will see that they were all holding me up as the hero of heroes of the nation

"What have I done since? During the last two years one important event has happened A new constitution has been framed and introduced in India Under that constitution my community was hopelessly placed Numerically in a minority educationally backward economically nowhere and financially almost bankrupt, we had to run the election under the new constitution on the basis of separate electorate

You are told day in and day out that separate electorate is vicious in principle that it is holding up national progress and national advance Let me tell you and you take it from me that I am not in the habit of making wrong statements far less untrue statements Let me tell you that you will find it in the report of the Round Table Conferences that I and the Muslim delegates stood for joint electorates over and over again but that it was rejected Let me tell you that we are not so much under the obsession of separate electorate But we do not want to be deceived by the slogans and catchwords of Nationalism We do not want to be absolutely swamped away

When the Hindus blame us do you know what they mean? They want you (Muslims) to be reduced to a minority in the Punjab Bengal Sind and the N W Frontier Province They have majority in seven provinces where providence has given them overwhelming majority They know that in the Punjab and Bengal they can swamp the Muslim majority under the device of joint electorate Here is the proof When get separate electorate what is the policy of the League? I ask my Hindu friends to read the League resolutions over and above again They will then find that the policy of the Muslim League is one of full blooded nationalism Why can't they yet co operate with us and insist on joint electorate?

Anyway we put up our candidates who were pledged to that policy and programme of the Muslim League I should have thought that the Congress should have regarded it as a very great advance indeed Instead of that what did they do? For a short time they did not quite see the things After a short time they thought that this means organising the Muslims And then they tried to put up some candidates These candidates in most places were defeated After we secured a fairly substantial success the Congress leaders came forward and became very solicitous and anxious to establish mass contact with the Muslims

I ask did the Congress take any interest in the Muslims before? I ask the Congress leadership will they point out to me what have they done to promote the interests of the Muslims during the last 20 years? Mass contact they say! The Muslims in the past have been in the no man's land Having no organisation no system their leaders were exploited either by the British Government or by the Congress to the fullest extent It was only with the

coming of the League that the Muslim came to his own He came to feel I am the owner — it is my land and I will not allow anyone to trespass on it But what do we get from the Congress? The Congress says Oh! the League is the organisation of the upper middle classes who do not represent the Muslim masses they are only reactionaries toadies and flunkeys The Congress says that Mr Jinnah is going to be swallowed up by these toadies and flunkeys But I tell them that Mr Jinnah is not going to be swallowed up by toadies and flunkeys There are toadies and flunkeys among both Hindus and Muslims and we shall put them in their proper places

"See the Monstrosity"

"But we hear of mass contact For what? To get hold of men who will be their creatures who will sign their pledge take up their programme and sing *Bande Mataram* Just see the monstrosity of this The majority of the Muslims have no confidence in those Muslims who are willing to sign the pledge to work out the policy of the Congress Yet these are just the persons who are accepted as Ministers — Muslim Ministers at that This is adding insult to the injury It is following the policy of the ostrich They think that we are all fools They say here is a Muslim Minister That man struts about in the province as a Muslim Minister He manages somehow or other He betrays the party whose pledge he signed He says he has changed his views he says he does not agree with the party any more not because we have done anything wrong for we have not done anything at all Yet such a man is made to pass as a Muslim Minister!

This I say is adding insult to injury The Congress is following this sort of policy They know full well that these are not real coins these are counterfeit coins spurious coins They do not command the confidence of the Muslim public — the majority of Muslims have no confidence in them Yet they are passed as representatives of Muslims and the world sought to be convinced that the Congress represents not only Hindus but also Muslims!

Congress Creatures Game

'This is one attitude We are a disorganised community We are weak And of course there is temptation of position posts and pay These attract some people The Congress therefore says let us see how many more creatures of this kind we can secure to our side so as to show that we represent not only Hindus but also the Muslim community This is the game which is now being played at Bijnor

It is the biggest folly that they are doing I am confident that they can't possibly succeed in imposing themselves on Muslims like that Nor can those who take our votes at the time of election by signing our pledge and then join another party with the policy of which we do not agree How long I ask can these tactics these manoeuvres succeed?

These are however small matters What is the biggest issue — most vital issue? That is the question of the safeguarding of the rights and interests of the Muslims and other minorities Those of you who have any knowledge of the history of the world will know that India is not the only country where we are talking about the

protection of the minorities Why here do we talk about it? For this is reason we have got a democratic form of government and as time passes we will get more and more of responsible government That system of government however is worked by majority votes It is the majority votes that will decide In that system of government the question is rising — not once or twice but several times in every country in every part of the world The same question is rising in India It is no use shirking that main question I know what some people on the Congress side say They say well why not do what happened in Poland Czechoslovakia and such other countries for the solution of minorities problem But I must remind them of what Lord Morley once said that the fur coat of Canada cannot be worn in India with a temperature of 108 degrees India is to solve its minority question having regard to the peculiar conditions and circumstances in this country There are not two countries who have solved the minority question exactly on the same lines Canada Egypt Czechoslovakia — all have different solutions We will have our own solution too This minority question has got to be settled according to the condition according to the genius of the people — according to the circumstances that are to be found here

We tried our best to find a solution of this problem in London at the time of the Round Table Conference by agreement We failed I do not want to say who is to blame for the failure but the fact is we failed Therefore the British Government have given the Communal Award I should have thought that common sense and ordinary intelligence would make any man here say Well never mind who is to blame after all we could not come to an agreement here is the Communal Award although I do not deem it a worthy gift — I do deny however that it is detrimental to the real interests of the Hindus of this country — well I should have thought that a great mind will say God willing we will come to our own settlement in the meantime let us accept it for what it is worth and in the meantime let us have no rest until we have got a better substitute — an agreed substitute

Nehru's Essays On 'Award

But no Instead of that we have raging and tearing propaganda on behalf of the Hindu Mahasabha against the Communal Award Sometimes it is difficult to find out who is a Hindu Mahasabhaite and who is a Congress man The greatest leader who is regarded as next to Gandhiji — this great leader of the Congress when the Communal Award is to be fought, becomes a Hindu Mahasabhaite He takes the lead to destroy the Award What forces are let loose against it? In the back vanguard of the Hindu Mahasabha after a great deal of consideration and cogitation a wonderful formula is produced that since the Congress claims to represent the whole of India it shall not express any opinion regarding the Award — that it neither accepts nor rejects it

Then there was a row in the Congress circles You know that at the election time Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had to write three essays to formulate and define the attitude of the Congress towards the Communal Award The Congress has now declared that it is equally against the Communal Award Well have you any proposal to make as a substitute? What are we told? Oh! You

are talking nonsense you are introducing religion in politics, there is no such thing as minority question at all the issue before the country is hunger and poverty of the masses it is only an economic issue I ask you is this really an honest answer? Voices — No no

"The question therefore for the Muslims and other minorities is of life and death Why do I say this? It is a historical fact that even an ordinary majority — an overwhelming majority — is likely to be oppressive and tyrannical How much more is the danger when the majority consists of those whose religion whose culture whose philosophy whose language whose ordinary life, whose outlook — daily outlook — is fundamentally different from those of the Muslims? What will be the position of the Muslims if that majority is going to decide everything for us? Are we wrong are we unreasonable when we say that we are not prepared to trust this majority's goodwill and that we want our rights and interests to be incorporated in the Constitution itself That is really the point in general that is really the fight that is really the issue

'If you want instances of the oppression of the minorities by a majority I can give any number of them Take the case of America. America won her independence by a revolution That country is now a free country There a great leader Abraham Lincoln declared at the time of the revolution that America wanted government of the people by the people and for the people On that declaration independence was won But did the minorities there get freedom? America is not inhabited by white men alone There are millions of Negroes living in America Have they got freedom? Whose freedom it is that America has won? It is the freedom of the white man not of the black man Similarly in India too it may be the freedom of the Hindus alone and not of the Muslims

'Take another instance South Africa has complete self government Do you know that our nationals in South Africa can be numbered in lakhs? That country is free that country is independent Do you know how Indians are treated in that free and independent country? Have Indians there got freedom? Have they got any political franchise? I am giving you these instances to show how millions can be reduced to the position of slavery and political serfdom in the country in which they live These things have been done and may be done again in India

'Take our own country My heart beats as strongly for the Depressed Classes as for the Muslims The Depressed Classes in this country live in shameful serfdom Sixty millions of them had no political franchise or municipal franchise Can they live within the limits of a village? Can they draw water from the same well? They are looked upon as Pariahs Such a state of affairs exists today in this country Therefore remember this If you are not strong if you are not united if you do not build up your organisation by system and method you will be submerged by the Hindus in this country and reduced to a class of Shudras and Pariahs of the future

I cannot believe it is possible that the Congress leadership does not understand this issue But I do not want to attribute motives I take it however that they do not understand I take a charitable view of them and accept that they are foolish So let us make these foolish people understand that the only way to get national freedom is to come to a settlement with Muslims' Voices hear hear

Stronger Will Be Muslims

> Proceeding Mr Jinnah said The Congress has to learn a great deal It is following the policy of a crude beginner The Congress thinks that bullying will do It thinks that intimidation threats and a certain amount of tyranny will do make Muslims hesitate and fall back These are the methods which have been tried by the British Government also But I say from this platform I am convinced that the more you bully the more you intimidate the more you tyrannise, the stronger will be the Muslims We want to keep our position as a class We refuse to submit to any party or community We are ready as a class to collaborate for joint action but we refuse to follow the commands of Wardha or even of Mahatma Gandhi Voices hear hear
>
> Concluding Mr Jinnah said 'The Muslim heart is throbbing for a fight for the freedom of the country If you want their cooperation then change your policy No arrogance no bullying from above Come down to earth and take your proper place And then we will march with you in the battle for independence (Prolonged cheers)

In the course of his concluding observations Mr Jinnah said that there was no such thing as goodwill, fair play and justice in politics He was not prepared to be satisfied with any assurance He wanted the rights and interests of the Muslims being incorporated in the constitution itself Prominent among those present were

Lady Imam, Khan Bahadur S M Ismail M L C , Mr S A Aziz, Bar-at-Law, Babu Krishnavallabh Sahay, M L A , Khan Bahadur Ibrahim Hussain, Mr Malik Mahmood, Bar-at-Law, Haji Sharifuddin Hasan, M L A , Syed Muhammad, Barrister, the Hon Mr Hossain Imam Member, Council of State, Mr Ali Hassan Barrister Mr S M Naimatullah Barrister, Mr Raza Imam, Barrister, Maulvi Mobarak Ali M L C , Babu Nawal Kishore Prasad No II, Advocate, Mr Ali Manzar, Barrister, Mr Haider Imam, Maulvi Hasan Jan, Advocate, Khan Saheb Mazhar Imam of Khusrupur, Mr Syed Ali , M Rashid Ahmad, Maulvi Ahmad Ali Khan, Dr Ghafoor Maulvi Izuddin of Phulwari Sharif, M Shah Muhammad Haroon of Phulwari Sharif, Syed Mahmud Shere, Syed Zamiruddin Mr Ali Hasan Khan, Barrister-at-Law, Mr Sultan Ahmad, Editor of the *Ittehad*

C I D Reports [Reporters] in Meeting

Other important and significant personalities present were C I D Reporters who were occupying the privileged seats of Press Reporters The Congress Ministry's declared policy is that Police and C I D has nothing to do with political meetings and in fact there are no Police and C I D in Congress meetings in Patna But there is quite a different rule for Muslims of non-Congress meetings Is it right and just? This is the question before the Patna public

98. "Rally Round" ML and Enrol "in Lakhs"[1]

Patna (By Mail) Patna City wore a gala appearance to accord a great and magnificent reception to Mr M A Jinnah last evening The long stretch of land running from Bankipore to Patna City was thickly and heavily decorated with red and green flags and festoons, gates were erected at very small distances Multi-coloured pieces of clothes with embroidery on them and golden laces fixed on them greeted the eyes of visitors Coloured electric bulbs, Chinese lamps and gaslights were brightly and luminously shining on the road Men and women had gathered on roofs of houses and tried to see Mr Jinnah Never before in the living memory of the city it had put on such bridal dresses and decorations Bands, bagpipes and other musical instruments were being played at places The city had a picturesque appearance Traffic was closed on that road for about four hours

Mr Jinnah was taken out in a procession from a place in Patna City to the terminating place The crowd was the biggest one that was ever witnessed On the front line in the procession were horses and elephants, beautifully adorned Volunteers wearing green badges and holding green flags were singing poems eulogising Mr Jinnah

The fragile and old body of Mr Jinnah was covered under garlands and flowers showered on him and he was bathed in rose water and perfume sprinkled on him There was constant thundering shouts of 'Allah o-Akbar' and 'Jinnah Zindabad ' The procession reached Madrasah Masjid, a distance of about 1 1/2 miles where he addressed a meeting for about two hours More than 15,000 people had gathered there to hear him The meeting was held at Madrasah Masjid, Patna City better known as 'Kila ki Masjid' which is just on the confluence of the Ganges and a river from Tirhut and commands most beautiful and majestic scene

Rising amidst thundering shouts of 'Allah o-Akbar 'Mr Jinnah Zindabad' 'Muslim League Zindabad' Mr Jinnah said 'Brothers in faith, I belong to Bombay and so I beg to be excused for placing my thoughts before you in broken Urdu The enthusiastic reception given to me by the Muslims of Patna and other places means that they are willing to work on the League platform and under its banner '

[1]Public speech *Star of India* 3 November 1937

Proceeding, he said that the League formerly used to pass resolutions relating to Muslim rights and demands and urging the Government to grant them At that time the League had not launched any mass contact campaign The Muslim community, he opined, was disunited and disorganised They were lacking in education and crippled in finance Therefore when the new Constitution was inaugurated, finding that under it things will be decided by the majority of votes, the League set up an election board of its own to organise and fight the elections But that idea was not relished by the Congress The Congress did not like to see Muslims united and strengthened The Congress started creating disruptions and dissensions among Muslims The Congress did not like that Muslims should become one irresistable force and voice In fact, the Congress had not recognised that there was anything as minority question He remarked that so long as Muslims were not united, organised and strengthened, so long as they did not sink their differences and come into one fold, there was no hope for them Unity is strength and with strength the objective can be achieved

Proceeding, he referred to the Communal Award' and the Congress attitude towards it and said that Muslims were asked to join the Congress unconditionally Continuing, he appealed to the Muslims to organise themselves and open branches of the Muslim League throughout the province enrolling members in lakhs He said that if they would be organised they would have nothing to fear

Khan Bahadur Ismail

Khan Bahadur S M Ismail thanked Mr Jinnah on behalf of the citizens of Patna for taking the trouble of coming down to Patna for advising Muslims to organise He referred to the part played by the Muslim League in the history of Muslim politics He regretted that the Hindu brethren promised to wreck the constitution but had agreed to work it and, of all its provisions, were against only Section 308 of the Government of India Act Referring to the Congress attitude towards Muslims he said that a great personality had gone on fast for half an hour for securing Muslim rights Speaking about the amendment of the resolution on Constituent Assembly accepted by the Prime Minister in the Bihar Assembly he said that the acceptance was nothing but a fraud and deception because the speeches made by the Prime Minister six hours before and six hours after were before the public to judge their real attitude He declared that the United Party had merged in the League but it was not because it was tired of its existence as the *Indian Nation* had put it but because it approved of the policy and programme of the League

Mr M A Jinnah thanking the orphans of the City Muslim Orphanage who presented him a cap in momento of his visit to the city said that he wished them to be in future soldiers and the National Guards of the League

Concluding, he said "I appeal to you in all earnestness to unite and organise The situation is serious and the issues are vital If you neglect them now you will be lost for ever And so rally round the Muslim League "

Message to Students

A deputation consisting of Mr M A Munim, Mr M Sami Ahmed Warsi, Mr A C R Rahman and Mr M A Nasar on behalf of the Provincial Muslim Students Federation waited on Mr M A Jinnah on October 28 and discussed with him problems concerning Muslims in general and Muslim students in particular Mr M A Jinnah gave the following message I wish the Muslim Students Federation of Bihar all success I expect every Muslim to rally round the All India Muslim League flag Organisation, solidarity and unity of the Muslims should be yours '

99 Congress Resolution on *Bande Mataram* — It "Shows Pitiable Mentality"[1]

Bombay, November 3 "It breaths of arrogance and a patronising spirit" This is Mr Jinnah's reaction to the Congress Working Committee's resolution on the *Bande Mataram*[2] as expressed by him at a public meeting of Muslims tonight under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Muslim League

Presentation of Silver Casket

Sir Ali Mohamed Khan Dehlavi presided A silver casket representing a miniature fort and tower symbolising the Muslim League was presented to Mr Jinnah

Mr Jinnah said "I would appeal to every Hindu to dispassionately study the inward meaning of the Lucknow session I would challenge any impartial critic who does not say that the Lucknow session stands for the freedom of this country, for the unity of this country and that Lucknow does not want that one party should dominate over every other party The resolutions of the Working Committee and the A I C C, proceeded Mr Jinnah, "have shown that they have not taken the trouble or cared to understand the inwardness of the Lucknow session I am sure anyone with any intelligence will agree with me that those resolutions, specially with regard to the *Bande Mataram* and on the minorities question, show a very pitiable mentality It breaths of arrogance and patronising spirit

With regard to Federation Mr Jinnah said it was the most extraordinary resolution that the Committee had passed It seemed that all of a sudden it had discovered that it was not possible for the Congress alone to prevent the federal scheme Instead of going one step further having realised that the Congress alone could not do it, the next step was to make an honourable settlement with the Muslim League But unfortunately no efforts were being made towards this end "The mentality is in the song *Bande Mataram* that they would rather be slaves of the British than come to an honourable settlement with the Muslims"

Mr Jinnah reiterated that the Muslim League stood second to none in the fight for the freedom of the country — API

[1]Public speech *Star of India* 4 November 1937 A somewhat similar report appeared in *Statesman* 4 November 1937 For the text of *Bande Mataram* song and the plot of the novel *Anandamath* in which the song occurs see appendix X

[2]For the text of this Congress resolution, see appendix XXII 18

100. Advice to Students — "Active Participation in Politics Inadvisable"[1]

Hyderabad, (Deccan) December 16 The need for the organization of Hindus as well as Muslims for their respective economic, social and educational developments was stressed by Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, in an address to the Osmania University Union this evening

Mr Jinnah said that communalism was not created by anyone It existed for centuries Equality and fraternity must be achieved first after which they could consider the question of liberty The study of world politics was, he added, important for students but active participation in politics was inadvisable — Associated Press

[1]Public address *Statesman* 17 December 1937

101 On Kher's and Patel's "Pronouncements" — Mere Promise of "Fair Play Not Enough"[1]

Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has issued the following statement through the Associated Press

My attention has been drawn to the pronouncements made by the Hon Mr B G Kher and Sardar Vallabhai Patel on the need for Hindu Muslim unity at the meeting of the Young Muslim Brotherhood For the first time I hear the name of this association But it seems that the two eminent leaders considered it advisable to make the pronouncements at such a gathering

Mr Kher indulged in general platitudes He assured the gathering that the Ministry was doing its best to bring together the two communities and that they would do everything humanly possible to that end I wish he had given some idea of the ways and means and the *modus operandi* which he was likely to follow Similarly Sardar Vallabhai Patel gave the age long old and repeated causes which came in the way of unity In conclusion he said 'Although the Constitution was imperfect and imposed on the country the Congress had accepted office to do what little good they could Without the full confidence and support of the Muslims the Ministry would be able to achieve nothing I wonder what was the object of these pronouncements Surely one would expect something better Sardar Patel knows perfectly well that the Muslims cannot be satisfied by common place talk to put it in his own words Muslims thought that Hindus were men of honied words

Muslims' Rights

Muslims have made their position clear They want not only a complete protection for their religion culture and language but their political rights and interests should also be safeguarded adequately and effectively in the Constitution itself which may be adopted hereafter and that in the present Constitution Muslims do not wish to be drawn to appeal to the Governor who alone can redress by the exercise of his special power any wrong or injustice that may be done to them by the majority They therefore desire that the Congress Party should come to terms with them in the working of the present Constitution for what it is worth I am sure intelligent Muslims will not be impressed with the repeated plea put forward by some of the leaders of the Congress that they stand for fair play and that the Muslims should have trust and confidence in them That is not enough in the present existing conditions

[1]Press statement, *Statesman* 26 December 1937

102. Won't Accept "Hindu Raj"[1]

Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President, All-India Muslim League, addressed a crowded public meeting of Muslims held last evening at the Mohammad Ali Park [Calcutta] under the presidency of the Hon Mr A K Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal About 10,000 people attended "Hold fast and work together and avoid all separatist tendencies" With this message of the Holy Quran the proceedings commenced The Hon Mr Fazlul Huq, in course of his speech said that the Muslim League was achieving wonders all over the country and the time was not far distant when Muslims would unite solidly under its banner

Delivering his address Mr Jinnah said that the Muslim League and the Muslims of India stood for equality, fraternity and liberty They were ready to co-operate with their sister communities in this country but on terms of equality and not on terms of subordination They were ready to fraternize with them and march along with other people for the liberty of this country But it was not to be a 'Hindu Raj" It should be the 'Raj of the people of this country' That was what the Muslim League stood for that not only their religion culture and language be protected but their political rights and interests must be safeguarded that was the principle for which they were fighting There were many people he continued, who either evaded or ignored that issue Those who said that it was against nationalism when Muslims asked for safeguards did not mean nationalism of the country but what they meant was Hinduism"

'Remember' he went on 'that the Government of the various provinces and the Central Government which may come hereafter, is the Government which will decide questions according to the majority they command and that majority decision is binding on everybody We know that we have got a little majority in Bengal and also in the Punjab It is no majority 50 or 51 per cent is no majority at all But what about the provinces where the Muslims are in a hopeless minority? What protection what security and guarantee have we got there that there will be fair play under the rule of the majority? Those who shut their eyes to this issue are doing the greatest harm not only to their own community but to the country as well It is for that reason that we have come into the

[1] Public speech *Star of India* 27 December 1937

field and we will make our Hindu friends understand that they are going on a wrong path and that the right path is to listen to us."

Proceeding, Mr Jinnah warned them against being misled by false ideas and wrong issues and said that the Muslims of India could no longer be imposed upon. He threw out a challenge to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to come and sit with him and together formulate ameliorative measures for the immediate relief of the poor. They were ready, but they were not to be 'bamboozled' in the name of poverty and hunger to forget everything else and commit suicide. His fight was not with the Hindus but with the Congress leadership. There were many Hindus who deplored the present policy of the high command of the Congress but their voice [*sic*] in the wilderness. In the circumstances, Mr Jinnah concluded the best course for the Muslims was to unite under the banner of the Muslim League not only in the interests of the community alone but also in the best interest of the country to which they belonged.

103. Addresses Muslim Students—"I have Failed" With Hindus[1]

The inaugural session of the All India Muslim Students Federation Conference commenced before a mammoth and enthusiastic gathering in a very big and beautiful pandal at Mohammad Ali Park, Calcutta, on Monday, December 27, at 7 p.m. Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President, All India Muslim League presided.

The President, Hon'ble Mr. A.K. Fazlul Huq, the Hon. Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin and Mr. S.A. Aziz, were greeted on their arrival in the pandal with cries of 'Allah-o-Akbar'.

Prominent persons on the dais were: The Hon'ble Mr. A.K. Fazlul Huq, Premier, Bengal, Sir Syed Muhammad Sa'dullah, Premier, Assam, the Hon'ble Alhadj Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, the Hon'ble Mr. H.S. Suhrawardy, the Hon'ble Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, Ministers of Bengal, Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, Maulana Akram Khan, M.L.C., President, Bengal Presidency Muslim League, Mr. S.A. Aziz, Bar-at-Law, Ex-Minister, Bihar, Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Mr. A. Waseque, Mr. M. Nauman, K.B. Abdul Momin, Prof. A. Hena, Dr. Syud Hossain, Mrs. Shahabuddin, Nawabzadi Hajra Khatun, Mrs. Shahabuddin, Maulana Shaiq Ahmad Osmani (*Asre Jadid*), Maulana Abdul Jabbar Wahidi, Mr. A. Jabbar 'Shahidi', M.S. Wasif, S.M. Osman, M. Ghulam Hasan (Punjab), Khwaja Tajuddin (Punjab), Khwaja Ghulam Ahmad (Punjab), Bahauddin (Punjab), Sheikh Ghulam Mohiuddin (Punjab), Syed Muhammad, Bar-at-Law, Patna, Syed Haider Imam, Bar-at-Law, Patna and Mulla Jan Md.

Anti-Muslim Press

Maulana Ikram Khan opened the proceedings with a recitation from the Holy Quran. The Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq in the course of his speech referred to his recent tour in Eastern Bengal and denounced the unjust propaganda against and unfair treatment meted out to his Ministry and community by the Hindu Press.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah in the course of his speech said that last year he presided over the Lucknow session of the All India Students Federation which was opened by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. But now he was presiding over the All India Muslim Students Federation. What was the reason? Mr. Jinnah explaining the circumstances which had forced him to change his mind and revise his opinion said that he had come to

[1]Public speech. *Star of India*, 28 December 1937.

the deliberate conclusion that there was no alternative no escape and no honourable course open for the Muslims but to organize on separate lines and first set their house in order As none was caring to do anything for their good and uplift they must organise for self-defence and self-help It was not to be done by anybody else for them Nobody would do it for them Nobody had done it for them in the past He had deliberately come to the conclusion that unless they woke up and organised themselves and developed themselves and qualified themselves nobody could have respect or care for them

All-India Federation Lucknow

Last year Mr Jinnah wished Godspeed to the All India Students Federation with the hope that the task of bringing the Hindus and Muslims on a common platform which the elders had failed to accomplish will be effected by the youth of India But he was soon disillusioned The authorities of the All India Students Federation managed to pass all resolutions and execute all business while he was occupying the presidential chair but the election of the office-bearers was held only when he had left the Conference Next morning he was informed by the Muslim students that the Hindu students had managed to totally exclude the Muslim students from the posts of office-bearers and members of the executive

Equal and Honourable Terms

In the present conditions of things it was difficult for the Muslim and Hindu communities to work in co-operation in harmony and in unity in all matters He had life-long experience and enough patience and had made great efforts to work together with members of the other communities on equal, fair and honourable terms But I am sorry to say ' said Mr Jinnah, 'that I have failed so far This exactly has been the fate of Muslim Young men and Students The Muslim youth had now started the Muslim Students Federation He wished them to go on with organizing themselves although they should never fail to co-operate with any other sister community whether they were young or old men, on equal and honourable terms

While we want to raise ourselves to the highest stature, our hand of co-operation for the good of our province and country is always fully stretched but on equal terms We are not going to be subdued or to be the camp followers or slaves or the subject race of ' Hindu Raj" ('Allah o-Akbar)

Communalism and Nationalism

Mr Jinnah then inviting Syed Abdul Aziz, Barrister-at-Law, Patna, Ex-Minister of Education, Bihar, to deliver his inaugural

address, paid glowing tributes to his All-India fame for his great record of services in the cause of national welfare and nationalism Mr Aziz, said Mr Jinnah, was a "Nationalist" and so was he (Mr Aziz "I think we are still true and sincere Nationalist.) I mean Mr Aziz was a 'Nationalist' In the sense that he was recognised as such by even the Hindus But unfortunately the conditions had forced men like the speaker and Mr Aziz to unite on a communal platform of Muslim students

"I welcome Syed Abdul Aziz as one of the communalists," said Mr Jinnah, "If for demanding a rightful place for Muslims in the Government of the country and in other spheres of life, I am dubbed a communalist, I plead guilty to the charge, if for taking steps to raise the members of my community socially, politically and economically, I am called a communalist, I will gladly accept that appellation The truth is that in the present atmosphere of our country it is becoming very very difficult for two sister communities to work in harmony and unison in almost all matters and I am convinced there is no other course open to us except to organise ourselves through separate organisation like the All India Muslim Students Federation But while we will go on in this way we shall never fail to co-operate with any other sister community on equal and honourable terms Only we are not going to be camp followers and not going to be camp followers and slaves under a Hindu Raj" concluded Mr Jinnah

Mr S A Aziz was loudly cheered with cries of 'Allah-o-Akbar' when he rose to deliver his inaugural address which was an inspiring and thought provoking message of unity, liberty, charity and Islamic fraternity and piety for the Muslims Mr Aziz's address was punctuated with lusty cheers Sir Sa'dullah and Professor Abdul Jabbar Khairi of Aligarh and other delegates congratulated Mr Aziz on the correct lead he had given to the Muslim students

104. Muslims "Must Insist" on "Safeguards in the Constitution"[1]

"Now that the Muslims desire, and I think they rightly desire, that if the Muslims are not prepared to destroy their culture, laws, faith and everything that they consider precious as a minority, they must insist that there must be safeguards in the constitution which must be adopted hereafter to the fullest extent and that they were agreed that India should be fully independent and self-governing nation (loud cheers and applause) I want to tell the Muslim community in India that they must not be left in the position of the Negroes of America We want the Government which Abraham Linclon wanted and that was a Government of the people by the people and for the people But when Abraham Lincoln conceived that noble form of Government, he excluded from its people the Negroes of America Many of my Hindu friends who talk of nationalism and freedom and independence, excluded the Muslims from its domain That is the fundamental and vital difference between the Congress High Command and the Muslim League I know that many Hindus agree with me fully and wholeheartedly, but at the present moment their voice was either silenced or drowned and it was merely a cry in the wilderness The High Command of the Congress must be brought to [its] sense Ours is a just position and if we are united, we have nothing to fear If we are united and thoroughly organized under the Muslim League, I am confident that a large body of Hindus will agree with us that the Congress High Command must be brought to its sense," said Mr Jinnah in the course of his outspoken speech at the second sitting of the All India Muslim Students Federation conference held on Tuesday [28 December] at Mohammad Ali Park, Calcutta

The aims and objects of the Muslim League did not fall short of the aims and objects of the Congress or any other political organisation of the country But in spite of the fact that there was the common political objective the Muslims could not forget the realities and actualities that were facing them at the present moment

Mr Jinnah had not changed in the slightest degree since 1913 when he affirmed that in any constitution that might be framed for the Government of the country and by whosoever

[1]Public speech, *Star of India* 29 December 1937

there should be adequate safeguards for the rights and interests of the Muslims because they were a minority and it was on that basis that the Lucknow Pact was brought about in 1916 This Pact was the basis of the programme of both the Congress and the League and according to its principles various unity conferences were called and various efforts made to found an agreed formula for the purpose of safeguarding the rights and interests of all minorities in India

This went on until the High Command of the Congress specially for the last five or six years openly discarded this basic and fundamental item of the policy and programme of the Congress and took up an attitude that there was no such thing as minority question at all "One of the fundamental and vital differences between the League and the Congress was that they not only believe that there is such a thing as minority question in India but also that it is a matter of life and death with the Muslims"

Tyrannical Majority

Emphasizing the need of special safeguards for the minorities in India under a democratic government Mr Jinnah said that whether it would succeed or not or it would flourish on the Indian soil or not the form of Government that they had in India was a democratic parliamentary government a system which their Masters, the British had in their country 'If that Government is to function it must be by a majority and they in India know that the majority are the Hindus I do not consider that the Hindus are different from any other human beings, but human nature being what it is and from their experience, it can be said that the majority would be arrogant, tyrannical and likely to ride roughshod over the minority To make the Parliamentary Government a success a powerful opposition is necessary That is in respect of ordinary majority where a large body of voters from 80 p c to 90 p c are required to cast their votes not as Hindus Muslims or Parsis but as citizens of the country But in India they have got voters who are divided as Hindus and Muslims and the like They are not dealing in India only with educated advanced and a well trained electorate But even if they would have to deal with such voters so long they are believers in one particular faith — and faith is an important factor — so long they are brought up in one particular culture, philosophy and social life and if members of that particular faith formed the Government it is but natural that they would be bound to influence the Government enforce their own culture,

philosophy from the very threshold of the limited power that they may acquire We have already proof of this in the matter of singing *Bande Mataram* and in the compulsory learning of Hindi or Hindustani They cannot realize in the first flush of their victory and they cannot believe that there can be somebody else to whom all these were monstrous

Situated as the Muslims were in India and taking into consideration that the voters were not going to vote or act as pure citizens the first thing in their fight was the question — if they were going to fight for the freedom of their country what would be their position in the Government and the administration of their country?

Abolition of Poverty

Mr Jinnah congratulating the Federation said that the youth in the country had been exploited and was being exploited and would have been exploited and they of the Federation had rescued the innocent who were collected there from being slaughtered

Warning the youth against catchwords and slogans, Mr Jinnah said how in the name of nationalism, freedom on the one hand and in driving out the Nawabs, and Rajas and Maharajahs, Zamindars, capitalists on the other, the emotion and the spirit of the youth in the country were being exploited Princes and Rajas, Nawabs and Maharajahs, said Mr Jinnah, had been dubbed as bloodsuckers and the youth had been asked to clear them off Congress was the only body, they had been told, which could remove hunger and poverty But when and how? Somebody asked that question to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the latter replied that it would be within his lifetime He wished long life for the Pandit When the Congress would be able to destroy everybody who was somebody in the present-day India and turn the country into a desert to call a constituent assembly to frame a constitution for the country? But having said all these what the Congress did in fighting the elections, in accepting the office and things like that What had been done for the Kisans, the section 144 was still there, the Criminal Law Amendment Act was still there and the hunger and poverty were all there As regards Federation, when Lord Lothian landed at Bombay, he gave a party and for what purpose they could well surmise In the circumstances, said Mr Jinnah, let them not be bamboozled and let them go slow and think a little

The struggle that they were carrying on could not be more effective so long as they did not in the first instance

concentrate and apply all their energy and all their attention to the solution of the minority problem All the talks in the absence of that settlement were bunkum He was making the greatest contribution to the advancement of real nationalism if he could by some method make the Congress High Command and the Hindu public generally understand and win them over or bring them round by some means to the question of the minority problem and then march on the road If the question could be solved they would have a clear road to march on to the goal of full independence (cheers)

Muslims Nowhere

But in order to make the Hindus understand the Muslims the first thing that the Muslims should do was to win self-respect for them by doing spadework for the development of their community economically socially and educationally He did not grudge nor envy On the other hand he welcomed when he noticed in every district and small town and even in village thousands of selfless Hindu workers engaged in the work of uplifting the people All credit to them But what about the Muslims What were they doing? The condition of Muslim villagers was heart-rending but there was none to come to his [their] rescue Even the Congress which called itself national and nationalistic did not bother itself with the Muslim masses until of late Before the Muslim League came into the field the Congress took no special interest for the Muslims in the countryside They had started what they called the Muslim Mass Contact but which really was a 'Massacre contact

For all this constructive work there must be Muslim workers who would not enjoy any limelight or spotlight but would by their selfless devotion build the foundation of a great society In this work neither their teachers would stand in their way nor the Congress Government

The Muslims at present were nothing and nowhere! They counted nothing They were nobody But on the other hand there was the Congress which was not only 50 years old but was an organisation which nothing could hinder Only a few days ago while coming to Calcutta a Hindu gentleman was telling him that a nameless gentleman had contributed more than five lakhs of rupees for the Congress work

The Muslims had nothing but a wretched press in the country The Congress commanded a powerful Press whose business was to misrepresent everybody else If the Muslims wanted to give any reply to them there was no place where they could get it published

Patrika's Misrepresentation

Only yesterday the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* had made a statement which was absolutely untrue He did not know whether the writer was an ignorant fellow or a day-dreamer or he had been fooled by somebody else He did not want to be offensive because he did not believe in offensiveness The *Patrika* had told him that while he wanted that, if three-fourths of the Muslim members in the legislature consider a particular measure detrimental to or against their interests, that measure should be dropped, Mahatma Ganndhi went further and lowered this proportion from three-fourths to two-thirds to meet his wishes Mr Gandhi or the Congress had not given him either two-thirds or three-fourths and therefore the statement of the *Patrika* was untrue This was not the single misstatement In its comments the *Patrika* had further stated that the Congress or the Hindus had agreed upon his Fourteen Points If there be any representative of the *Patrika* here let him please ask his Editor to correct this Mr Gandhi or the Congress never agreed to any term at all Having said all these the *Patrika* asked him what more could he want? Was that fair? He could tell the Editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* that neither Mr Gandhi nor the Congress nor the Hindu Mahasabha had agreed to any single term any time up to date

He asked the audience to look at its arrogance Had not the Congress wrote the *Patrika*, told the Muslims that it would give them protection in regard to their religion culture and language? Did it forget that the Congress had no sovereign power or authority did it forget that the Congress were working a wretched constitution? Were the Congress in a position to say with the sovereign authority? Was this the way to come to a settlement and solve the minority problem?

'All that I have done is that I have the alarm bell The bell is still ringing but I do not yet find the fire brigade I want you to produce this fire brigade, and with them, God willing, I will be able to extinguish the fire,' concluded dramatically Mr Jinnah his speech

'Independence' with Safeguards

The following were the resolutions that were passed

> This session of the All India Muslim Students Federation resolves that it stands for the full independence of India in the form of a federal form of Government composed of the autonomous provinces and free States of India with adequate safeguards for the protection of the rights of the Muslims and other minority communities of India

'This meeting of the All India Muslim Students Federation strongly condemns the malicious propaganda carried on by the so called All India Students Federation against the Muslim University by appointing an unauthorised commission and vehemently protests against the undesirable activities of Sir Wazir Hasan and others in the same connection

This session condemns the activities of a few Muslim students of different provinces of India who under the clock of nationalism, secretly helped by the Congress are trying to divide and sub divide the Muslim community in India, and it declares that the All India Muslim Students Conference presided over by Mr M A Jinnah is the only organization which stands for the Muslim students of India

'This conference is of the opinion that the All India Muslim Students Federation should through its various affiliated associations carry on the work of spreading Islamic ideas teaching and culture among the Muslims in general and the Muslim students in particular and with this end in view should conduct discussions on such topics and arrange for lectures by eminent authorities on them

In memory of the late Maulana Muhammad Ali and in appreciation of the services he rendered to our country and community the 4th of January should be observed by the Muslim students as Muhammad Ali Day and also of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan on the 28th of March as Sir Syed Day

Attitude of Hindu Press

'Members of the Muslim Students Federation do hereby emphatically protest against the communal attitude taken up by the Hindu press in giving false news about Mr M A Jinnah and the Muslim League and are of opinion that such an attitude of the press is likely to hamper the cause of the national movement

The members of the Federation most respectfully request Mr M A Jinnah to start a Muslim paper under his supervision so that the public may be able to have correct information about Muslim affairs

This conference further requests the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad to lead a deputation of Muslim students to Muslim countries with a view to promote closer relations of Islamic brotherhood and cultural co operation

Resolutions condoling the deaths of Dr Sir Ross Masood, Sir Abdul Qayum, Sir Jagdish Chandra Bose, Haji of Turangzai and Seikh Mushir Husain Kidwai of Gadia were also adopted

105. Addresses Calcutta Memon Community — Muslim "Cause Based on Justice"[1]

Calcutta, December 31 An address of welcome was presented to Mr Jinnah today by the Memon community of Calcutta at a gathering attended by Memons, Khojas and Bohras at Albert Hall The function was presided over by Seth Adamjee Hajee Dawood Some of the Ministers including the Premier were present

In reaffirming their faith in the correct lead given by Mr Jinnah to the Muslims of India it was observed in the course of the address that the only way to a satisfactory solution of the important problem of the minorities was the one, unerringly indicated by Mr Jinnah under the banner of the All India Muslim League, the negation of which was bound to retard the progress of India

I appreciate the spirit," said Mr Jinnah in reply, "and the spirit is that you have shown in a very marked manner an appreciation of what I am doing The Memon community is essentially a business community and as a business community it has produced magnates like Seth Adamjee Hajee Dawood " He was impressed by the fact that business people were also roused and were understanding political issues and attached great importance to the fact that they had put their finger on the right spot, namely, the most important issue of the minorities which the Muslim League stood for He exhorted the gathering to show their appreciation of his work by wholehearted support by their action and emphasised that the goal the League was working for was not only in the interest of Musalmans but also was in the interest of the country as the cause was based on justice, honesty and fair play and he believed that it would be recognised by the people before long — API

[1]Public speech *Tribune*, 2 January 1938

106. Addresses Calcutta Muslims — "Proud to Belong to Islam"[1]

A largely attended meeting of the Muslims of Tantibagh, Calcutta, was held at Anjuman Road under the auspices of the local Muslim League to accord a welcome to Mr M A Jinnah during his recent visit to the city The gathering consisted mostly of 'Momin Ansars' Loud speakers were fitted for the convenience of the big audience

Mr M A Jinnah who arrived at the meeting after *Maghrib* prayers was greeted with firing of 'bombs' and cries of 'Allah-o-Akbar' and 'League Zindabad' After recitation from the Holy Quran, Mr M A H Ispahani was voted to the chair Mr Mukhtar Ahmad Azad read the welcome address in Urdu which expressed the complete faith of the 'Momin Ansars' and all other working and professional 'Jamats' of the Muslims in the Muslim League and assured Mr Jinnah of their solid support They also hoped that he will supplement the 'Political' programme of the Muslim League with a 'Social' programme and make special efforts to eradicate the barriers of caste and distinctions of classes from the Indian Muslim Society The Muslim Society, it said, must be freed not only from the 'political' subjection of the Hindus but also from the 'Social' subjection of caste which was the greatest curse of Hinduism

Backbone of Community

Mr Jinnah in his reply said that the Muslim League was fighting for the underdog The labouring and working classes and the professional 'Jamats' of the community constituted its backbone The Muslim League's primary and fundamental object was to raise them to the fullest stature of their manhood and to work for their economic, social, educational and political uplift and welfare The problem of poverty cannot be solved in a moment by magic but a very great deal can be done immediately for the relief of the poor peoples and it was the duty of all Muslims to bring that about

Referring to the welcome address which paid tribute to Mr Jinnah for renouncing Privy Council practice and a life of princely ease and comfort in London in response to the call of the Muslim India which elected him leader of the Muslim League in 1935 at a most critical and chaotic state of Muslim politics, he said that he left London and adopted the present

[1]Public speech *Star of India*, 7 January 1938

course of strenuous life only because he had no doubt in his mind that the political future of the Indian Muslim community and Islam, to which he was proud to belong, was in danger of disintegration for want of a bold and correct leadership and the utter lack of organization He had now come to the deliberate conclusion after much thought and experience that unless the Muslims of India organize and all sections and groups of them unite on a common platform, they were doomed to serfdom and subjection in India The Muslims must get the power and force of organization at the back of their voice otherwise it will be nothing but a voice in wilderness

No Liberty Without "Equality"

Continuing, Mr Jinnah said that he was not fighting the Hindus He was not even fighting the Congress He was fighting the Congress leadership which had got intoxicated and had consequently taken leave of reason It was his patriotic duty to bring that leadership to senses He was fighting for the freedom of all and for equal justice to all He stood for the principle of "equality" without which liberty was worthless and meaningless The Congress had a peculiar political dictionary of its own in which "nationalism" meant 'Hinduism' and "*Swaraj*" meant 'Hindu Raj" and the "wrecking" of the constitution meant the "working" it Similarly, in Congress dictionary "freedom" meant the freedom of the Hindus and the slavery of the Muslims and other minorities and weak peoples

The sole business of the Muslim League in India was to secure real freedom, real equality and real justice for all groups, communities and classes without any distinction But the work of organizing a mass of 9 crore peoples was not an easy task No one man can accomplish that task unless he got the co-operation and support of all the sections of the Muslim community What was supremely necessary at the moment was a band of brave souls, an army of bold and disciplined, selfless and sincere workers who were ready to sacrifice and suffer for the Muslim cause

Power of Faith

When the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) started to preach Islam he was a minority of one in the world By the force of his faith he challenged the whole universe and wrought the greatest revolution in the shortest time in the world with the help of the Holy Quran If the Muslims procure the power of that 'faith", organization, discipline and sacrifice, they have no reason to fear

the hostile forces of the entire world Let them shake off their lethargy, defeatism and despondency Let them regain their faith, recapture their souls and remake their history once more in India (Cries of 'Allah-o-Akbar' and loud cheers)

Maulana Shaiq Ahmad Osmani (*Asre-Jadid*) then delivered what was acclaimed by all the oration of his life in Urdu He in a most excellent and eloquent language explained the whole history of Muslim politics and the leading role played by Mr Jinnah The super excellent oration of Maulana Shaiq thrilled, charmed and electrified the whole audience and almost every sentence of his speech was greeted with loud cheers Mr Jinnah congratulated the Maulana on his most interesting and instructive speech

The Hon'ble Mr Shahid Suhrawardy in his speech thanked the Muslims of Tantibagan for their great enthusiasm for the Muslim League and appealed to them to enrol themselves as its members He also referred to the challenge of Mr Subhas Chandra Bose regarding the Calcutta Corporation and said that he did not care even to lay down his life for the cause of right, justice and fair play (Loud cheers and cries of 'we are ready to support you in thick and thin and to stand by you ') Mr Ispahani said that he was ready to accept Mr Bose's challenge The resolution recently passed by the Corporation was an eyewash Nay, it was an insult and an affront to the Muslims of Calcutta It was a device to cover the sins and scandals of the Congress party in the Corporation

Prominent among those present were The Hon'ble Mr H S Suhrawardy, Minister Mr M A H Ispahani, M L A , Maulana Muhammad Yehya, Editor *Almomin*, Seth Haji Muhammad Yusuf, Haji Altaf (Altafi Press), Mr Barati Mistri, Haji Rahmat Ali, Mr Muhammad Israil, B A , B L , President Tantibagh Muslim League, Mr Aminul Haque M A , B L , Secretary, Maulana Shaiq Ahmed Osmani (*Asre-Jadid*), Mr S M Osman, M A , B L , Secretary, Calcutta Muslim League, Maulana Mukhtar Ahmad Azad, Maulana Abdul Jabbar, Mr Muhammad Yunus , Mr Muzaffaruddin, B A , B L , Headmaster, Islamia High School, Mr Abdur Rahman Mistri, Mr Abdul Jabbar Mistri, Mr Khalilur Rahman, Hakim Muhammad Musa, Sekandar Mir Saheb, Mr Siddiq Mistri, Mr Ziauddin, Mr Yamin Khan, Mulla Jan Muhammad, M Ghulam Hasan, Khawjah Tajuddin, Sheikh Gholam Muhiuddin and Reyazan Mistri

107 Exhorts Muslims — "Keep the Flag of Islam Flying"[1]

The Allahabad Municipal Board presented a welcome address this evening to Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League The address referred to him as a doughty champion of Indian nationalism and hoped that he would remain so It expressed pleasure at finding complete independence as the goal of his party

Replying to the address Mr Jinnah said that he wished his country to rank among the great countries of the world He added that whatever might be said about himself by others he would hold India's interests as sacred Continuing, he said that without real unity between Hindus and Muslims India's freedom could not be achieved

"Correct" Lead

In the evening, Mr Jinnah addressed a public meeting at which an address was presented to him The address was read by a former Congress man, who had only today resigned from the Congress and joined the Muslim League The address approved of the lead given by Mr Jinnah to the Muslims in India and added that the language, culture and religion of Muslims were being endangered by the activities of Congress men The address urged the Congress Government to make the position of the Muslims *vis-a-vis* other communities clear It concluded by saying that Mr Jinnah would receive their unstinted support in any programme he put before the Muslims

In his reply Mr Jinnah said that the Muslim community had to safeguard its rights and privileges under the new constitution This could be achieved only if Muslims organised themselves and strengthened the bonds of unity among themselves An attempt was being made, he said to create differences among them Muslims, he added, would be turned into slaves if they did not unite He emphasised that he was not against India achieving freedom but they had to see that not only the Hindus got freedom but also the Muslims Mr Jinnah said that the League wanted to declare in the clearest terms that it did not want Muslims to be mere camp followers of Hindus It wanted free Muslims in a free India There had been a wonderful Muslim awakening in India and what was needed at present was that this should be harnessed and properly mobilised They were always

[1]Public speech *Star of India* 8 January 1938

ready for an honourable settlement but they did not want to be bamboozled

Organisation

He advised the Muslims that whether a settlement was brought about or not they should not forget to organise themselves Assuming that there was a settlement and a solemn agreement was arrived at between Hindus and Muslims and then the Muslims went to sleep and the Hindus refused to carry out their pledges, were the Muslims going to approach the Viceroy with their complaint against the Hindus? He concluded by exhorting the Muslims to prepare themselves for the future and to keep the flag of Islam flying

108 Proposes "Committee of Responsible Men" to Inquire "Complaints" of Congress "Arrogance"[1]

Bombay, January 10 The assurance that the Council of the All India Muslim League would give their best consideration to any proposal that may be made by the Congress or the Congress Working Committee officially is given by Mr M A Jinnah in the course of a statement to the Associated Press in reply to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's recent statement Mr Jinnah says

I welcome Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's statement of January 2 1938 for one reason that its tone and language in some parts are conciliatory though the underlying spirit is no less militant and patronising I hope that the events of the last few months must have convinced the Congress High Command that the Muslim League must be recognised on a footing of complete equality Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's statement is a bundle of contradictions and some of the statements are absolutely contrary to facts He generally has indulged in the usual platitudes and there is nothing new or fresh in the statement

No Agreement

I must first of all correct the statement which coming from a responsible person like the President of the Congress constitutes a serious misrepresentation of my position when he says We have further declared that we shall stand by the provisional agreement which has been arrived at between Babu Rajendra Prasad and Mr Jinnah I have repeatedly said that there was no agreement arrived at between Babu Rajendra Prasad and myself and that I had no authority to enter into any agreement but I was willing to place the formula of Babu Rajendra Prasad and his friends before the sessions of the League provided it received the solid support of the Hindus and the Sikhs Now it is proved and admitted that it was opposed even by a very influential body of Congress leaders at the time and the Mahasabha and Sikh leaders in a body rejected it and hence the matter was dropped

Next when he says We have further declared that we shall stand by (meaning Babu Rajendra Prasad's Formula) what does he mean by we? Of course I am aware he is speaking with authority as the President of the Congress

Evasion or Ignorance?

As for the oft repeated slogan that the Congress has declared and given full assurance with regard to religion culture and language I have made it clear that we cannot rely upon such declarations

[1]Statement *Star of India* 10 January 1938 A somewhat similar version appeared in *Civil & Military Gazette* 12 January 1938

and assurances. I want Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to realise that he nor the Congress is yet in the position of a sovereign power to make declarations and give assurances. We want definite and effective safeguard and effective weapons by means of which we can protect not only our religion, culture and language but our political rights and maintain our place and position in the Government and the administration of the country. I am really surprised when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in an airy fashion, having repeated the old position and having referred to Babu Rajendra Prasad's formula, concludes by saying 'My difficulty is that I do not know what the argument is about.' Is this evasion or ignorance? He then proceeds, to patronise the Muslim League, that it has come nearer in theory at least to the Congress and then further proceeds, I do not know with what object, and informs me that the Congress of today is different from what it was when I was associated with it.

Well, that is my greatest regret and that is why I am not there. But he proceeds further and gives us the result of his laborious mathematical task and tells us that there are 31 lakhs of members on the Congress rolls of whom about one lakh are Muslims. I wonder what is intended by introducing the display of this great power of the Congress when in more than one place he says that the approach of the minorities question should be a dispassionate one and should not rouse bitterness and hatred. Then comes the attack on Mr Fazlul Huq which is most inappropriate and out of place in his present statement if he desired really to create a friendly atmosphere, and as to the rebuke to me that my approach is anything but friendly, this is simply not a fact.

However well meaning the statement of a single individual may be and even though he may be the President of the Congress, that cannot carry us very far. If the Congress really is sincere and in earnest, the way to approach is not through the Press and columns of newspapers. The Working Committee has met often but has done nothing hitherto to tackle this question officially and authoritatively. I note the assurance contained in Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's statement that he and his colleagues in the Congress Working Committee will always give their very best consideration to any statement or proposal that may be made by me, but he spoiled it for I wish he had not said, even without his issuing challenges. Hitherto the challenges have come from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and not from me.

Oppressions on Muslim Minorities

Does Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru know that all along the countryside specially many of the 10,000 Congress Committees and even some Hindu officials are behaving as if the Hindu Raj had already been established, and in the provinces where the Muslims hold a dominant voice every nerve is moved to destroy the ministries in those provinces. I have received numerous complaints of arrogance and ill-treatment and injustice meted out to the Muslims generally and in particular to the members of the Muslim League. If this state of things continues as it promises to do, I propose that a Committee of responsible men should be appointed to enquire into these instances and report the matter to the Council of the All India Muslim League for such action as they may consider proper. Would the Congress High Command

and the Ministries in the Congress majority provinces look into this matter if they desire that a more friendly atmosphere should be created with a view to find an ultimate solution of the minorities question?

No thoughtful man expects that negotiations can be carried on through the medium of the Press nor would any sensible man expect me to formulate proposals for publication and thus allow a trial by Press for verdict The Council of the All India Muslim League and myself will always give our best consideration to any proposal that may be made by the Congress or the Working Committee officially — API

109. "Islam A Complete Code Of Life" — "Flag of ML is Flag of Islam"[1]

As the Doon Express steamed into the Gaya Railway Station with a slow gliding motion in the early hours of the morning of New Year's Day, the crowd of tens of thousands that had gathered on the platform and outside the station raised cries of 'Allah-o-Akbar' which could be heard for miles around As Mr Jinnah landed on the platform with the winning smile playing about his lips the whole gathering observed a respectful silence He was profusely garlanded while he passed through the crowd to take his seat in a especially decorated car Cries of League Zindabad,' 'Jinnah Zindabad and 'Islam Zindabad' were incessantly raised The procession was preceded by a pilot motor cycle with the League Flag waving over his head, volunteers on horseback, volunteers in uniform and volunteers carrying shining swords and League flags It was a two mile long procession of shining swords and it took over three hours to pass through its route which was decorated with gates, especially erected for the purpose and festoons The entire traffic was suspended for over three hours and maunds of flowers continuously rained on him in an incessant shower from above Great enthusiasm prevailed and the deafening cries of Allah o-Akbar and Jinnah Zindabad' resounded throughout the route of the procession

The *pandal* specially erected for the purpose was packed to capacity by 1 p m Over 50 000 people from Gaya and the neighbouring places were present Mr Jinnah who arrived at 2 p m , passed through the guard of honour presented by the Muslim National Guards who were equipped with swords He performed the flag hoisting ceremony of the Muslim League crescent and star flag and was greeted with cries of Allah o-Akbar' as he entered the *pandal* Special arrangements were made for a microphone and loud speakers to make the proceedings audible to the audience The ladies were accommodated behind purdas

The proceedings commenced at 2-15 p m Mr M A Ashique, President of the Gaya Muslim League, dwelt on the futility of introducing Mr Jinnah for whom everyone waited so long and felt great pride in finding Mr Jinnah in their midst He then proposed that Shah Muhammad Mustafa Rais should take the Chair He was seconded by M Shah Qasim-ud-Din Ahmad,

[1]Public speech *Star of India* 11 January 1938

Secretary of the District Muslim League, Gaya M Hafiz Muhammad Jafar opened the proceedings with a recitation from the Holy Quran which he ended with a prayer M Zafir-Ud-Din Shams recited a stirring poem M Shah Syed Qasim-ud-Din Ahmad read an address on behalf of the Muslims of Gaya

The following is the full text of Mr Jinnah's reply to the address

> Mr Chairman Ladies and Gentlemen! Let me congratulate you all for this unique feature It is the first public meeting of the Mussalmans where arrangements have been made for the ladies I welcome the ladies who are taking part in the meeting and are sitting behind the purdah We will be greatly handicapped in our work if the ladies do not work shoulder to shoulder with us The history of Islam is full of events where the Muslim ladies have taken active part in the political economic social and educational activities The hand that rocks the cradle rules the empire and the hand that rocks the cradle must be given the fullest opportunity to take part in all our activities Believe me gentlemen this feature has given me utmost pleasure
>
> You have given me a welcome and presented me an address worthy of a king Considering the warmth of your sentiments and affection you have shown to me I feel greatly honoured Indeed I have been deeply moved by a display of your affection I appreciate the panegyrics and the praises that have been showered on me I understand the spirit and the meaning of it The meaning is that the Mussalmans and the Muslim League are one They are united in a body Talking of Gaya and this gathering I should say that thousands gathered at the platform and took me in procession and thousands are sitting around me here and have expressed their feeling through the address just now presented to me It shows they have understood the issue they are fighting for The Mussalmans have understood the policy and the programme of the Muslim League for which I am working
>
> **Islam a Complete Code**
>
> The honour and regard which you have shown to me as Mr Jinnah you have shown them to the Muslim League and Islam That is you are showing that you are wholeheartedly with the Muslim League Today in this huge gathering you have honoured me by entrusting the duty to unfurl the flag of the Muslim League the flag of Islam for you cannot separate the Muslim League from Islam Many people misunderstand us when we talk of Islam particularly our Hindu friends When we say This flag is the flag of Islam they think we are introducing religion into politics — a fact of which we are proud Islam gives us a complete code It is not only religion but it contains laws philosophy and politics In fact, it contains everything that matters to a man from morning to night When we talk of Islam we take it as an all embracing word We do not mean any ill will The foundation of our Islamic code is that we stand for liberty equality and fraternity You have honoured me by asking me to unfurl this flag I have unfurled it and am leaving this flag in the sacred charge of the Muslims of Gaya and Bihar I want you and charge

you to prove that you are loyal to it Do you believe that the policy and the programme of the Muslim League is to uplift the Muslims of India? If so I appeal to every man woman and child to enlist in the League and work for it I would not pay any empty compliments when I say, and I can say it with pride, that Gaya was the first to organise I have noted that Gaya is the first city in Bihar where a branch of the Muslim League was established before it was established anywhere else But this is not enough *Dilli Door Ast* (Delhi is still far off) We are still on the fringe of the business The task to organise 9 crores of Muslims is a stupendous task as I said But God willing I feel confident, we shall be able to organise sooner than many people think

To Bring Congress to Its Senses

The second task is how to make the High Command of the Congress to come down to the right path I see there are many Hindu friends in this gathering I welcome my Hindu friends that are here Neither the Muslim League nor I as its servant desire to fight against our Hindu brethren Our object is that the Congress should come to its senses The Congress does not represent all the Hindus but it does represent a large body of the Hindus We are trying to convert the High Command of the Congress We are trying to make the intelligent Hindus to understand that it is not in the interest of the community or in the interest of the country to pursue a policy which is ruinous You must stop your High Command from pursuing a policy detrimental to you

What is the League doing? That is apparent from the policy and programme of the Muslim League I challenge anybody to say that it is not full blooded nationalist programme The Congress has got its own dictionary When we say and pass resolution — as we said in April 1936 — that under the present conditions of our country we would utilise the provincial part of the constitution for what it is worth we meant it But the Congress passed a resolution saying that they wanted to wreck it while what they meant all the time was to work it That too is the difference when the Congress says that they would destroy imperialists princes capitalists and the zamindars When the Congress says that it means which has now been proved that they would never alienate the imperialist the princes the capitalists and the zamindars

What we are struggling for so far as the Muslims and the League are concerned? The difference between the High Command and ourselves is this — we want the High Command to come down on earth We want them not to shut their eyes to realities and not to pretend or evade or refuse to understand that in this country situated as we are there are minorities The minorities must be won over by giving them proper security That is the question of questions Whenever you succeed in voicing your feeling of insecurity in this vast continent the Congress High Command considers that it is of no consequence By their words and actions they tend not only to dissatisfy but to create doubts and to create fears in the minds of the Muslims From day to day they are pursuing a policy which would completely shatter any hope of real settlement

Bihar Muslim MLAs Must Join League

To come back to the Muslim League I have appealed that every

man, woman and child should enlist as a member of the League I say that — a very sad and distressing situation that I witness in the Bihar Leagislature is this that our representatives returned by the Muslim votes divided — why? But there it is Why? I venture to appeal to the Muslim representatives of the Bihar Assembly that it is high time that they should set a better example to the Muslims of Bihar The few that they are they can show by standing as one united party under the banner of the All India Muslim League they [their] strength of the Muslims of Bihar It is for you to make them see and understand it In conclusion I once more thank you for the address A large part of the audience may not have understood what I said Therefore I shall try to explain what I said in my broken Urdu

The following is the text and translation of his Urdu speech

Brethren my knowledge of Urdu is very fragmentary but it is my duty to explain something in Urdu This is what the Muslim League is doing Today we are entering a new era The old times have changed You know that the new constitution has come and another may come in the course of a few years The Government constituted under the new constitution is a Government of the Majority and by the Majority If the Government can be formed only by the Majority party that Majority means Hindus Your representatives will be still in a Minority no matter whatever percentage they be What we are afraid of is this that if only a Majority can form a Government and that Majority means Hindus your representatives will not be able to protect your interest, try however much they may The Congress says that they will protect the interest of the minorities without the intervention of constitutional safeguards But when we look to the histories of the countries such as the U S A South Africa Czechoslovakia and Egypt we are disillusioned The right of the minorities not protected by the constitution wields little respect What happened to the minorities in those countries? How can the majority community enjoy our confidence?

Hindu Water and Muslim Water

There is nothing in common between us Our old philosophy of life as well as our religion and language are different Hindu water and Muslim water are common enough cries heard at all railway stations It shows that we do not drink each other's water We want that we being in a minority should be given safeguards for we know in America self government and democratic government mean a government of the white people that is the majority The Negroes have no right to vote and are treated like slaves We know that if we do not wake up in time we may lose The caste system established about one thousand years ago is still going strong and the untouchables are an outstanding illustration in history how those in power persecute those under their power The constitution may cause some temptation in the beginning but what Provincial Autonomy means is this It is not our Government It is not even a Government by the Congress but it is Government by the British Government and whatever little experience we have of its working it has further served to strengthen this conclusion We must — Hindus and Muslims both — get something which is useful for all of us

Bande Mataram has been made a national song despite Muslim opposition The Congress can impose its other wishes in similar manner provided the Governor does not stop it But if he does not try to interfere the matter ends and the Congress have its day

'The Muslim League is now fighting to so protect the rights that none may crush and none may be crushed Even many Hindus agree with us but their voices do not count The High Command of the Congress is in an intoxicated state and consider themselves to be the monarch of the time The only way open for us now is to unite and offer a united front and work together It is to this end that we are trying and we want all Muslims to come under one flag — the flag of the Muslim League — the flag of Islam — so that we all may be one

Youth May Right Elders

After Mr Jinnah's speech was over, the address of the Muslim Students Federation was read out in Urdu Mr Jinnah replying, said

My young friends what can I tell you? I am very glad that in your address you say this The individuals of our student community are often called irresponsible inexperienced superficial observers endowed with temporary enthusiasm undisciplined reactionaries blind followers of the West innovators and by such other synonymous expressions This is in fact what I was going to tell you It is rather a difficult task for any man to convince the youth because the youth is a mixture of so many elements full of dreams sure of everything he is a mixture of so many elements and so contradictory that to convert him is the most difficult of all the problems This is the greatest tribute you pay to me But we want to assure you that in the present troubled state of our country your guidance has diverted the great storehouse of the natural dynamic power of our congenial tendencies into a channel where premature responsibility sudden contingencies ordained by divine destiny converts juvenile imprudence into mature wisdom and irresponsibility into seriousness Well dream your dreams have your visions indulge in what elderly people call folly It is by indulging in follies that we learn wisdom If I have converted your irresponsibility into seriousness more than half the battle is won I say it not because as people are wont to say The students of today are the leaders of tomorrow but because you have the advantage of learning the knowledge You students equipped as you are you can if you will abandon irresponsibility and take to seriousness then you can bring the senile who are not following the right course to the right course You say in your address We beg to assure you that the humble offering of our true feelings of esteem regard and appreciation will not be made by mere words but by our deeds Students of the Federation prove it by your deeds I bless you and bid you Godspeed and may God bless you'

Mr Mubarak Nawab then read an address on behalf of the Muslim Students Club The following is the full text of Mr Jinnah's reply

> Gentlemen I have practically exhausted myself I want to say a few words for your club The first thing is that I have not seen your club As I understand the club it is a very excellent idea It is a medium of meeting people under the most informal circumstances where each member is not the guest of another but a member of the club where he belongs to the club and the club belongs to him The time spent in indoor games and outdoor games provides opportunities of learning other people s thoughts and of making friendships which may last your lifetime But above all when the clubs grow you know that in the history of many nations they are makers and breakers of empires Although you may not reach that stage you may still be a power to be reckoned with

After Mr Jinnah's reply he was presented a copy of the Holy Quran and a prayer carpet with an address

110. Jubbulpore By-Election "Vote for" ML Candidate[1]

Jubbulpore, January 10 Mr M A Jinnah has issued the following appeal in connection with a by-election in the Central Provinces

> I appeal to all the members of the Muslim League and every Muslim who is a well wisher of the community to support and vote for Mister Wali Muhammad who has been adopted by the Muslim League Parliamentary Board of the Central Provinces At this critical juncture the solidarity and unity of the community is absolutely essential and I most fervently hope that my appeal will secure your wholehearted support and thus we may uphold the prestige of the All India Muslim League

[1]Statement *Star of India* 12 January 1938

111 Appeals Gaya Muslims—Follow Prophet's Example and "Stand United" Behind ML[1]

Gaya (By Mail) A mammoth meeting of the Muslims of Gaya was held in the Juma mosque on January 2 at 2 p m The mosque was packed to capacity and special arrangements were made for the *Purdanashin* ladies on the balcony The mosque was tastefully decorated and fitted with a microphone The Hon'able Syed Hossain Imam, Member, Council of State, was proposed by Mr Ashique Warsi, Advocate, and seconded by Mr Shah Qasim-ud-Din, Pleader, to preside

Hafiz Muhammad Jafar gave a recitation from the Holy Quran and ended with a prayer Mr Jinnah then stood up to speak in Urdu He said

> I appeal to you to study and try to understand the programme and the policy of the Muslim League The old times have changed and the fate of our community hangs in the balance our political struggle is beset with difficulty and is not an easy affair We cannot accomplish anything in a hurry During the two days that I have been here you have proved to me that you have enthusiasm and you have power but this alone will not help us unless it is put in proper direction The work we are doing can be likened to a game of chess My submission is where there are occasions for a display of enthusiasm and there are still other occasions for an exercise of cool judgment The two occasions are separate from each other The present time demands our coolest judgment Our prominent need is to unite the Muslims We should raise one voice and offer a united front without which we cannot succeed
>
> Yesterday you granted me the honour of unfurling the flag I have unfurled it and am leaving it to your sacred charge This flag symbolises your honour the honour of the Muslims and the honour to Islam The flag of the Muslim League is the flag of Islam This is not a new thing It is there since the last 1300 years But it had for some time past fallen into oblivion To raise this flag is to elevate our honour I am leaving it in your hands The only way now open to Muslims who sincerely want to help one another is to enlist themselves as members of the Muslim League wherein lies not only the salvation of our community but also the salvation of our country We shall bring home to our Hindu brethren the advantage of this organisation today tomorrow or the day after Muslim League is an all India political organisation of the Muslims and it is your duty to enlist yourselves as its members
>
> **Our Prophet was a Minority of one**
>
> In view of the low percentage of the Muslims not only in your province but also in the other provinces which comes to 25 per cent

[1]Public speech *Star of India* 13 January 1938

in the whole of India, we want to protect our rights under the new Constitution wherever the Hindus are in a majority I am sorry to say that even our representatives in the Assembly are disunited This would not conduce to our honour If some Muslims go to the Congress side the Hindus would claim that the Muslims are with them There would be still others who would go to the side of the Governor, but no advantage would come out of it It would make a world of difference if they all unite and form a compact body

"Surely our percentage is low but that alone should not give us any cause for anxiety Thirteen hundred years ago our Prophet (Peace be upon him) preached his faith when there was no Muslim In 20 years time our Prophet (peace be upon him) had spread not only his faith in Arabia Egypt and Europe but also brought them under his suzerainty If a single Muslim can do all this what is it which 9 crores of Muslims cannot do If the Muslims have ever been discomfited it was by another Muslim And I say if you stand united there is no power on earth which can suppress or oppress you

Thereafter the Hon'ble Mr Hossain Imam spoke for a short while

112 Warns Against "Congress Policy in Seven Provinces"[1]

New Delhi, January 30 The meeting of the Muslim League Council was adjourned till tomorrow after various proposals for the restoration of the Shahidganj mosque were heard No final decision has been taken on the subject It is understood that the Muslim League's views on the subject will be embodied in a resolution tomorrow To meet Mr M A Jinnah, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan gave today an 'At Home' which was largely attended

Welcome Address to Mr Jinnah

Nearly 20 000 people were present at a meeting at which an address of welcome was presented to Mr M A Jinnah on behalf of the Delhi Provincial Muslim League Begum Muhammad Ali presiding The address referred to Mr Jinnah's high and consistent political ideas as well as a complete absence of selfish motives in all he had done for the advancement of Indian Muslims It paid a tribute to him for the indefatigable efforts which he was making to bring the whole Muslim India on one platform by resuscitating the League and acknowledged Mr Jinnah as the undisputed leader of the Muslims The address referred to the question of Shahidganj mosque and hoped that Mr Jinnah would bring into play his political sagacity and legal ability for the restoration of the mosque to Muslims and assured him of the wholehearted support of Delhi Muslims in the matter

Mr Jinnah's Reply

Replying Mr Jinnah said that the Congress policy in the seven provinces where it had formed Government should give the Muslims some idea of what its ultimate object was The Muslims numerically, educationally and economically were inferior to the Hindus and if they wanted to have an honourable existence and have some say in the affairs of the country, Mr Jinnah said, they should do all in their power to attain solidarity and unity He wanted to warn them in time against the Congress attitude which had convinced him that the rights of Muslims were not safe in the hands of the Congress

Mr Jinnah added that the League was still a baby and if it was carefully nursed, there was no reason why it should not attain the stature of a full-grown person in a short time and become as

[1]Public address *Star of India* 31 January 1938

powerful as any other similar organisation in the country He claimed that it was through the help and co-operation of Muslims in the past that the Congress had carved out its present position and felt sure that if all the Muslims rallied round the League, it would become equally powerful When that stage was reached, he would tell them what to do in the case of Palestine and the Shahidganj Mosque Mr Jinnah concluded his speech with a note of optimism as regards the future of the League and through that of Muslim India, and said that his optimism was based on numerous signs of awakening among Muslims —API

113 Given "Full Powers" to Negotiate with Nehru[1]

Monday At today's meeting of the council of the All India Muslim League, Mr M A Jinnah, the President, it is understood, stated that he had received a letter from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru Should an opportunity of meeting the Congress President occur, he wished to know on what lines the discussions should take place

A member from Lucknow, it is understood, wanted to know the contents of the letter but Mr Jinnah regretted his inability to divulge the contents as the letter was confidential The reply he had sent was also confidential The meeting, it is further understood, unanimously vested in Mr Jinnah full powers to hold discussion with Pandit Nehru on any lines which he thought fit Mr Jinnah said that he would appreciate suggestions from members of the Council The demands suggested were, it is understood, more or less the same as the League has already put forward

The Council met in private An amusing incident occurred at the morning session Wearing a shawl a man who appeared to be a visitor to Delhi walked into the room where the meeting was in progress and sat down After a while the man was detected and politely asked to go The intruder calmly asked his questioner to sit down as he was interested in the discussion and would leave when it was over It was after some persuasion that he left the room

[1]News report *Statesman* 1 February 1938

114. Addresses Aligarh Students — "British Government Throwing Muslims to Wolves"[1]

"Today primary Leagues have been established almost in every district, in every town, and every village. They are gathering the precious stones, rubies, sapphires and diamonds, the scattered energies and talents of the Muslim community, and when you have got an artistic jeweller to set them it will be a jewel which you will be proud of." This was the peroration of Mr M A Jinnah's inspiring speech at the Muslim University Union in the Strachey Hall on the 5th February, 1938. Prominent among those present at the meeting were Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Secretary of the All India Muslim League, and Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad, Vice-Chancellor of the Muslim University, Aligarh.

Muslim Youth's Sensibility

Mr Jinnah on rising to speak was profusely garlanded by the Union Ministry. He began by saying that he did not know how to thank them for their reception. He said:

> You Mr President have showered praises upon me. But what has really stimulated me is the message of hope you have given me and the spirit of youth you have imparted to me. If you are half as determined to make sacrifice which creates sanction behind us, if you are half as willing to serve first of all Musalmans and then the country as you would have me believe, the future of our community is assured. Let us first learn to look after ourselves and then you will be able to look after others. I want to tell you facts. You Mr President have said the Muslim is born free. When was he free? In this country at any rate we have been slaves for 150 years. I don't want to dishearten you. I am glad to know that the Muslim youth is prepared to share senile wisdom and to replace mere shibboleths and slogans by some sense of practical responsibility. I want you to study and think and realise your responsibility.

[1] Jamil ud Din Ahmad (ed.) *Speeches and Writings of Mr Jinnah*, op cit pp 39-47. *Pioneer* (Allahabad) 9 February 1938 and *Star of India* 14 February 1938 published abbreviated versions of the speech.

Jinnah accompanied by Liaquat Ali Khan had reached Aligarh on 5 February and was escorted at the railway station by the University Vice Chancellor, staff, thousands of students and members of public to the campus. There in the Strachey Hall he delivered the above speech. The procession from the railway station which had accompanied him was as reported unprecedented in its size in the history of Aligarh. See *Aligarh Muslim University Gazette*, Vol II, No 3, 8 February 1938.

Personal Reminiscences, Lucknow Pact and After

Mr Jinnah next struck a personal note and recalled the Lucknow Pact[1] with which he had been so closely associated It was based on a small step forward towards self-government Since 1924 the Musalmans have not been behind any other in their honest desire for full self-government In this matter there was no difference But the basic principle so far both of the Congress policy and the League policy had been that the rights and interests of all the minorities must be safeguarded in any constitution by whomsoever framed Many efforts had been made since 1924 till the Round Table Conference to settle the Muslim-Hindu question

> At that time said Mr Jinnah there was no pride in me and I used to beg from the Congress I worked so incessantly to bring about a rapprochement that a newspaper remarked that Mr Jinnah is never tired of Hindu Muslim unity But I received the shock of my life at the meetings of the Round Table Conference In the face of danger the Hindu sentiment the Hindu mind the Hindu attitude led me to the conclusion that there was no hope of unity I felt very pessimistic about my country The position was most unfortunate The Musalmans were like the No Man's Land they were led by either the flunkeys of the British Government or the camp followers of the Congress Whenever attempts were made to organise the Muslims toadies and flunkeys on the one hand and traitors in the Congress camp on the other frustrated the efforts I began to feel that neither could I help India nor change the Hindu mentality nor could I make the Musalmans realise their precarious position I felt so disappointed and so depressed that I decided to settle down in London Not that I did not love India but I felt utterly helpless

[1]See appendix II for its text It was reached at Lucknow in 1916 between the Muslim League and the Congress led respectively by Jinnah and Gandhi Broad provisions of the Pact were That Muslims would have their separate system of voting called the separate electorate and weightage of representation in the Central and Provincial legislatures where they constituted a minority Hindus would be allowed similar weightage in the legislatures of the Punjab and Bengal This last provision nullified in effect the advantage of the marginal Muslim majority in these two provincial legislatures and turned them into a minority here as well

The present Raja of Mahmudabad Muhammad Sulaiman told the editor of this volume when he called on him at Mahmudabad House in Lucknow in February 1991 based on the information given him by his elders that the Pact was negotiated in that very premises in 1916 and that it was only C R Das (1870 1925) who had persuaded the reluctant Hindu leaders to sign it According to a Bengali writer Das was a party to the joint session of the Congress and the Muslim League at Lucknow in 1916 and for the drawing up of the Lucknow Pact P C Roy Chaudhury *C R Das and His Times* Cheeta Book House Mysore 1979 p 77

I kept in touch with India At the end of four years I found that the Musalmans were in the greatest danger I made up my mind to come back to India as I could not do any good from London Having no sanction behind me I was in the position of a beggar and received the treatment that a beggar deserves

1935 Negotiations and Provincial Elections

"Then in 1935 I entered into negotiations with the President of the Congress A formula was evolved but the Hindus won't look at it In 1936 I said to the Congress 'Never mind what was done stop this bitter controversy over the Communal Award Good bad or indifferent let it stand in the absence of an agreed solution Let us face the bigger issues But when I felt I had exploited every method of bringing about unity I turned round to see what the actual situation demanded I saw that the new constitution was coming From 1924 to 1936 it came to this — nothing doing In sheer desperation I called the session of the All India Muslim League in April 1936 and the League decided to contest the elections in the provinces There was opposition from every direction — from the Congress from many of our own people With no primary organisations and with very inadequate resources the League fought the elections and achieved a considerable measure of success But still in some of our own majority provinces there was no Muslim League party However working with determination and perseverance since April 1936 we have achieved something which is wonderful (Cheers)

Muslim Position Recapitulated

'Let us recapitulate our position Firstly there was the bureaucracy they felt that they had acquired a prescriptive right over the Musalmans They said Well if this Jinnah fellow comes Muslims will be out of our hands It has happened so The Musalmans thank God are today out of their hands But power has now passed to a certain extent into the hands of the majority community It is now clear that the British Government shows no signs of coming to the help of Muslims but is throwing them to the wolves I am glad so far so good To a very great extent the Muslim League has freed the Musalmans from the clutches of the British Government But now there is another power which claims to be the successor of the British Government Call it by whatever name you like but it is Hindu and Hindu Government

'Political language is woolly and misleading I shall speak plainly What is the attitude of the Congress? It may be summed up thus The Muslim League is composed of toadies it is a reactionary body it is in alliance with the Imperialistic power That is how they denounce the Muslim League Well what has the League done? The League decided with regard to the prevailing conditions that the Provincial Constitution should be utilised for what it was worth On the other hand the decision of the Congress was to wreck the Constitution The Congress did not have patience with the League which had adopted a full blooded nationalistic programme We were trying to make the Muslim League completely representative of the Muslim community I was misrepresented and maligned in the Congress press I was dubbed a communalist They said Well Jinnah may be all right but he is surrounded by toadies and flunkeys who will swallow him up

Every time some plausible excuse was made to ignore the Muslims The Congress tried to poison the minds of our youth and delude them into the belief that the Congress stood for complete independence and would remove poverty and hunger But what were really their designs? They wanted certain assurances from the British Government which they failed to get They are not only utilising but working the very constitution they had so vehemently professed to wreck To the Muslims they gave all sorts of silly assurances In one province the Congress Premier went to the extent of declaring that he would lay down his very life if a single brick of a mosque were touched That sounded very noble But what actually happened? In that very province *viz*, Bihar the cumulative system of voting has been taken away with the result that no Muslim was elected in the last election We therefore cannot depend upon assurances and goodwill In politics goodwill and love and affection and regard can only be demonstrated when you are strong People know how to touch your weak points or if you like your strong points When you are told of this heart rending hunger and poverty when somebody comes and tells you Oh! what is the use of anything? Let us remove these appalling conditions The Congress is struggling to achieve independence and to establish a communistic and socialistic government The economic issue is the only issue that faces us — you will be moved I confess I myself sometimes feel moved This has been constantly dinned into the ears of the youth When you think you will be able to destroy the British Government the zamindars the capitalists with one stroke refer to the conditions of Europe In Germany Hitlerism came into existence because of socialistic and communistic movements So did Fascism rise in Italy What is the fight in Spain about? It is the same issue When the question was put to the President of the Congress as to when he would be able to fulfil this wonderful programme he said within my lifetime and added when we have captured power we will destroy this constitution not by the quill pen But the question is how long will he hold the quill pen or rather the reed pen which he is doing at present? (Laughter)

We in India have been brought up in the traditions of the British Parliamentary democracy The constitution foisted on us is also modelled more or less on the British pattern But there is an essential difference between the body politic of this country and that of Britain The majority and minority parties in Britain are alterable their complexion and strength often change Today it is a Conservative Government tomorrow Liberal and the day after Labour But such is not the case with India Here we have a permanent Hindu majority and the rest are minorities which cannot within any conceivable period of time hope to become majorities The majority can afford to assume a non communal label but it remains exclusively Hindu in its spirit and action The only hope for minorities is to organise themselves and secure a definite share in power to safeguard their rights and interests Without such power no constitution can work successfully in India

My appeal to you is come to the platform of the League If Muslims are united the settlement will come sooner than you think You will have established your claim to achieve freedom After a few months work the League's name is known in every corner of India Lakhs of people are joining it Even those who

are against us will realise that they are under a serious delusion and their only course is to join the League and make the Musalmans speak with one voice (Cheers)

What Muslim League has Done

"What the League has done is to set you free from the reactionary elements of Muslims and to create the opinion that those who play their selfish game are traitors It has certainly freed you from that undesirable element of Maulvis and Maulanas I am not speaking of Maulvis as a whole class There are some of them who are as patriotic and sincere as any other, but there is a section of them which is undesirable Having freed ourselves from the clutches of the British Government the Congress the reactionaries and so called Maulvis, may I appeal to the youth to emancipate our women This is essential I do not mean that we are to ape the evils of the West What I mean is that they must share our life not only social but also political (Cheers)

"The personnel of the League is far from being perfect It is no use making allegations it is no use telling me this man is bad or that man is undesirable If you are really in earnest your only course is to join the League and make improvements I am convinced and you will agree with me that the Congress policy is to divide the Muslims among themselves It is the same old tactics of the British Government They follow the policy of their masters Don't fall into the trap This is a moment of life and death for the Musalmans Take it from me that unless there is unity among the Muslims at any cost they will be lost If our house is defective we must set it right ourselves If you support us we will set it right ourselves as we like and desire

Harnessing Muslim Power

Mr President I have received from you today the greatest message of hope March forward and no power on earth can resist you I find in front of me the finest recruiting ground Lakhs are ready to serve the platform and flag of the All India Muslim League To make a good efficient soldier you at least require a year To make a good subaltern at least five years are required I see enormous power latent in these people The stage has been more easily reached than the stage of harnessing them and mobilising them and making them a political army What is the difference between the Hindus and the Muslims? If Wardha makes any decision and issues orders tomorrow millions of Hindus will follow and obey I ask you suppose the Muslim League were to issue any order what will happen to it? We are not sufficiently equipped and trained and therefore it will be difficult to produce lakhs of Muslims to carry out orders The British Government is always thinking of what the Congress is doing what is going to be the repercussion of the British policy in the Congress camp But will the British Government think of you? No because you are not an organised power Therefore develop your power and establish your solidarity The Muslim League is determined to win freedom but it will be a freedom not only for the strong and the dominant but also for the weak and the suppressed (Prolonged applause)

115 Addresses Harijans Described "Champion of Minorities"[1]

[Aligarh, February 7] Mr Jinnah addressed a mammoth meeting of the citizens at the City School grounds yesterday[2] [6 February] The assemblage included several hundred Harijans on whose behalf an address was presented, saying that Mr Jinnah was the champion of the minorities who demanded a place in the sun

The District Board also presented an address to Mr Jinnah Later a Sword of Islam' was presented to him which he kissed and accepted In the afternoon he visited the neighbouring villages where he addressed meetings [3] Mr Jinnah left for Bulandshahr this morning after unfurling the League flag over the University Union Hall

[1]Press report *Pioneer* 9 February 1938

[2]The text of this address is not traceable

[3]Apparently these addresses were not reported in the press hence their texts are also not available

116. Regrets Bose's Press Interview[1]

New Delhi, February 9 In the course of a talk to the Associated Press representative, Mr M A Jinnah said that he had received letters both from M Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal in connection with the proposed communal parleys and he would reply to them in due course But as they were of a confidential nature, he was not in a position to disclose their contents

Referring to Mr Subhas Bose's recent press interview in which the President elect of the Congress is reported to have said 'What the League wants I really do not know' Mr Jinnah said that he was astonished to read it and added "I think it is the business of every true nationalist Indian not only to study, but concentrate his mind on the problem of minorities in this country Mr Bose seems to have very definite opinions on so many problems facing India and to learn from the President elect that he does not know what Musalmans want is a matter of regret It only shows that even foremost Hindu leaders are not really serious and this mentality is the same as Pt Jawaharlal Nehru displayed when he said that he did not know what the argument was about" Mr Jinnah concluded 'You cannot solve this problem by ignoring it, but by tackling it — API

[1]Press interview *Tribune* 10 February 1938

117. Aligarh Magazine — "The Voice of Muslim Youth"[1]

Message

New Delhi
14th February 1938

Dear M Nauman

I am enclosing the message herewith I wish the number of your Magazine that you are bringing out every success I hope it will truly represent the voice of the Muslim Youth and be an organ that will advocate independently and fearlessly all the just grievances of the students their opinion and sentiments and also their legitimate aspirations

Yours sincerely
M A Jinnah

[1]Message 14 February Mohammad Noman (ed), *The Muslim University Magazine*, 1937 38 Vol 46 No 1 Muslim University Press Aligarh

118. ML Council Elections — Asks Provincial Leagues to Name Their Representatives[1]

Delhi, February 15 Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has issued the following statement to the Press

"In the last annual Session of the All India Muslim League it was decided that all elections of delegates and members of the Council of the All India Muslim League shall be held in accordance with the provisions of the new Constitution and shall be intimated to the office of the All India Muslim League by January 20, 1938 The time mentioned above was extended to March 31, 1938 in the last meeting of the Council held on January 31, 1938

'In my opinion it is imperative that all these elections should be held at as early a date as possible so as to enable the Provincial Leagues to participate in the Special Session under the new Constitution of the League which is to be summoned without delay to decide upon the final line of action on the Shahidganj affairs Therefore I would suggest that all the Provincial Leagues should apply for affiliation with the names of the President Secretary and office bearers by March 15 1938 They should send the names of the members of the Council elected by them by March 15 1938 and list of delegates by March 31 1938 I hope that every Provincial League will rise to the occasion and send the names of their representatives to the Central Office Ballimaran Street Delhi by the specified time so that every province may be adequately represented in the forthcoming Special Session in which the most vital issues are to be discussed — API

[1]Press statement *Star of India* 16 February 1938

119 "Musalmans Have Shaken off their Torpor"[1]

Ladies and Gentlemen! After the last Annual Session of the All India Muslim League which took place on October 15, 1937, I should like to place before you a brief summary of the work done and the various events that have occurred since. You know that at the last session the Constitution and the Rules of the All India Muslim League were overhauled and some very important changes were embodied in them. The new Constitution has now come into operation and according to the resolution of the All India Muslim League Committees have been appointed in various provinces to organize Provincial and District Leagues all over India and I am glad to tell you that in every province District Leagues have been established and during the last six months they have enrolled members not by hundreds, not by thousands but by lakhs. During my tours in different parts of India I found a tremendous political awakening and enthusiasm among the Musalmans and there is almost an insatiable desire amongst the people to come under the banner of the All India Muslim League. This enormous mass of support that is rallying around the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League requires to be harnessed, mobilized, co-ordinated and controlled. When done with proper guidance we shall achieve the goal for which we are fighting.

We have to a certain extent freed our people from the most undesirable reactionary elements. We have in no small degree removed the unwholesome influence and fear of a certain section who used to pass off as Maulanas and Maulvis. We have made efforts to take our women with us in our struggle and in many places that I visited they took enormous interest and participated in various functions and gatherings. We have to carry on and maintain the policy and the programme of the Muslim League on a political plane. Within less than six months we have succeeded in organizing Musalmans all over India as they never were at any time during the last century and a half. They have been galvanized and awakened in a manner which has astounded and staggered our opponents. Musalmans have shaken off their torpor and shed their miserable state of despair and demoralization into which they were sunk so deep. They are beginning to realize that they are a power. They possess the strength, the potentialities of which they have not yet realized and if only they will take their affairs in their own hands and stand together united there is no power that can resist their will. It is just six months since the Annual Session of the League was held at Lucknow. The last Session will stand out as a landmark in the history of the League. It is no exaggeration to say that the Lucknow Session infused a new life and spirit in the All India Muslim League.

The enthusiasm that was shown at Lucknow has been kept up and the League has been growing stronger and stronger every day.

[1] M A Jinnah, *Presidential Address, Special Session, All India Muslim League, Calcutta, 17 April 1938*. The Alliance Press Ltd, 24 Theatre Road, Calcutta. Jinnah generally delivered his addresses extempore. He would have hardly time to go through them before they were reported or published. Hence the language of the report appears at places faulty.

Before the Lucknow Session the Membership of the League ran in to several thousands but today there are hundreds of thousands of Musalmans who are under the Banner of the League. In ten out of the twelve Provinces all over India Provincial Leagues with numerous Primary and District Branches have either been formed or are in the process of being constituted in accordance with our new democratic constitution. It is expected that within a short time there will be a live and strong Provincial League functioning in every Province of India. Today it can be said that every thinking and patriotic Musalman is in the fold of the Muslim League. The Primary and District Leagues in the various Provinces are vying with each other in the enrolment of members. Not very long ago there were innumerable places where the name of the League was not even heard but today League's name is a household word in every Muslim home. If we continue with the same enthusiasm and vigour there is not the least doubt that the All India Muslim League will soon be a power to reckon with.

"The Council of the All India Muslim League had decided to observe the 18th of February as the Shahidganj Day. Meetings were held all over the country and the reports that have been received in the office show that the League's word reached the far off corners of the country. In practically every city and town and even in some villages the resolution of the League was carried out. I am fully conscious that today the Shahidganj question is uppermost in the mind of every Musalman throughout India and there can be no doubt that the feeling and sentiment amongst them is [are] genuine and sincere and there can be no question that the demolition of the mosque has deeply wounded their religious susceptibilities. The average man feels that this mosque was ruthlessly and wantonly destroyed. It is to be regretted that a great community like the Sikhs should have been carried away and have resorted to the ruthless action of demolishing the mosque in the manner in which they did. At the same time I realize that certain individuals on both sides were and have been aggressive to each other and created a situation which has involved the two great communities into the position of an impasse. I deplore the excesses committed on both sides and deeply regret the loss of lives of innocent members of both the communities and deprecate the resort to methods which resulted in destroying innocent lives. The question viewed in its true perspective is very easy of solution if only both the communities will realize their moral obligation to each other and put down certain mischievous and aggressive elements that make the task more difficult for an honourable settlement. I appeal to the leaders of the Sikh community to rise above the question of prestige or *amour propre* and I advise the Musalmans while recognizing their deep feelings and sharing their religious susceptibilities which I have no doubt are genuinely and deeply wounded to realize that the way to a settlement is not reached by dictation from one community to the other. The Council of the All India Muslim League has already passed a resolution to which I would draw the attention of the delegates present here. It runs as follows:

In view of the decision of the Punjab Premier expressing his readiness to resign even if the majority of the Muslim members give their verdict disapproving of his action foreshadowed in his recent pronouncement with regard to the Shahidganj question the Council realize that the main burden and responsibility rests with the Muslim

representatives of the Punjab Legislature and the public generally The Council appreciate that the gravity and the nature of the issues involved are present to the mind of Sir Sikander Hyat and his Government, the assurance given by him in his pronouncement of his making an earnest attempt bring about an honourable settlement of the question is the best course in the opinion of the Council and in this direction lies the way of restoring and securing a permanent peace and goodwill between the two great sister communities, Muslims and Sikhs whose moral responsibility to each other whose interest and welfare and the larger interest of the Province and the country demand that with their great history religion and traditions behind them they should rise above the verdicts of Judicial Tribunals and the decisions of legislatures and Government and rise to the occasion and come to an honourable settlement of their own, that failing such a desideratum of mutual agreement of the parties concerned which will be most unfortunate the Council note with great satisfaction the determination of the Punjab Government that it will not fail to explore and exhaust all constitutional avenues open to them to find a satisfactory and just solution of the problem to which Council are glad they are already applying themselves and that while the final decision as to the policy and the line of action can only be decided by the All India Muslim League the Council in the meantime are willing and ready to render all the assistance and help they can towards the solution of the matter

It is now for you ladies and gentlemen to give your most anxious consideration to this question of Shahidganj and determine upon the policy and line of action that may seem proper to you

Work inside the Legislatures

There are Muslim League Parties functioning inside seven out of the eleven Provincial Legislatures The large majority of Muslim Members in all these seven Provincial Assemblies belong to the Muslim League Parties and the membership of those Parties is increasing every day The Muslim League contested with great success a number of bye elections to the Legislative Assemblies in various Provinces The Council of the League appointed a committee to chalk out an economic social and educational programme for the Musalmans The report of the Committee is being awaited with great interest

We greatly deplore the communal riots that have taken place in the United Provinces and other Provinces It is being publicly stated by the Congress Ministers in these provinces that the responsibility for these riots rests on the shoulders of the Muslim League It is most deplorable that a Minister of the Government should make such loose and untrue statements These allegations against the Muslim League are absolutely without any foundation and are being used as a blind against the incapacity of the Congress Government in those provinces to protect the lives and property of the people of the province All sorts of malicious propaganda is being carried out to discredit the Muslim League But God willing the Muslim League in spite of all this will go on getting stronger every day A few months ago the Muslim community was like no man s land but today it has come into its own and there is no power on earth that can now keep it dormant or inactive The Musalmans have realized that their salvation lies in organizing themselves under the banner of the Muslim League and once they are organized they need fear no one

"Apart from the political programme the urgent and the immediate need for us is to take steps and put into effect the economic social and educational programme which was laid down by the Resolution of the All India Muslim League at the last Session It is the economic and social uplift and the education of the people that constitute the true foundation of a nation or a community I would therefore urge most strenuously upon leaders of various Provinces and the Provincial and the District Leagues that they should immediately take up various matters which will go to make a solid contribution toward the economic and social uplift of our people The Council of the All India Muslim League are doing their utmost to deal with the various matters that have arisen from time to time We have appointed a Committee under the Chairmanship of Nawab Ismail Khan Sahib for the purpose of considering and deciding the applications for affiliation that have already been received or may be received hereafter from various Provinces

"Numerous representations and complaints have reached the Central Office of the hardship ill-treatment and injustice that is meted out to Musalmans in the various Congress Provinces and particularly to those who were workers and members of the All India Muslim League and therefore the Council were obliged to appoint a special Committee under the chairmanship of Raja Muhammad Mehdi Saheb to take such steps as may be considered proper and to submit their report to the Council and the President The Council also decided to authorize me as the President to take all necessary steps to form a Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature with power to the party so formed to coalesce with any other party or group whose policy and programme is approximately the same as that of the All India Muslim League In pursuance of that resolution I am glad to inform you that a Muslim League party in the Central Legislature in both the Houses has been formed and will function in the Legislature under the supervision and control of the Council of the All India Muslim League from the next session of the Central Legislature

"Although some of the pronouncements of the President and other leaders of the Congress at Haripura created an impression of a really genuine desire for the settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question — and in pursuance of that Mr Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru have written to me and I have replied to their letters and the correspondence is going on — yet there is no slackening on the part of the Congress in the determination of their set purpose to annihilate every other party and particularly the All India Muslim League The Congress attitude so far can be summed up first that the Communal Award must go lock stock and barrel second that there must be no separate electorates and third that there must be no differential franchise and if possible there should be no reservation of seats for any community The result of this will be obvious *viz*, that Musalmans will be wiped out from securing any adequate representation either in the Legislatures or in the Municipal Local and District Boards as it happened in Bihar recently since the Congress Government have removed even the cumulative voting which existed before they assumed office The Congress resolutions about fundamental rights and declarations with regard to religion culture and language are nothing but paper resolutions There is not the slightest doubt that the most aggressive attitude was taken up by the Congress

Government on the threshold of their assuming office and they endeavoured to impose the *Bande Mataram* song in the Legislatures and after much bitterness and opposition it has been dropped. They are pursuing a policy of making Hindi a compulsory language which must necessarily, if not completely destroy at any rate, vitally undermine the spread of the development of Urdu, and what is worse still is that Hindi with its Hindu Sanskritous literature and philosophy and idealswill and must necessarily be forced upon Muslim children and students. In various parts of India serious difficulties are put in the way of Muslims enjoying the liberty of observing their religious rights freely. It is one thing to make very high sounding declaration such as the Congress are in the habit of making and its Working Committee of repeating them, it is quite another thing to translate them into action and so far the Congress are preaching one thing and practising just the contrary. The President of the Congress Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose having quoted these paper resolutions about the so-called protection of religion, culture and language proceeded to state:

> 'The time is opportune for renewing our efforts for the final solution of the problem. I believe I am voicing the feelings of all Congress men when I say that we are eager to do our very best to arrive at an agreed solution consistent with the fundamental principles of nationalism.'

Here I wish he was speaking on behalf of all the Congress men as he believed he was. It is no use masquerading under the name of nationalism. Congress is a Hindu body mainly. It is begging the whole question to say that 'we are eager to do our very best to arrive at an agreed solution' and qualify it by saying 'consistently with the fundamental principles of nationalism' as if the Muslim League were opposed to the fundamental principles of nationalism. Muslims have made it clear more than once that besides the question of religion, culture, language and personal laws there is another question equally of life and death for them and that their future destiny and fate are dependent upon their securing definitely their political rights, their due share in the national life, the Government and the administration of the country. They will fight for it till the last ditch and all the dreams and notions of Hindu Raj must be abandoned. They will not be submerged or dominated and they will not surrender so long as there is life in them.

'The Muslim League claims the status of complete equality with the Congress or any other organization and we have our problems to solve. We have under the present conditions to organize our people for building up the Muslim masses for a better world and for their immediate uplift, social and economic, and we have to formulate plans of a constructive and ameliorative character which would give them immediate relief from the poverty and wretchedness from which they are suffering more than any other section of the people in India. I welcome a policy of live and let live. I welcome an understanding in matters economic and political. But we cannot surrender, submerge or submit to the dictates or the ukase of the High Command of the Congress which is developing into a totalitarian and authoritative caucus functioning under the name of the Working Committee and aspiring to the position of a shadow cabinet in a future Republic.

"The Muslim League is not only carrying on a struggle for the Muslims but it maintains that all other important minorities must have the same sense of security and a place in the sun of India where they will enjoy their rights and privileges as free citizens and not be ground down by caste tyranny and caste rule In my opinion, the Congress is making one of the greatest blunders by pursuing its present policy The High Command of the Congress has no policy except opportunism and arrogance and are utilizing their organization because it happens to be today the largest and most powerful to treat every other party with contempt and they imagine that they have already become the rulers of India It is astounding that they believe that they have conquered six Provinces absolutely and in the seventh they have a dominant voice as the majority in the coalition of the North West Frontier Province are Congress men and they talk of drums beating and they believe that it will not be very long before the remaining four Provinces fall before the conquering heroes of the High Command of the Congress

"But to the Musalmans I say that they must realize that there cannot be any honourable settlement between two parties when one claims to be superior to the other and has for its aim and object the domination and dictation of the other Honourable settlement can only be achieved between equals and unless the two parties learn to respect and fear each other there is no solid ground for any settlement. Besides even if a settlement does come unless the Musalmans are fully organized and have forged sanctions behind them, solid and united backing the agreements pacts or treaties can only be treated as a scrap of paper unless they can be enforced by a power from behind which will see that the terms are carried out and maintained Therefore, my appeal to the Musalmans is 'Don't depend upon anybody You must depend upon your own inherent strength and the Musalmans have not yet realized what power and strength they would possess if they were properly mobilized as one solid people We have to go through a great deal of spadework and suffering Our opponents will use all possible means of suppression They may practise tyranny and may persecute us but I am confident that we shall emerge out of that ordeal better stronger than we have ever been "

120. Congress a "Totalitarian and Authoritarian Caucus"[1]

Calcutta, April 17: Mr Jinnah arrived here yesterday to preside over a special session of the Muslim League Great crowds with many banners and flags met him at the station and escorted him through the streets

In an address this evening Mr Jinnah refused to recognize Congress as anything but a Hindu body which showed no slackening of its determination to destroy all other parties The Muslim League, he said, was rapidly growing in strength for it was carrying on the struggle not only for Muslims but for all important minorities against caste tyranny and rule They would welcome a policy of 'live and let live,' but Muslims were unable to surrender to the ukases of the Congress High Command which was developing into a totalitarian and authoritarian caucus

[1]Public address, *Tribune*, 18 April 1938

121. Formation of ML Parties in Provincial Legislatures[1]

Calcutta, April 19 A meeting of the All India Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board was held here this morning at the residence of Mr M A H Ispahani, M L A (Bengal) Mr M A Jinnah presided and there were present at the meeting about 35 members representing all provinces

The discussions, which continued for about three hours, centred on the question of the formation of League parties in the Provincial Legislatures where they did not exist at present Mr Abdur Rahman Siddiqui, M L A (Bengal), who had raised this question at the meeting of the League Council on April 17, stressed the immediate necessity of forming such a party in the Bengal Assembly and requested the Board to sanction it Mr Jinnah said that the decision of the Board would be announced after he had had an opportunity of consulting the leaders of the various Muslim groups in the Bengal Assembly — AP

[1]News report, *Civil & Military Gazette* 20 April 1938

122. Condolence Message on Iqbal's Death — "A Remarkable Poet and Staunchest Champion of ML"[1]

Mr M A Jinnah issued the following condolence message on the death of Allama Iqbal

> I am extremely sorry to hear the sad news of the death of Sir Muhammad Iqbal He was a remarkable poet of worldwide fame and his work will live for ever His services to his country and the Muslims are so numerous that his record can be compared with that of the greatest Indian that ever lived He was an ex President of the All India Muslim League and a President of the Provincial Muslim League of the Punjab till very recent time when his unforeseen illness compelled him to resign But he was the staunchest and the most loyal champion of the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League
>
> To me he was a friend guide and philosopher and during the darkest moments through which the Muslim League had to go he stood like a rock and never flinched one single moment and as a result just only three days ago he must have read of or been informed of the complete unity that was achieved in Calcutta of the Muslim leaders of the Punjab and today [I] can say with pride that the Muslims of the Punjab are wholeheartedly with the League and have come under the flag of the All India Muslim League which must have been a matter of greatest satisfaction to him In the achievement of this unity Sir Muhammad Iqbal played a most signal part My sincerest and deepest sympathy go out to his family at this moment in their bereavement in losing him and it is a terrible loss to India and the Muslims particularly at this juncture

[1]Condolence message *Star of India*, 21 April 1938

123. Homage to Iqbal — "Main Source of my Inspiration and Spiritual Support"[1]

Calcutta, 21 April A mammoth public meeting of the Muslims of Calcutta was held on the Football ground on 21 April to consider the Palestine problem but it was converted into a condolence meeting to mourn the death of Allama Iqbal Mr M A Jinnah presided

Mr M A Jinnah said that the sorrowful news of the death of Dr Sir Muhammad Iqbal had plunged the world of Islam in gloom and mourning Sir [Muhammad] Iqbal was undoubtedly one of the greatest poets, philosophers and seers of humanity of all times He took a prominent part in the politics of the country and in the intellectual and cultural reconstruction of the Islamic world His contribution to the literature and thought of the world will live for ever

"To me he was a personal friend, philosopher and guide and as such the main source of my inspiration and spiritual support While he was ailing in his bed it was he who as the President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, stood single-handed as a rock in the darkest days in the Punjab by the side of the League banner, undaunted by the opposition of the whole world When on account of his serious illness he was confined to bed, he resigned the post of the Presidentship of the Punjab League but was instead elected its Patron He still continued to guide the work of the Punjab League from his bed and had somebody to reply to all letters concerning the League It would have been a matter of great satisfaction for him to hear the news with great delight that the Bengal and Punjab Muslims were absolutely united on the common platform of the All India Muslim League In that achievement the unseen contribution of Dr Sir Muhammad Iqbal was the greatest No greater blow has struck the Muslims at this juncture

'Mission Fulfilled'

Maulana Shaukat Ali, who was visibly overwhelmed with grief in a short speech said that Iqbal was the poet of hope and the philosopher and teacher of self-realisation and self-culture The dream of Iqbal was being actually realised by the union of the Islamic states and peoples Iqbal died with the satisfaction of his heart that he had seen his mission fulfilled Iqbal was

[1]Public speech, *Star of India*, 22 April 1938

dead but he had given new life to millions of human beings and delivered a message of life and selfhood to the entire Muslim world Speaking earlier, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, MLA (Central) said that Dr Sir Muhammad Iqbal was a 'great poet, a great philosopher and a seer, and the greatest and most original interpreter of the reality of the Islamic world ' Prominent among those present were Mr M A Jinnah, The Hon'ble Alhaj Khawjah Sir Nazimuddin, The Hon'ble Mr H S Suhrawardy, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Sir Hassan Suhrawardy and Mr M A H Ispahani About fifty thousand Muslims attended the meeting

124. "Muslim League is Forging Ahead"[1]

Calcutta, April 23 Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, left last night [22 April] for Bombay where he is going to meet Mr Gandhi on April 28 Approached by the Associated Press for an impression of his visit to Bengal this time, Mr Jinnah said

> "I am glad that the Muslim League is forging ahead and from all reports and from what I have seen it seems that its influence has penetrated every corner of Bengal I can venture to say that any intrigue or effort to break the Muslim League or the Huq Ministry will only break our opponents My appeal to the Musalmans of Bengal is that they should join the League and rally round the platform and the flag of the All India Muslim League I know that we shall succeed —AP

[1]Press interview *Civil & Military Gazette* 24 April 1938

125. "Repudiates" Azad's Statement that he Contacted Gandhi[1]

Bombay, May 3. Mr M A Jinnah has issued the following statement "My attention has been drawn to the statement issued by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to the Press [2] I am sorry that he should have thought it proper at this juncture to do so and further I must say that it is incorrect and misleading about the version he has given regarding my talk with him when he came to see me in Bombay

"I am obliged to repudiate what is attributed to me in that

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[1]Press statement *Civil & Military Gazette* 4 May 1938

[2]*Star of India*, 4 May 1938 published the following report of Azad's statement

> **GENESIS OF GANDHI JINNAH TALKS — 'MISCONCEPTIONS UNNECESSARY' — M ABUL KALAM AZAD'S UNNECESSARY STATEMENT**
>
> Maulana Abul Kalam Azad gives the genesis of the Gandhi Jinnah talks in a statement to the Associated Press with a view to remove unnecessary misconceptions which are undoubtedly against the best interests of the country' He says
>
> 'It is perhaps too early to give my statement to the Press about the meeting between Mahatma Gandhi and Mr Jinnah The proper time for this has yet to come But owing to the wild surmises and even expressions of surprise in certain circles I thinkit necessary to point out certain salient points so that unnecessary misconceptions — which are undoubtedly against the best interests of the country — may be removed
>
> **Correspondence Between Leaders**
>
> 'The meeting of Mahatma Gandhi and Mr Jinnah is the result of the correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr Jinnah which is being carried on since January last I have no hesitation in admitting that the full responsibility of this move is mine When I had met Mr Jinnah in Bombay in January last about the appointment of another Muslim Minister in the Bombay Cabinet, I felt that he wished to meet Mahatma Gandhi and discuss the present situation with him but he was waiting for a suitable opportunity He told me also that he did not like discussion in the Press which was going on at that time He therefore, wished to carry on personal correspondence When I went to Lucknow from Bombay and met Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru I asked him to begin correspondence with Mr Jinnah Similarly I requested Mahatma Gandhi also I am highly obliged to them as they accepted my proposal and began the correspondence The result of all this was that it was settled that Mr Jinnah and Mahatma Gandhi should meet

statement I never expressed any wish to see Mr Gandhi or carry on correspondence with him It is equally without any foundation that I wrote in February last to Mr Gandhi that I could go to Wardha on March 10, but that the meeting was postponed owing to my sickness I cannot say more as I deprecate on principle disclosure of private talks and hence I shall stop here "— AP

'In pursuance of this proposal Mr Jinnah wrote in February last that he could come to Wardha on March 10 But the meeting was postponed owing to his sickness, and Mahatma Gandhi wrote to him from Calcutta that he could meet him in the end of April This was my proposal and I am confident that this movement will be conducive to the best interests of the country and in any case, it will produce good results The public has no reason to draw hasty conclusions or to make unnecessary conjectures beforehand Such things mostly prove to be a hinderance and seldom produce useful results I would request the public to allow the responsible persons to carry on this work unhindered and patiently wait for the result '

126 Congress "Forcing *Bande Mataram* on Muslims"[1]

Bombay, May 9 "Like a poor man who has come by a lot of money in a lottery, the Congress is intoxicated with power," told Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, addressing a large meeting at Mahim, Bombay, last night [8 May]

Because of the Congress majority in the various provinces, he continued, they were forcing upon the Muslims things like the singing of the *Bande Mataram* Without unity the Muslims could not do anything to make known to the Government their disapproval of such things Mr Jinnah referred to treaties entered into by nations in Europe and their complete disregard by some nations and said that he was not in favour of pacts between Hindus and Muslims to be treated in the same fashion He appealed to Muslims to muster under the auspices of the Muslim League and stand up as one solid unit in order to exercise their right to live in the country as a distinct entity The Musalmans in India were never behind the others in their readiness to fight for the freedom of their motherland but freedom should not be the monopoly of a few, like the Whites in America to the exclusion of the Red Indians and Negroes The negotiations for unity between the two communities, he hoped, would fructify so that country as a whole might be benefited Peace could only be possible among equals

Turning to critics who referred to him as a pleasure-loving man and a communalist, Mr Jinnah said "that the very critics would have no compunction in electing him the President of the Indian National Congress if he joined that organisation " Mr Jinnah deplored the absence of sufficient organisation among Muslims which had resulted in the community having very few educational institutions, hospitals and other amenities He appealed to Musalmans to join the League and work for the advancement of their community in the educational, economic, social and other spheres — AP

[1] Public speech *Civil & Military Gazette* 10 May 1938

127. Appoints ML Executive Council[1]

Bombay, May 16. Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has issued the following

> "In accordance with the rules and resolution of the All India Muslim League, I have appointed the Executive Council of the League consisting of the following
>
> Mr A K Fazlul Huq, Sir Nazimuddin Mr Abdul Rehman Siddiki, Raja of Mahmudabad Nawab Ismail Khan Maulana Shaukat Ali, Mr Khaliquzzaman, Syed Abdul Aziz Mr Muhammad Ashique, Sir Ali Muhammad Khan Dehlavi Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim, Syed Abdul Rauf Shah Sir Sikander Hyat Khan Sir Abdoola Haroon Shaikh Abdul Majid Khan Sadulla Khan MLA Mr Aurangzib Khan MLA, Sir Syed Saadulla, Mr Abdul Matin Chowdhury Malik Barkat Ali and Haji Abdul Sathar Essak Sait — Associated Press

[1]Statement, *Statesman* 18 May 1938

128. ML Executive Council. Expansion "Not Possible"[1]

Bombay, May 24 Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, informs the Associated Press that he has received various suggestions to increase the number of members of the Executive Council of the League which has already been appointed Mr Jinnah says

> It is not possible for me to add to the number as I have no power to do so under the rules which specify the number as 21 It has also been suggested that I should change the date of the meeting of the Council fixed for June 4 But it is impossible to do so and I expect every member who has received the notice to be present at the meeting 'Mr Jinnah adds Although I would like to avail myself of the help of many other prominent leaders I cannot appoint them as members of the Executive Council If they come to Bombay to help us I should be very glad The Executive Council is not a permanent one It can only continue till the next annual session of the All India Muslim League' — API

[1]Press statement *Star of India*, 25 May 1938

129. "Challenges" Congress Policy Regarding Hindi and *Bande Mataram*[1]

Bombay, June 5. The assertion that the Congress was never a national organisation and that it was a rank communal organisation in the garb of a national organisation was made by Mr Jinnah in the course of a speech here tonight The speech was made in the course of his reply to an address of appreciation presented to him by the Memon Chamber of Commerce and the Memon Merchants' Association

Mr Jinnah challenged the right of the Congress, which claimed to be a national organisation, to make Hindi a compulsory language in Municipal and Government Schools and said that there must be some ulterior motive behind this namely, to make young Muslim girls and boys imbibe Hindu culture He also took exception to the singing of *Bande Mataram* in schools under compulsion While asking the public not to rely on "garbled versions, halftruths and speculations," he said "Believe me, I will do my utmost to influence the Muslims in the direction of an honourable settlement but such a settlement must be one between two equals Muslims can never agree to a mere change in the form of slavery " Mr Jinnah assured the audience that he was most anxious for a settlement He said he was as anxious for the freedom of India as anyone else and strongly criticised the Congress Muslim mass contact activities

Mr Fazlul Huq (Premier of Bengal) said that there was very little difference between the Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress Sir Sikander Hyat Khan (Premier of the Punjab) said that Mr Jinnah was their leader and gave the assurance that his (Sir Sikander's) services would always be at Mr Jinnah's disposal Mr Jinnah was presented with a silver casket and a purse at the meeting

Need of the Hour

"Muslims were ready for communal unity but that unity could only be between two equal parties Unity arrived at between a strong and a weak party would only mean the surrender of the latter to the former," declared Mr M A Jinnah in the course of his address at a huge Muslim meeting last night He announced that he had already sent a reply to the Congress memorandum to Mr Subhas Chandra Bose and promised to issue a statement regarding the negotiations at an early date

[1]Public speech *Star of India* 6 June 1938

Continuing, Mr Jinnah appealed to the Muslims to organise themselves so that they might gain strength If they did not organise themselves, other provinces where Muslim Ministries were functioning would share the same fate as Sind and the N-W F P

Need for Organisation

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan (Premier of the Punjab) said that there was not a single Muslim who did not want unity but that unity would have to be consistent with Muslim self-respect He did not want Muslims to get out of one slavery only to fall into another Hindus and Muslims, in order to remain as sister-communities, should remain in peace and establish goodwill between themselves This could be done by the majority party inspiring confidence in the minorities Otherwise, if the minorities took the initiative for any *rapprochement* between the two it might be construed as weakness on the part of the minority communities

Mr Fazlul Huq (Premier of Bengal) said that the Muslims should unite to protect and defend Islam He was happy to say that recently Muslims of Bengal were organising themselves, during the past they had been guided by outsiders — API

130. ML's "Equal Status with Congress"[1]

Bombay, June 5 At a meeting here under the chairmanship of Mr Jinnah, the Executive Council of the Muslim League claimed that the League is the only organization which can speak for Muslims, and that the Congress party represents now only Hindus.[2]

The Provincial leaders pointed out that the joint electorate system, if accepted wholesale, would endanger the return of true Muslim representatives to the Provincial Legislatures where Muslims were in a minority. Mr Jinnah disclosed the nature of the recent negotiations with Mr Gandhi and Mr Bose, President of the Congress organisation, and claimed that the League had a right to settle the communal problem on an equal status with the Congress Party. The League leaders appear to be in favour of a pact with the Congress party provided that the latter drop the Muslim mass contact programme and give an undertaking to select League leaders for Muslim Ministerial posts in the Congress Provinces. Mr Jinnah has written on these lines to the Congress President.

[1]News report, *The Times*, 6 June 1938

[2]See appendix XX 1, *Resolutions* 1-3

131 ML Flag "Several Centuries Old"[1]

Bombay, June 6. The Muslim League flag hoisting ceremony was held this morning when Mr Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, hoisted the League flag

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan in requesting Mr Jinnah to hoist the flag explained the significance of the Muslim League flag and said just as it was the duty of every soldier to protect the colours of the regiment to which he belongs, it was equally the duty of every Muslim to protect the League flag which was a symbol of the aspirations of 9 crores of Musalmans in India He was aware that at the moment Musalmans in India had to play a dual role, as Musalmans and as Indians Further explaining the party flag and its functions, Sir Sikander Hyat compared it with the regimental colours of an army and said that every regiment besides having a common flag had its own standard There was no reason why the various political parties in India should not have their own individual flags and also a common flag He realised that unfortunately at the moment there existed no common flag and there was much antagonism among the various parties He had full faith in Providence that before long the two major parties in this country, with the concurrence of the smaller groups, would be able to devise a common flag for this country of which every Indian would be proud

In his own province, namely the Punjab, the party flags, whether it be that of the Muslim League or the Congress or any other, were given due respect While every party was given full freedom to use its own symbols and flags for party purposes and in connection with its own ceremonies, he would not allow any party flag to be flown on Government buildings The only flag that could be allowed to be flown on government buildings was the Punjab flag which was a common one

Mr M A Jinnah, unfurling the League flag, observed that it was not a new flag It was several centuries old and was given to them by the Prophet The disorganisation among the Muslims made them forget their own flag But a new awakening among the Muslims had come about which had kept the flag afloat He declared that no power on earth could bring their flag down The League was there to demonstrate to the world that Musalmans were united — API

[1]News report *Tribune*, 7 June 1938

132. Appoints Assam ML Organising Committee[1]

Bombay, June 14 Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has issued the following statement

"In accordance with the resolution of the All India Muslim League empowering me to appoint organising committees in various provinces for the purpose of establishing Provincial District Leagues and branches all over India I hereby appoint the following gentlemen as constituting the organising Committee for the province of Assam Sir Muhammad Syed Sadulla Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan M L A Khan Bahadur Syed ur Rahman, M L A, Maulvi Abdus Samad, Mr Abdul Matin Chaudhury, Maulana Zainul Abedin Bhuyan, Mr Maqbul Hossain Chaudhury, M L A, Mr Mamtaz Ahmed Mr Muhammad Abdullah and Mr Ashraf ud Din Choudhury M L A

"Under the terms of the League resolution, I am authorised to nominate from amongst the members of the Council of the All India Muslim League only The organising committee will have power to co opt from outside the Council I appoint Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan M L A, as Convener of the Committee — API

[1]Press statement *Tribune* 15 June 1938

133. League-Congress Settlement — "No Compromise" Possible Between "Weak and Strong"[1]

Delhi, July 30 What may be regarded as an indication of what the Muslim League's final attitude to the negotiations for a communal settlement is going to be was furnished in a speech by Mr Jinnah at a very largely attended open air meeting held tonight under the auspices of the Delhi Provincial Muslim League

Mr Jinnah accused the Congress High Command of being intoxicated with power He added that though it was not yet Hindu Raj but British Raj, the Congress was puffed up with what little power it had acquired If the same degree of Congress intoxication continued, there would be no freedom for the country The Congress had its own vocabulary, and when it talked of nationalism, what it really meant was Hinduism But the difficulty was that what the Congress wanted to conceal, the Hindu Mahasabha revealed

Proceeding, Mr Jinnah said that the Congress wanted to crush the Muslim League on the ground that the latter was a communal organisation, but that was not he asserted a true statement of fact The fact was that the Muslim League was not a communal organisation but a nationalist body, while the Congress itself was a communal organisation They did not want to arouse the antagonism or enmity of any individual or any organisation What they wanted was to live honourably and to do that they would, he declared, fight to the bitterest end with anybody who stood in their way The Muslim League was not prepared under any circumstances to play a second fiddle to any other organisation, nor would it voluntarily relegate itself to a position of subordination It could deal with other organisations on terms of absolute equality alone

Referring to the Congress League negotiations for a communal settlement, Mr Jinnah said the correspondence between Messrs Gandhi and Nehru on one hand and himself on the other had already been published The latest development in the situation was that he had received on July 27 a letter from the Congress President on the subject of communal negotiations He had placed the letter before the Working Committee of the League and hoped that a reply to it would be sent in a day or two He regretted that he was not yet in a position to disclose

[1]Public speech *Tribune* 31 July 1938

publicly at what stage the matter rested As soon as it was constitutionally possible for him to release the correspondence between the Congress President and himself, he would do so Settlement or no settlement between the League and the Congress, it was quite obvious that there could be no compromise between the weak and the strong Even if some settlement were arrived at between these two bodies, the League in its present position of relative weakness would not be able to make the Congress abide by the terms of the pact The agreement would, therefore, be nothing more than a scrap of paper

He exhorted the audience not to be misled by the false propaganda carried on by the Congress that the main issue before them was economic which was a mere stunt and appealed to Muslims to join the League in ever-increasing numbers in order to strengthen their position through the League He also advised them to avoid splits in their ranks Mr Jinnah delivered his speech in Urdu and spoke for over half an hour — API

134 "Complete Solidarity and Unity Our First Duty"[1]

Simla, August 8 An appeal for unity among Muslims "with a view to serving the community and the country" was made by Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, replying to an address of welcome presented to him last night by Mohammedans of Simla He exhorted Muslims to make up leeway for improving their economic and financial conditions which had been neglected in the past by the community

Mr Jinnah said "I thank you for the great reception you accorded me at the station this morning and for the way you have praised my work here tonight It encourages me to go on with the policy and programme which the Muslim League is persuing at present This demonstration is a signal mark of the approval of that policy by Muslims There is only one meaning for this meeting, namely, that you have conferred this signal honour on me because I happen to represent your feelings and opinions, and at the present moment you are doing this because I am the President of All India Muslim League I thank you for all the support you have given me through this morning's reception and this meeting

Service to Country

Giving his message to Mohammedans Mr Jinnah said "Our first duty is that we should bring about complete solidarity and unity among ourselves We ought to understand clearly that it was due to our neglect and indifference to ourselves in the past that we were left behind ourselves today not only weak numerically but also the most backward community economically, financially and educationally If you desire to play your legitimate part you have to make up leeway and acquire those requisite qualifications and develop in the direction The more you do so, the more you will serve the community and the country and play an honourable part in the struggle for freedom of our country I appeal to every Muslim to put an end to all differences among themselves and speak with one voice We want to make our people self-reliant and worthy of our precious heritage Our motives are sincere Our cause is just and honourable, and we are determined to play an honourable part in the service of our country I feel confident that we are bound to succeed " — Associated Press

[1]Public speech *Statesman* 9 August 1938

135. Jamiat-ul-Ulema's Behaviour "Remains a Mystery"[1]

Simla, August 18. Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has issued the following statement

"My attention has been drawn to a speech of Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani delivered at Ghaziabad on August 15 in which he is reported to have stated as follows

> The reason why we did not oppose the League candidates at the general elections was that Mr Jinnah had assured us then that the policy of the League had changed and the League was pledged to complete independence But we were soon disillusioned when after the elections we were told by Mr Jinnah that that talk before the elections was merely a political stunt

"The whole of this statement is entirely untrue As to why some members of the Jamiat ul Ulema i Hind joined the League in 1936 and wholeheartedly supported the League candidates and they soon after suddenly left the League still remains a mystery to me — AP

[1]Press statement *Civil & Military Gazette* 19 August 1938

136 Democracy in India "a Travesty of System"[1]

Simla (By Mail) "Can democratic parliamentary Government succeed in India? Is it suited to the conditions of the country? It is not the democratic majority that has formed the government in the seven provinces it is the permanent Hindu majority which cannot be altered by any change whatsoever and hence it is a travesty of the system which may be worthwhile in England" Thus observed Mr M A Jinnah at a party given in honour of the newly formed Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature by the Anjuman-e-Islamia, Simla on August 13 The audience which numbered about 500 included the intelligentsia of Simla and Northern India who are at Simla and all the Muslim members of the Central Assembly

Thanking the Anjuman for the honour, Mr Jinnah said that today in seven provinces there are Congress Governments and there are great powers entrusted to the Ministers It is indeed deplorable that the little power they have got are used against Musalmans and the Congress High Command mindful of it tolerated it"

The Four Forces

In our country", he continued, we have got four main forces that are sitting at the chessboard One is the British Government, the most organised force which is still ruling this country The other is the Hindus, a great community most organised and most powerful Today unfortunately they are in the hands of the Congress High Command which is going wrong The third force are the Musalmans A year ago the Musalmans were like orphans, homeless, shelterless, scattered, divided and broken, demoralised and degenerated, particularly due to their own fault because they were indifferent and careless We were divided and that was our condition a year ago Today, the Musalmans have awakened and are a third force and we mean to remain as a third force (cheers) and we are going to play our part, worthy of our past heritage There is yet another force which is not quite visible at present but is a very big force — the Indian States"

Commenting on the attitude of a few educated Musalmans, he emphasised, 'India is not a nation state, it is a state of

[1]Public address *Deccan Times* 28 August 1938

nationalities That being so, the more you ignore it the more you try to mislead yourselves "

Parliamentary System Suitable?

"The Hindus who are very loyal are blindly guided by the Congress High Command, and of course there is a natural feeling that a Hindu must stand by a Hindu and therefore they believed in whatever that High Command of the Congress is doing or saying for them But this High Command of the Congress is the body that has got to be brought to its senses and they can only be brought to their senses by us, and I am sure our Hindu friends will realise that the High Command is doing them the greatest possible harm in pursuing the policy they are following today Therefore, the question is this What next? We are now trying an experiment Is that experiment? The mighty British Government naturally cannot think of any other system of Government because their Government is on the lines of democratic parliamentary system of Government and therefore, they cannot think of anything else It is the growth in England of six centuries which is suited to the genius of their people, and it has been developed for the last 600 years But the question is 'Can this democratic parliamentary Government succeed in this country? Is it suited to the conditions of this country? Is it suited to the genius of this country?' From the first contact it is not a democratic majority in the seven Congress provinces It is not a democratic majority that has formed the Government and is carrying on it is the permanent Hindu majority which cannot be altered by any change whatsoever and therefore it is the travesty of the system which may be worthwhile in England But when it is planted here, you see, that it is a failure What is the result — the permanent Hindu majority and the ministry that is a Hindu ministry And naturally what else could you expect? It must pursue the policy and the programme which necessarily is a Hindu policy and it must therefore bring everybody down to submit to that programme

'I do not know how far this machine which is now planted here when every other country in Europe has given it up will succeed Therefore, I say to you my friends come on one platform stand under one flag It is not a question of today, it is not a question of tomorrow, a statesman looks at least 25 years ahead I want you to organise yourselves and prepare yourselves to be ready for defence and if necessary to resist any encroachment upon our rights and to play your part in any emergency that may arise at any time in the course of next 25 years This is the task before you

Communalist Bogey

"Nobody has ever helped not even this mighty High Command of the Congress. What interests have they taken in Musalmans' welfare, economic, social, political and educational? Hundreds and hundreds of schools are going on among the Hindus. Many are the institutions of economic uplift of the Hindus. During the last 30 years what special interest was taken for this backward community, numerically small, financially bankrupt, economically nil and educationally most backward? On what occasion the Congress really took up any real and particular question of special interest to the Musalmans so that they may be encouraged? When we say we want to organise our people because under the present condition Musalmans must organise themselves not to fight anybody but to co-operate. We are ready to co-operate and in fact we are anxious to co-operate and want co-operation. We want to serve our motherland just like any other body and organise ourselves. And we thought it was high time if we tried to put our house in order. And when our representatives were returned on the ticket of the Muslim League what was the answer? The answer was 'Surrender, sign our pledge, agree to our programme, liquidate the Muslim League and we will give you some ministries.' This is the answer. While I am trying to raise this one big wonderful part of India, this great community which is adrift, when I am trying to put life into them to organise them and bring them together, this is the attitude that is adopted. And in conclusion I am told I am a communalist. The answer was if I am a communalist because I am doing all this I am very proud to be a communalist. (Cheers)

Defence of Congress Attack

'When the Congress press was exhausted by repeating and calling me communalist, they thought they will find out some other slogan. It is getting stale because this fellow says I am proud to be communalist. Well they found out another slogan. Muslim League is reactionary where there are so many toadies. There may be some toadies. I do not deny. But let me tell you that these people who attack us today know perfectly well that it is absolutely untrue to blame the Muslim League and call it reactionary. There are lakhs and lakhs of people who are members of the Muslim League and it is in their hands to direct it, it is their right to choose their leaders or dismiss their leaders. It is in their hands and I hope that we shall soon be able to show

that we are in a position now to choose our leaders, our office bearers and choose our men according to our own choice. They will be the representatives of the Musalmans and command their respect. But when we say we have got some toadies I would like to know how many crooks and cranks there are in the Congress. Well they are also getting tired now of repeating the slogan that we are reactionary because (they know) what, after all, is the good of shouting that which is not true. So now the latest slogan is that we are fanatics and we are encouraging fanaticism. While the answer to every grievance, every complaint, every criticism is that Musalmans are fanatics, they are goondas and they are out to create disorder. This is the answer now. We have come to this state. We have gone through three stages — communalists, reactionaries and now fanatics. Well let us hope that we shall live down this charge also and show them that we are a disciplined, well organised people and we can be equal to anybody else in organisation.

"In conclusion," he said, "look far ahead. You have to play a big part in the destinies of this country. We love this country but as a free citizen along with any other free citizen, not as a subordinate or a slave to anybody else (cheers). I am sure and I am confident that it will be realised and I feel confident that our Hindu brethren will join hands with us and smash this High Command which is the greatest enemy of this country. I do not want to say anything more today. Talk less, let us work, work, work, organise ourselves, harness our resources, create solidarity and unity, make sacrifices in the right sense and I say there is the finest and brightest future for the Musalmans in this country." (Cheers)

137 Appeals to Burmese — "Stop Brutality Upon Indians"[1]

Simla Mr M A Jinnah, in a statement to the Associated Press, on the Burma situation says

Ever since the outbreak of trouble in Burma I have tried to follow it Since then very full accounts have appeared in newspapers all over India, and I have now had an opportunity of meeting the representatives of Indians in Burma who are at present in Simla And again today to my regret, I notice from the newspapers as well as from telegrams that I have received that there has been a recrudescence of riots at Mandalay and Rangoon The shocking accounts of brutality, murder arson and destruction of property in Burma carried out in an organised manner cannot but leave impression upon one s mind that the Government of Burma have failed to protect the life and property of Indian nationals in Burma I wonder whether the Burmese Government will rise to the occasion now and maintain the name and reputation of Burma and without further delay see that these atrocities cease and that the Indian nationals who have survived are at least compensated for their sufferings although the loss suffered in many cases is irreparable I trust that the Burmese Government will carry out its elementary duty of bringing to book those who have inflicted untold misery upon innocent Indian victims and penalise the people and areas responsible for their misdeeds

Deepest Sympathy

To Indians in Burma I can only say that my deepest sympathies go out to them in their sufferings that we in India will do whatever lies in our power to help our nationals in Burma and that in the interests of both races I would appeal not only to the Burmese Government but to the Burmese people for they have to live together with Indians as their neighbours to condemn unequivocally those acts of brutality practised upon Indians and put a stop to them And to the Indians may I also say that they should maintain their fortitude and adopt only honourable and lawful methods In the meanwhile it is up to the Government of India to take up the matter firmly and press for action so that this may not form an easy precedent for future events of this character where different races and communities live together " — AP

[1]Press statement, *Civil & Military Gazette* 6 September 1938

138. ML MLAs to Attend Cairo Palestine Congress[1]

New Delhi, September 7 Mr M A Jinnah, President All India Muslim League, has received a letter from the Secretariat, Parliamentary Committee of Defence in Palestine, Cairo, inviting the Muslim members of the Indian Legislative Assemblies to attend the Muslim Congress to be held in Cairo in October to consider the Palestine question Mr Jinnah has issued a statement asking Muslim members of various legislatures in India desirous of attending the Congress to inform him so that formal invitation may be issued to them Mr Jinnah's statement says

> I have received the following letter from the Secretariat of the Parliamentary Committee for the Defence in Palestine Cairo dated the 24th of August
>
> > Thank you very much for your efforts and zeal towards the Palestine case and we hope that it will have quick and good results for its solution We have been very happy to receive a letter from Mr Siddiqi stating that he is working with you on behalf of the committee for the Congress We hope you will succeed in calling the members of different legislative assemblies in India to attend the Congress We are presently preparing invitation cards which will be ready for distribution in a week We shall send you about 200 of them to be distributed amongst our brethren in India His Excellency Allouba Pacha is returning to Cairo in the first week of September to continue his efforts for the Congress We are depending upon your zeal and courage in the calling of the largest possible number of members of Legislative Councils to attend the Congress It also requires active and quick work because we have little time The Congress will be held within forty days Thanking you very much and hoping to see the fruitful results of your great efforts
>
> Will those members of the Muslim League parties in the various legislatures who wish to attend the Congress in Cairo kindly communicate with the Honorary Secretary of the All India Muslim League Central Office Delhi so that formal invitations may be sent to them as soon as they are received? The Congress is likely to be held in the beginning of October I am glad to say that the central office of the All India Muslim League at its new premises at Delhi Gate has now been fully reorganised In future all correspondence other than personal in connection with the All India Muslim League should be addressed to the Honorary Secretary of the All India Muslim League Park Mansions Delhi Gate Delhi — API

[1]Press statement *Tribune* 8 September 1938

139 "Congress Machination to Discredit Punjab Government"[1]

New Delhi, September 8 Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has issued the following statement

'It is very difficult to make every individual understand the complex question of why we supported the principle of the Army Bill The Bill was intended to guard against the propaganda that is being carried on in the Punjab to prevent recruitment to the Army and to instigate acts of mutiny and insubordination The objects of those who are carrying on this organised move and much to our regret the support which is being given to it by responsible Congress leaders would result if successful, in affecting the future recruits Musalmans form 65 to 70 per cent of the present strength of the Army and if they are goaded by misleading propaganda and instigation to resort to acts of insubordination and mutiny their careers will be blasted and many of them will suffer severe penalties as in the present conditions India is not ready for an armed revolution It is to prevent these dangerous and disastrous consequences that would ensue to the Musalmans and the Sikhs that the Punjab Government were naturally anxious for a measure necessary to deal with the situation

If the Congress machination were to succeed their object being to discredit the Punjab Government there would be serious revolt in the Army and the entire blame would be thrown on the Punjab Ministry which is predominantly Muslim In the general interest of India we came to the conclusion that such a message or a lead should not emanate from responsible leaders of the Assembly as men who are likely to pay any heed to our opinion would certainly come from the best national material of our people and we owe them a responsibility before we send any such indication to them to be acted upon as it is they who will suffer most

Central Matter

It is noteworthy that the Congress propaganda of this character is only practised in the Punjab and in no other province We therefore considered in the larger interest of our country and that of the Musalmans in particular that the principle of the Bill in the present conditions could not be rejected but instead of imposing the measure on the provinces from the Centre it is left to the Ministry in each provinces who are responsible to their legislature and to the public to put into operation the provisions of the Bill as and when they think it necessary in their province The subject matter not being provincial the provincial Governments or any one of them if they required could not enact such a measure in their respective legislatures as it relates to Defence and Army which is an exclusively Central subject and the Central Legislature alone could deal with it

We may point out to the average Musalman that these general issues and questions which are engaging our attention from time

[1] Press statement *Civil & Military Gazette* 10 September 1938

to time are full of catches [*sic*] and there are wheels within wheels And they must remember that political matters are like a game of chess Therefore it is difficult always to make every individual understand They must not believe in the false and seductive propaganda, nor carried away when their sentiments and religious feelings are appealed to in the name of Palestine and Waziristan by our adversaries I know that the Musalmans are not yet sufficiently educated and trained in politics and I give them a word of caution not to be tricked into taking hasty actions by the plausible and intriguing arguments of our opponents ' — AP

140 ML "Cannot Establish Branches in Indian States"[1]

Bhopal, September 19 "According to the present constitution of the All India Muslim League, membership of the League is confined to the residents of British India only and therefore it is obvious that we cannot establish the branches of the League in Indian States," says Mr M A Jinnah in a message to the Muslims of Bhopal

He continues "But there is nothing to prevent Musalmans from organising themselves wherever they are to safeguard their rights and interests, and I need hardly say that no territorial limits can stand in the way of Musalmans wherever they are You may belong to one dominion and I may belong to another, but the children of Islam are bound to share the joys and sorrows of each other wherever they may be"

[1] Message *Civil & Military Gazette* 20 September 1938

141. Muslims Want "Honourable Place in Country's Administration"[1]

Karachi, October 7 A rousing welcome was accorded to Mr M A Jinnah, President elect of the Sind Muslim League conference, on his arrival this afternoon by special train from Hyderabad (Sind) From the eastern border at Chorr all along the route up to Hyderabad platforms were overcrowded and Hyderabad station presented a gala appearance Here Mr Jinnah boarded a special train with Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur and about 500 others and they arrived this afternoon in the city station accompanied by aeroplanes

Unprecedented scenes were witnessed at the station where it was impossible to move about owing to the crowd whose enthusiasm was unbounded Mr Jinnah was received on the platform by Sir Abdoola Haroon, Chairman of the Reception Committee and Muslim leaders After inspecting the Guard of Honour provided by the National Guard, Mr Jinnah entered an open landau drawn by four horses and, preceded by a mile-long procession, made slow progress along a circuitous route to the conference *pandal*

The League flag was borne on horseback first, followed by a band Fishermen came next with a huge artificial fish on decorated carts A steam launch on wheels followed and thereafter came members of various Anjumans The cavalry presented a smart appearance, but outstanding in the procession were about 70 camel riders in Arab costume Akharwalas Scouts and other organisations were followed by six pilot cars before Mr Jinnah's coach came and thereafter came a long string of vehicles of every description, besides those walking Aeroplanes overhead dropped flowers on the roadway and thrilled the gathering with acrobatics

Flag Unfurled

A huge crowd crammed the conference *pandal* where Mr Jinnah unfurled the League flag and made a short speech in which he said that the honour done him was not in a personal capacity but as the League President He expressed the hope that Muslims of India would protect the flag even at the risk of losing their lives 'Islam cannot be suppressed", he declared, and although they wanted India free they wanted to live in that free India with dignity Mr Jinnah advised the Sind Muslims to unite and not form various parties In the fight for political rights Sind Muslims must not be lagging behind other communities "We

[1]Public speech *Times of India*, 8 October 1938

Muslims will not submit to any position of subordination, those dreaming of establishing domination over Muslims will be disillusioned soon," declared Mr Jinnah replying to Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah's toast at a dinner at the Karachi Club

Mr Jinnah said that the Muslims longed for an honourable place in the administration and Government of the country If this was resisted they were prepared to fight to the bitter end Their quarrel was not with the Hindu community but against the Congress High Command which for the last one year had adopted a thoroughly antagonistic attitude to the Muslim League, dividing the Muslims and imposing the Congress domination This was very dangerous and would retard the progress of the country seriously Adverting to Sind politics, Mr Jinnah was sorry to see Sind torn to pieces, adding that it was extraordinary that the Governor did not agree to summon the legislature He was shocked to hear that the Sind Assembly was not likely to meet till February

142. "Congress High Command Definitely Aimed Annihilate ML"[1]

Karachi, Friday [7 October] Interesting post-prandial speeches were delivered tonight at the Karachi Club where a dinner in honour of Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, and the President elect of the Sind Provincial Muslim League Conference was held The hosts were Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and Khan Bahadur Abdul Sattar Over two hundred covers were laid and the guests included representatives of all communities and provinces The after dinner speakers were Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Mr M A Jinnah, Khan Bahadur Gurmani, Raja of Mahmudabad, Maulana Shaukat Ali and Mir Ayub Khan

Sir Ghulam Hussain thanked Mr M A Jinnah for kindly accepting the invitation of presiding over the deliberations of the Sind Provincial League conference He referred to the hot winds blowing in Sind for the past few days and thanked the Almighty God for sending some cool breezes tonight as the President of the Muslim League was in Karachi He interpreted it as a special favour of Nature to Mr Jinnah who had come down to Sind for a good cause Sir Ghulam Hussain felt that Mr Jinnah was not only a politician of all-India fame but an international figure He referred to Mr Jinnah as a brilliant lawyer and an astute politician He said that the life of Mr Jinnah was an object-lesson for any ambitious young man Talking of the greatness of Mr Jinnah, Sir Ghulam Hussain declared that Mr Jinnah was an undisputed leader of the Musalmans of India He was a patriot of the highest order and a Nationalist of Nationalists According to Sir Ghulam Hussain, the time honoured saying 'A prophet is not without honour except in his own country,' was disproved by Mr M A Jinnah who was not only honoured by his countrymen but was literally revered by the Muslim Leaguers Sind was proud of Mr Jinnah because he was a Sindhi

'Place of Small Men'

Sir Ghulam Hussain protested against a remark offered by a veteran Congress man a few weeks ago that Sind was a place of small men He said he did not care to take notice of such remarks because he knew that Sind had produced men like H H the Aga Khan, Mr Jinnah, Mr F E Dinshaw and a number

[1]Public speech *Daily Gazette* 8 October 1938

of distinguished Hindu leaders He then introduced some of the distinguished visitors, present as well as absent, who were attending the League conference He read out the names, Hon Mr Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal, who had rendered valuable services to his own province He will arrive tomorrow morning by Lahore Mail

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, popular Premier of the Punjab, will come tomorrow by air Sir Ghulam Hussain expected the citizens of Karachi to give a rousing reception to him at Drigh Road Raja of Mahmudabad was characterized by him as a worthy son of a worthy father Maulana Shaukat Ali, popularly known as the Big Brother, was a born fighter like his younger brother, Muhammad Ali Nawab Jamal Khan of Lagari, although a Baloch, was a born social reformer He had made great sacrifices, said Sir Ghulam Hussain, in order to keep intact the solidarity of his party in the punjab He also made a mention of the sacrifices of Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim, a Baronet of Bombay, Khan Bahadur Ghulam Ali, a right-hand man of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and Raja of Pirpur who was chairman of the Industrial Committee Reverting again to Mr Jinnah, Sir Ghulam Hussain said that he was an ambassador of peace who was responsible for the Lucknow Pact and who was even now striving hard to bring about an understanding between the two great communities of India — the Hindus and the Muslims

Sir Ghulam Hussain made a classic statement by saying that the Muslims of Sind wanted to be hounourable partners in the administration of Government, they did not necessarily want the change of masters He assured the minority communities of Sind as also of the whole of India that in the hands of the Muslim League the interests of the various minorities would be safeguarded

Proud to be Sindhi

Mr M A Jinnah stated that he was proud to be a Sindhi and also that he was born in Sind He referred to Sind when it was still a part of the Bombay Presidency, very different from the rest of the province, geographically, physically and even naturally He was glad that now it was an autonomous province Commenting on Sind politics, Mr Jinnah said that he was simply shocked when he learned that the next session of the Sind Legislature would not be called before February 1939 (There were cries of shame, shame) Mr Jinnah repeated the classic statement of Sir Ghulam Hussain that the nine crores of Muslims were not interested in the change of masters, but what they wanted was that they should be treated as honourable

partners in the administration of the country He maintained that Muslims could not accept any position of subordination and added that those who were under the impression that they could dominate over nine crores of Muslims would have to be disillusioned of that idea According to Mr Jinnah, the All India Muslim League was no doubt an organisation of the Muslims, but it was definitely national in its policy He said that the Muslims of India would fight till their last breath to gain their deserving place Talking of the minorities, Mr M A Jinnah asserted that all the minority communities of India should be made to feel a sense of security They should be assured that they would be treated with justice and fair play But the assurances should be, said Mr Jinnah, in the form of deeds and not mere words He criticized the attitude of the Congress High Command towards the Muslim League which he said was definitely directed to annihilate the League He said the Congress wanted to foist their will on the Muslims of India

Mr Jinnah gave a solemn assurance that in Sind he would not chalk out a programme which would in anyway, whether by words or deeds, go against the legitimate rights of the Hindus who were in minority here He appealed to the Hindus as well as the Muslims of Sind to help him in achieving the object which was very near his heart and which would raise the head of Sind before the other provinces of India He concluded, "I am proud of Sind but if you help me in achieving this object, I shall be more proud than I have ever been in my life "

143 "Congress Policies will Break India Vertically and Horizontally"[1]

"Ladies and Gentlemen! I thank you for the honour you have done me by asking me to preside over this All Sind Muslim League Conference Sind has a wonderful history behind it and it gives me a peculiar pleasure that I should have the privilege of presiding over a great conference of Muslims I most heartily congratulate you for having established the District Muslim Leagues in almost all of your Districts and having organized the Musalmans of Sind in the manner in which you have done within such a short time This great political consciousness and awakening that has taken place among the Musalmans of Sind is a great pointer and I feel confident that with the help of your selfless leaders and workers, Sind will come into its own and set an example to the rest of India You know the efforts of the All India Muslim League to separate Sind were seriously started in 1927 and the demand to separate Sind was incorporated in the Delhi Muslim League proposals in March 1927 It was a hard and arduous struggle but notwithstanding the strenuous opposition from various quarters ultimately it was decided to separate Sind from Bombay Presidency as an independent Province with a constitution on an equal footing with the rest of the Provinces of the British India

Now that your Province is an independent entity the greatest responsibility rests on the shoulders of the Musalmans of Sind for the welfare and the progress of your Province Not long ago the Musalmans in Sind were divided and torn into groups but today I am happy to find that there is a wonderful public spirit, solidarity and unity demonstrated and with proper organization if you mobilize and harness your powers there is nothing to prevent the Muslim League of your Province from assuming the reins of the Government of your Province It is in your hands now You must remember that it is your duty and responsibility which calls upon you to conduct the affairs of the Government of Sind The constitution enacted by the Government of India Act of 1935 although it incorporates many objectionable features yet you should utilize it with your majority strength successfully for the economic social educational and political uplift of the people of Sind and in particular of the Musalmans I feel confident that mainly the Musalmans of Sind and the right thinking Hindus will realize that the progress and the welfare of the Province lies in maintaining the high principles of justice, fair play and friendly co operation amongst the people of Sind

'While speaking in this great city and the capital of Sind Karachi with its magnificent position that it occupies, the wonderful seaport, and constituting as it does the first homeland of Musalmans it gives me no small pleasure that I should preside over a conference of the kind the like of which has never before taken place in Sind and you can well imagine my surging emotions when I tell you that Karachi is my birthplace and I

[1]Presidential address at Sind Muslim League Conference, Karachi, 8 October 1938 Muslim League Documents, Vol 242 Document No 9 See *Sind Observer* and *Star of India,* 9 and 12 October 1938 respectively for press reports of the text of the address

cannot adequately express how deeply anxious I am for its welfare and how cordially I wish your province to rise to its full stature and play your great and rightful part in the counsels of Muslim India Musalmans of Sind have another sacred duty to perform and a far graver task in front of them and it is that aspect which I want to impress upon you In the all India Muslim struggle against the various forces which are out to destroy and divide the Musalmans by means of corruption and dishonest propaganda you have to guard yourself against it and stand solid behind the All India Muslim League which is the only authoritative and representative organization of the Musalmans of India It is an irony of fate that the two provinces for which the All India Muslim League fought successfully that is the Sind and the North West Frontier Province should remain outside the ken of the All India Muslim League But I am glad that Sind Musalmans have now realized (sic) The wonderful rally on their part is a bright sign and new chapter in the History of the All India Muslim League North West Frontier Province for which the Muslim League fought against every machination including the opposition on the part of the Congress itself against our demand that it should have the constitution and reforms on an equal footing with all the other provinces of the British India should remain, when liberated under the heel of Wardha

But I feel confident that it will not be very long before the Musalmans of North West Frontier Province will come home on the platform of the All India Muslim League and work as loyally and faithfully as any Musalman under the banner and the flag of the All India Muslim League and those who have and are still misleading the Pathans will meet with their Nemesis

'The struggle that we are carrying on is not merely for loaves and fishes, ministerships and jobs nor are we opposed to the economic social and educational uplift of our countrymen as it is falsely alleged We want to make every contribution to the uplift of our people particularly the Musalmans Do not believe when you are told that the policy and programme of the League is reactionary No honest man who has studied the policy and programme of the League can conscientiously and truthfully say that it is anything but fully national and most progressive Yet Muslim League and its leaders are daily misrepresented and vilified Truth is suppressed and falsehood is broadcast in the Congress press and news agencies of course we having no press But the greatest misfortune of India is that the High Command of the Congress has adopted a most brutal, oppressive and inimical attitude towards the All India Muslim League since they secured the majority in the six provinces

'After they decided to accept office and work the constitution when we were ready and offered our hand of co operation as we had already made it clear before and after the elections also, the first demand was that the League must liquidate itself and we were told that it represents nobody except few estimable middle class gentlemen And secondly the decision was taken that we must be treated as an anathema and the League groups in the various legislatures were boycotted by the Congress And the members of the League party in the legislatures were to be treated as untouchables and that no one was to be included in the ministry of those provinces from amongst the representatives of the League

party unless they unconditionally signed the pledge, the policy, and the programme of the Congress which honestly speaking is much worse than that of the All India Muslim League and more communal, in fact, except that we stand for the adequate and effective safeguards for the rights and interests of the Musalmans and that we do not agree with false creed of 'truth and non violence' which is observed and honoured more in breach They were asked to abjure their party and forego their creed policy and programme which is far more honest and straightforward and practical

"They started in the legislatures with a song of *Bande Mataram* which is not only idolatrous but in its origin and substance a hymn to spread hatred for the Musalmans And they in their wisdom tried and are persisting now and compelling the school authorities to sing *Bande Mataram* at congregations and school gatherings although it is admitted that it is not a national song They have persistently hoisted tricolour flags in a most aggressive and offensive manner on all Government and public institutions irrespective of the feelings of others although it is admitted that it is not a national flag They started the Muslim Mass Contact' which is not only silly but dangerous and some wiseacre amongst them think that this will bring about the destruction of the Communal Award or at any rate nullify its object and destroy the true strength of Muslim representation in the various legislatures and further thereby force every Muslim to submit to the membership of the Congress They have been forcing radical changes in the educational system of the Provinces and to run the department on Wardha scheme which has assumed the name of *Vidya Mandir* and make Hindi compulsory in the guise of Hindustani but highly Sanskritised as lingua franca' of India and leave no stone unturned to suppress Urdu which is the language of the largest number of Musalmans in India and thus give a death blow to their culture and their solidarity

"Every available post or job is reserved for the Congress men or those Musalmans who are prepared to desert or vilify the League The Civil Liberties' has assumed new definition That in the absence of *Swadeshi* Laws, 'lawless and reactionary laws' such as the 'Criminal Law Amendment Act' and 'Section 144' are to be freely utilized against those persons who disobey or differ from the Congress Ministries and particularly in the case of the members of the Muslim League Measures are brought in bills have been passed and laws have been enacted which are obviously highly detrimental to the interests of the Musalmans, for instance amendments of the franchise system of voting and representation of minorities in Municipal, Local and District Boards The Muslim Press is terrorized under threat of penalty of forfeiture of securities and in some cases the obnoxious executive orders have been passed and securities of some Muslim Urdu papers have been forfeited Is this the national programme that is being pursued for the advancement of the people of this country which will achieve freedom and independence of India? If this is the foretaste on the threshold of the limited and restricted authority and power enjoyed by the Congress I shudder to think what would be the fate of ninety millions of Musalmans in this country if the Congress were incharge of full and plenary powers of the Government of India, and yet the other day the President of the Congress had the temerity in speaking at the Haripura Congress

Session in February 1938 to solemnly ask 'I would put it to the members of the minority communities in India to consider dispassionately if they have anything to fear when the Congress programme is put into operation So far I have not dealt with the cases of maltreatment and tyranny and persecution regarding which columns and columns have been filled by newspapers — specially in three Provinces of Bihar U P and C P and we are awaiting the report of the committee that has been appointed I hope that the report will be out before the next session of Muslim League in December 1938

It is common knowledge that the average Congres man whether he is a member by conviction or convenience' arrogates to himself the role of a ruler of this country and although he does not possess the educational qualifications training and culture and traditions of the British bureaucrat he behaves and acts towards the Musalmans in a much worse manner than the British did towards Indians The Supreme Command may well deplore corruption, untruthfulness and violence and may further deplore the faked register of membership of the Congress by 'convenience

"These are a few characteristic features of the Congress programme so far regarding the Musalmans But we are told very recently in your city by a high authority that surely the fact that the Governors have not yet thought fit to interfere or exercise their special powers is a proof positive and shows that the Musalmans are not only justly and fairly treated but they are dealt with handsomely and generously I know that Governors and the Governor General have failed the minorities and specially the Musalmans But on the other hand we are told that there is a gentlemen's agreement and a secret understanding between the British Government and the Congress in consequence of which assurances were given that such powers will not be exercised, and so it is obvious that the Congress Ministries are getting the longest rope with the result that the foolish policy of the Congress is responsible not only for intense bitterness between the two sister communities but among the various classes and interests It has resulted in serious clashes and conflicts and ill will which are bound to recoil in the long run on the progress and welfare of India It seems that Congress is only tumbling into the hands of those who are looking forward to the creation of a serious situation which will break India vertically and horizontally But this is not all

Now let us turn to Bengal, Punjab and Assam In these provinces there happens to be a predominant Muslim voice in the Ministries and hence they are made the target and the object of final destruction by the Congress High Command In Bengal the move to defeat Fazlul Huq Ministry has ignominiously failed In Punjab various efforts are made to weaken the Ministry of Sir Sikander Hyat But in Punjab they have not yet dared to table a no confidence motion because Punjab Ministry cannot yet be bent In Assam Mr Saadullah s Ministry resigned Immediately the Congress President went post haste with other henchmen and agents to help the birth of a so called Congress Ministry in utter disregard of all their previous professions and declarations and contrary to their avowed determination to have nothing to do with coalition and he gathered together various groups all and sundry But in forming the Ministry Mr Bordoloi

was not able to announce the name of even one of the three Muslim Ministers who were to be included in the Ministry Apart from the methods adopted further to move the President for adjournment of the Assembly *sine die* was hardly creditable, and for a great party not to face the legislature knowing full well that they had not the majority at their back was sheer cowardice It is under threat of suspension of oath taking ceremony that the President and Congress party agreed to the sessions of the Assembly being called at an early date and up to the present moment Mr Bordoloi has not been able to get more than one of the three Muslim Ministers and he is still hunting for the remaining two Muslim Ministers When 56 members of the Assembly out of 107 are not only against the so called Congress Ministry but have tabled the vote of no confidence, I congratulate the President, Mr Bose, for his statesmanlike achievement for this stillborn child which he is now anxious to feed by means of oxygen and bring it to life by appealing to the European planters to come to his rescue

'The Congress High Command is obsessed with one idea and determined to divide the Musalmans and particularly to break the solidarity of the Muslim League no matter how low they may have to stoop They have no scruples or any standard or principle in their methods Their policy is based on arrogance and opportunism and unfortunately they are at the present moment getting the support of a large body of Hindus who have respect for the Congress and they are being fully exploited Not only that but even Mr Gandhi who has acquired the spiritual influence over a large body of the Hindu public and with his halo of Mahatma is used by those who surround him He often tries to get out of the awkward corners by falling back upon his inner voice or the voice of silence and relies upon the fact that he is not even a four anna member of the Congress and he deplores corruption untruthfulness and violence and pleads to his utter helplessness for the decisions of Congress High Command This grand Fascist Council the Working Committee which is named the shadow cabinet' of a parallel Government of India is supposed to speak on behalf of the Indian Nation Some of its antics remind one of a clown imitating the artist in a circus During the critical situation about the end of September last this so-called shadow cabinet continually sat in sessions and kept vigil as the All India Congress committee had entrusted them with a power to take such decisions as they thought proper with regard to the question of India s part in the event of the war breaking out

So to begin with a sympathetic message was sent by the High Command to the Government of Czechoslovakia and the Mahatma and the Working Committee were continuing the vigil waiting for the Whitehall to approach Mahatma Gandhi But the war is averted and soon now the vigil will terminate and India must breathe a sign of relief as we are saved from the Congress decision with regard to the war for the moment So now this is the situation and position that we have to face It is no use relying upon anyone else We must stand on our own inherent strength and build up our own power and forge sanctions behind our decisions Today we are told that even for the purpose of a settlement of Hindu Muslim question we do not represent the Musalmans of India and we are required to prove the position and status of ours by service and merits' before the mighty High Command

Gentlemen! the meaning is clear It is no use our blaming others, it is no use our accusing our opponents only, it is no use our expecting our enemies to behave differently If the Musalmans are going to be defeated in their national goal and aspirations, it will only be by the betrayal of the Musalmans among us as it has happened in the past For the renegades and traitors I have nothing to say They can do their worst But I appeal most fervently to those Musalmans who honestly feel for their community and its welfare and those who are misled or misguided and indifferent to come on to the platform of the Muslim League and work under its flag, and please close your rank and file and stand solid and united at any and all costs and speak and act with one voice

"Here I wish to make it clear that I am not fighting the Hindu community as such nor have I any quarrel with the Hindus generally for I have many personal friends amongst them, but the Congress 'High Command' is in my opinion the greatest enemy of India's progress and for the matter of that even of the interests of Hindus Although there are many Hindus who entirely condemn them and are completely fed up with them yet a large body of the Hindu public is still hypnotised and mesmerized by them by their seductive and abusive propaganda and disingenuous catchwords and slogans Will they get their freedom of judgement and action!

"With regard to the tragedy of Palestine that is going on at present and the ruthless repression that is practised against the Arabs because of their struggle for the freedom of their country, I need hardly tell you that we had most convincing proofs demonstrated all over India that the heart of every Musalman is with them in their brave and wonderful struggle that they are carrying on against all odds and in spite of their being defenceless' According to the resolution of the All India Muslim League Council 26th of August was observed all over India as the Palestine Day and from all accounts I can say without exaggeration that thousands and thousands of meetings were held all over India fully and fervently sympathising with those who are fighting for their country's freedom Musalmans heart is wounded and lacerated when they hear the news and the accounts of ruthless and tyrannical oppression and repression of those brave Arabs and I know that the entire Muslim world is watching the doings of Great Britain there

"I may inform you that the Muslim League Council appointed a special committee at their meeting of the 30th July 1938 to consider the question of sending official deputation abroad specially to Palestine and England and directed the committee to consider the ways and means by which an effective pressure can be brought to bear upon the British Government And that committee recently met at Badaun and have in response to the invitation from the Egyptian Parliamentary Committee for the Defence of Palestine chosen five representatives on behalf of the All India Muslim League to attend the Parliamentary Congress of Arabs and Muslim countries which will be held in Cairo starting from the 7th October 1938 with a view to consider the present situation in Palestine Three of our representatives Mr Khaliquzzaman Mr Abdur Rahman Siddiqui and Maulana Mazhar Uddin out of the five appointed have already left India

and are on their way to Cairo Further, according to the instructions of the Egyptian Parliamentary Committee we have notified that if any other member of the Muslim League party in Legislature desires to participate in the Congress the invitation will be issued to him by the Secretary, All India Muslim League We shall await the results of the deliberations and the decisions of that Congress and then I may assure you that the All India Muslim League will do all that lies in its power to help the cause of the Arabs in Palestine

"I am glad here to note that Congress Working Committee also at Delhi have passed a resolution That having regard to its importance it was moved by the chair without any comments This is an indication of the superficial interest the Congress takes in matters which the Musalmans consider nearest and dearest to their heart During the recent times Great Britain has thrown her friends to the wolves and broken her solemn promises Only those succeed with the British people who possess force and power and who are in a position to bully them They have also let down and thrown the Musalmans of India to the wolves I am sure that there will be no peace in the Near East unless they give an honest and square deal to the Arabs in Palestine

'In India I may draw the attention of His Majesty s Government and the British statesmen who I am sure are not under any delusion that Congress represents the people of India or Indian nation, for there are 90 millions of Musalmans And I would draw their attention and here also of the Congress High Command and ask them to mark learn and inwardly digest the recent upheaval and its consequent developments which threatened the world war It was because the Sudeten Germans who were forced under the heel of the majority of Czechoslovakia who oppressed them suppressed them, maltreated them and showed a brutal and callous disregard for their rights and interests for two decades hence the inevitable result that the Republic of Czechoslovakia is now broken up and a new map will have to be drawn Just as the Sudeten Germans were not defenceless and survived the oppression and persecution for two decades so also the Musalmans are not defenceless and cannot give up their national entity and aspirations in this great continent Here also I may mention the Frontier policy of the Government of India which the sooner it is given up the better and methods of reconciliation are resorted to instead I will therefore appeal to the British Government to review and revise their policy with regard to Palestine Waziristan and Musalmans of India and the Islamic powers generally It is in the interest of Great Britain to seriously consider the reorientation in the light of the developments that have taken place during the last two decades

To the Musalmans therefore I say go forward and organize your people all over India and if reasons and arguments fail our ultimate resort must depend upon our own inherent strength and power I do not despair nor need we fear the consequences in this great struggle of life and death which involves the destiny of 90 millions of our people "

144. Advises Leaders of Communities —"Live and Let Live"[1]

Karachi, Saturday, October 8 Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League and President elect of the First Sind Provincial League Conference, was honoured this evening by the citizens of Karachi in the Municipal Office compound He was presented with an address of welcome artistically painted on piece of silk which was encased in a silver casket Over four thousand people of all communities witnessed the function and heard the Mayor's address and the reply given by Mr Jinnah amid cheers and cries of 'Allah-o-Akbar'

Following is the text of the address presented to Mr Jinnah

The Address

We the Mayor and Councillors of the Municipal corporation of the City of Karachi extend to you, on behalf of the citizens a most cordial welcome in our midst this evening Having been born in Karachi where you also received your early education we feel gratified and proud that one of the sons of this soil should have reached to this high station of life and be an accredited leader in this great country It therefore gladdens our hearts to have you with us today and to have this opportunity of tendering our welcome to you

Your forensic ability your industry and above all your uprightness of character early won for you a name in the legal profession which gets added luster when it has men like you as its votaries Your profession could not however absorb all your energies and you soon turned your attention to the political life of the country and your association in early life with other Indian leaders like Mr Dadabhai Naoroji[2] Mr Gopal Krishna Gokhale[3] Sir Pherozeshah Mehta[4] and others started you on your work

[1]Public speech *Daily Gazette* 9 October 1938

[2]B 1825 edn Elphinstone College Bombay Assistant Professor of Mathematics and Physics 1850 later Professor An affluent member of Parsi community and a prominent businessman of Bombay having trading links with Britain Member Bombay Legislative Council 1885 President, Indian National Congress 1886 1893 and 1906 First Indian to be elected to House of Commons (from Central Finsbury on a Liberal Party ticket) 1892 young Jinnah having canvassed for him (see Matlubul Hasan Saiyid *Mohammad Ali Jinnah A Political Study* Elite Publishers Karachi, 1st edition 1945, 1970 edition p 3), a liberal and humanist described as 'the Grand Old Man of India d 1917

[3]*Supra* p 30, n 1

[4]B 1845 called to the Bar 1868 Founder member of the Indian National Congress 1885 a Parsi, liberal and nationalist, he disagreed with his contemporary Dadabhai Naoroji that India's national battle be fought in British Parliament started *Bombay Chronicle* 1873 Municipal Commissioner of Bombay Corporation 1873 Member Bombay Legislative Council 1886 and of Imperial Legislative Council 1898 1901 Vice Chancellor of Bombay University March 1915 d 1915

which, with the passage of time, has absorbed you completely and claimed your undivided attention and service Your work as a legislator and statesman for a period of nearly thirty years is indeed a proud record While some may have differed from your opinions none has ever doubted your patriotism, independence of character and sincerity of purpose and your counsel has been always sought on momentous occasions We all hope and pray that you will give a lead to the various communities in this country to live in amity and peace and guide them to that goal of progress and prosperity which we know is dear to your heart '

Mr Jinnah's Reply

Rising amidst much applause Mr Jinnah thanked the Mayor and the Councillors of the Karachi Municipal Corporation for the honour done to him in the form of a civic welcome to the city of his birth

Referring to the hope expressed in the address that he should lead the various communities of India to a life of peace and amity, he said that he had never flinched from the principle that co-operation and goodwill must be established between the different communities Mr Jinnah believed that in this alone lay the salvation of the country He stated that though "peace and amity among different communities" was a motto which many people often repeated, but in practice it was rather difficult to accomplish He gave an analogy from European politics where every nation cursed war and condemned the race in armaments, yet the very same nations continued their armament programmes and prepared for war

Offering his own solution Mr Jinnah said, "In order to bring about the desired happy state, it is incumbent on all the leaders of the different communities to realize the actualities and the realities I call upon all leaders of the various communities to place all their cards on the table and then endeavour to solve the problems with which they are faced " Emphasising the same point he advised the leaders of the various communities to take cognizance of the existing actualities, even though they might have their own theories for solving their peculiar problems Concluding his speech Mr Jinnah enunciated the doctrine of Live and let live" and urged the various Indian leaders to act in such a way as to give a sense of security to all the communities living in the country

145. Autonomy for Baluchistan — "Promises Wholehearted Support"[1]

Karachi, Saturday, 8 October. The need for separating Baluchistan from Sind and constituting it into an autonomous province was urged this morning by a deputation of the Baluchis, led by Khan Bahadur Allahbux Gabol, who waited on Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, at the residence of Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon Mr Jinnah promised his wholehearted support and informed the deputationists that he had interested himself in this question since 1927

The Baluch deputation also urged Mr Jinnah to appoint a Commission on behalf of the All India Muslim League to investigate the true state of affairs obtaining in the Bugti tribal area They strongly protested against the ban on the recruitment of Baluchis to the Army since 1925 and requested the Muslim League President to agitate for the immediate removal of the ban imposed on them They suggested that a recruiting centre for Baluchis should be created in Sind and that they should be encouraged to join the Indian army

The deputation consisted of Nawab Sir Jamal Khan Lagari Baluch, M L A (Punjab), Mr Gorani Baluch, M L A (Punjab), Mr Fakir Muhammad Dura Khan, President of the Baluch League, Mr Abdullah Ghaffar Khan, F Dura Khan, ex Municipal Councillor and Reforms Secretary, Baluch League, Mr Muhammad Usman Brohi, Municiple Councillor, Mr Umar Bux Subra Khan, Vice-Presient, Baluch League Mr Ali Muhammad Khan Nabidad and Khan Bahadur A K Gabol, Deputy Speaker of the Sind Legislative Assembly and the leader of the deputation

[1]News report, *Daily Gazette*, 9 October 1938

146 Appeals to Leaders of Communities—"Live and Let Live"[1]

"I assure you that I have never flinched throughout my life from the principle that we must establish co-operation between the various communities in India I firmly believe that in that direction lies not only the welfare and progress of each community but of the entire country In that direction lies our salvation", declared Mr M A Jinnah replying to a civic address presented to him last evening

Continuing, Mr Jinnah, according to the Associated Press, said "I call upon the leaders of the various communities to place their cards on the table and endeavour to solve the problem India is a country of different nationalities, communities, castes and creeds The only way in which we can reach our goal is by pursuing a policy of live and let live and by making every community feel a sense of security and confidence in those in charge of the Government and national life "

[1] Public address *Statesman*, 10 October 1938 The following report appeared in *Bombay Chronicle*, 10 October 1938 in connection with the above event "Mr M A Jinnah was accorded a civic reception by the Karachi Municipal Corporation this evening [8 October] the Congress members being conspicuous by their absence The Mayor, Mr Hatim Alvi, in welcoming the guest, recounted the services rendered by Mr Jinnah to his country and hoped that he would continue to guide his countrymen in the right path "

147. Letter to Bose —"ML Offer Still Open"[1]

Karachi, October 9 The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League held a prolonged session today discussing the League's reply to the Congress Working Committee's letter approved at its Delhi session on the unity talks Mr Jinnah presided and Maulana Shaukat Ali, Raja of Mahmudabad, Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Sir Abdoola Haroon and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan were among those who participated The Working Committee authorised Mr Jinnah to reply to the Congress President as follows

> I am in receipt of your letter of October 2 which was placed before the Executive Council of the League I am authorised to state in reply that the Executive Council regret very much that the Working Committee of the Congress should entirely misread my letter of August 2 which was quite clear and does not require any elucidation or further interpretation The Muslim League is still ready to proceed with negotiations for a settlement of the Hindu Muslim question on the basis defined by my letter and appoint its representatives to meet a committee that may be appointed by the Congress on the footing indicated by our three resolutions of June 5

Assam Situation

Resuming its sitting in the afternoon, the Working Committee of the League considered the situation created by a meeting of the Assembly not being called in the near future despite the fact that 60 from the 107 members of the Assam Assembly had given notice of a 'no-confidence' motion in the Ministry asking for a meeting to be convened immediately The Committee passed a resolution urging the Assam Governor to exercise his powers and summon the Assembly immediately as it was adjourned *sine die* by the Speaker at the instance of the Leader of the Congress Party who is now the Premier It is against all principles and canons of constitutional Government that a minority Government should be kept in office in the manner it is sought to be done The Committee opines that the Speaker has failed in his duty in adopting the course he has done and condemns Mr Bardoloi and the Congress Party that they should adopt such tactics in shirking the 'no-confidence motion The report of the Committee appointed to consider the question of a National Guard on an all-India basis will be placed before the Council at the next meeting likely to be held in November

[1]News report *Star of India*, 10 October 1938

Other subjects in the agenda of the Working Committee will be taken up tomorrow[1] Earlier, Mr Jinnah had talks with Premier, Khan Bahadur Allah Bux and other Ministers Mr Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal, has received information that his daughter is ill and is flying tomorrow morning for Calcutta — API

[1]For the text of Jinnah Bose correspondence and the resolutions adopted, see appendix XIX 3

148. Advises Muslim Students—"Rally Round ML Flag and Work for Islam"[1]

Karachi, October 11 "Hindus will always prevent you from receiving education They will never allow you to progress Therefore, you have to help yourselves," observed Mr M A Jinnah, addressing the Muslim Students' Conference this evening held under the Presidency of the Raja of Mahmudabad

Continuing Mr Jinnah said that statistics revealed a sorrowful picture regarding education and exhorted the students to make real and sincere efforts to regain what they had lost It was high time that they should work for Islam and the economic, educational and industrial uplift of their land Concluding, Mr Jinnah declared "Muslims have no home and no place to call their own, and the Muslim League has created a home for them and a platform for you Rally round this flag and believe me you will come into your own sooner than you imagine"

[1]Public address *Civil & Military Gazette*, 12 October 1938

149. Muslim Members in Sind Assembly: Urges All to Join ML[1]

Karachi, October 12 Mr M A Jinnah made an announcement tonight in the Provincial Muslim League Conference declaring "I met the Muslim members of the Assembly and had nearly ten hours' discussion with them As an outcome, 27 members out of 35 have joined the All India Muslim League and signed the League pledge and accepted its programme and policy The remaining seven, excluding one Congress have not decided what they should do I cannot tell more as I am issuing a statement tomorrow I hope that in the interests of Muslim solidarity and welfare these seven members will still realise the wisdom of joining the Muslim League and after a sleep tonight a better sense will prevail tomorrow morning "—United Press

[1]Press statement *Tribune,* 13 October 1938

150. Sind Ministry: Allah Bux Refuses to Sign ML Pledge[1]

Karachi, October 12 Twenty-six out of 35 Muslim members of the Sind Assembly met today at the residence of Sir Abdoola Haroon to decide the question of joining the Muslim League and working under the League banner After continuous sitting for over eight hours the meeting concluded Mr Jinnah told the waiting journalists that no settlement had been arrived at and he was issuing a statement tomorrow morning Pressed to give some particulars of the meeting, Mr Jinnah firstly refused adding "You will hear the full story of the treachery tomorrow"

League circles maintain that the Premier, Khan Bahadur Allah Bux, definitely agreed on October 9 in writing to sign the League pledge but he has gone back on his plighted word attested by the Premiers of Bengal and the Punjab and say that Mr Jinnah in tomorrow's statement will fully bear out this position Approached by Press representatives, Khan Bahadur Allah Bux declined to say anything at present

Prominent among those present at the meeting were Khan Bahadur Allah Bux (Premier), Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Mr G M Syed Sheikh Abdul Majid and Khan Bahadur Khuhro Those who attended included also the Speaker (Mr Miran Muhammad Shah) and Mr Amin Khoso, a Congress member of the Assembly, and Mrs Allana a nationalist Muslim member of the Assembly Mr Jinnah who presided, at the outset requested the members to sign the Muslim League pledge At 5 p m the Premier and Minister Pir Illahi Bakhsh hurriedly left the meeting but Sir Abdoola Haroon, with two supporters of Khan Bahadur Allah Bux, dashed in a car after the Premier and brought him back and the deliberations were resumed It is stated that as the negotiations have now broken down, the question of referring the assessment proposal to Sir Sikander Hyat Khan for arbitration does not arise Premier Khan Bahadur Allah Bux and Pir Illahi Bakhsh Minister, looked worried when they left the meeting When approached by the press they expressed inability to reveal anything

Congress waiting to pounce

Congress leaders here have been closely watching the developments and it was even stated that the Congress High Command may now be disposed to give freedom of action to Congress members of the Sind Assembly — API

[1]News report *Star of India* 13 October 1938

151. Allah Bux Reneges on his Pledge with ML[1]

Karachi, October 13: Mr Jinnah this evening issued the following statement

On my arrival it was made clear to me that there was a universal desire for solidarity among the Muslims of Sind Whoever came to see me expressed most fervently the desire to bring about unity I saw various Muslim leaders and no less than 20 Muslim members of the Sind Legislative Assembly That was the prevalent sentiment not only among Muslims but also among the thinking men of other communities Hindus Parsis and Europeans They all desired that there should be stable Government in Sind I may at the very outset deprecate the false and discreditable propaganda carried on by a section of the Press and Congresss men that we are aiming at constituting a purely Muslim Ministry in Sind In the first instance we thought of bringing about unity among the various Muslim groups in the Assembly as there were at least four such groups and once we were able to put our house in order we could approach the other groups in the Assembly

What Ministers Promised

In response to the universal desire I carried on conversations with Khan Bahadur Allah Bux who had come to see me and his colleague Pir Illahi Bakhsh He also endorsed the view that there should be one solid united Muslim party and most cordially assured me that he desired nothing else if that could be achieved that he did not wish to continue as Chief Minister and that he did not care for any office Similar views were expressed by his colleague Pir Illahi Bakhsh I gathered that there were about seven or eight members with the Chief Minister and his colleague Thereafter I saw Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and he also expressed the same views and assured me his full support His group consisted of thirteen members I next saw Mir Bundeh Ali Khan, Leader of the Baluch Group which consists of about seven members Lastly I saw Mr G M Syed who has a following it is understood, of six members They also expressed the same desire and gave me the fullest support

Terms of Pact Ministers Agree to Resign

Thereafter I suggested to each one of them that they should all meet together and that Mr Fazlul Huq and Sir Sikander Hyat Khan with whom also they had interviews should be present Accordingly the Bengal and the Punjab Premiers and myself met the leaders of all four groups on the afternoon of October 9 After prolonged discussion and exchange of views the following agreement was arrived at and signed by Khan Bahadur Allah Bux Pir Illahi Bakhsh Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Mir Bundeh Ali Khan, Mr G M Syed and Sheikh Abdul Majid The terms of the agreement were as follows

[1]Press statement *Times of India*, 14 October 1938

'(1) One solid party of Muslim members of the Sind Assembly should be formed as the Muslim League Party within the legislature and all members who join the Party will become members of the Muslim League and sign the creed and accept the policy and programme of the Muslim League and sign the usual pledge

'(2) In order to facilitate the formation of a new Ministry the present Muslim Ministers agree to tender their resignations and these resignations will be tendered to the Governor simultaneously with the proposal of the Leader of the Muslim League Party to constitute the new Ministry

Mr Jinnah as Arbitrator

'(3) A meeting of those members, who have already joined the League or who may agree to join the League Party should take place on October 12 and those members who are not in Karachi at present are to be requested to come to Karachi — there are already 27 members present in Karachi

'(4) Khan Bahadur Allah Bux and Sir Ghulam Hussain are to intimate those Muslim members who are not in Karachi already and ask them to attend the meeting fixed for October 12

'(5) The Leader of the Party should be elected by the unanimous vote of the party in default he should be nominated by Mr Jinnah and the party will abide by his choice

(6) The personnel of the Ministry to be formed shall be determined according to the same principle namely, that the party should accept it unanimously, in default the party should abide by the decision of Mr Jinnah as to the Muslim personnel of the Ministry that the leader should submit to the Governor

'(7) With regard to differences of opinion relating to the question of assessment and the revision settlement within the Barrage area the matter is to be referred to Sir Sikander Hyat Khan to examine the question and advise on the course and attitude which the party should adopt that the proposal be placed before the meeting of the party on October 12 and that the party should accept the findings and recommendations that may be made by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan

'In accordance with this agreement, telegrams were sent to those members who were not in Karachi over the joint signatures of Khan Bahadur Allah Bux and Sir Ghulam Hussain, requesting them to attend the meeting fixed for October 12 Almost all members were present with the exception of three or four who sent messages to the effect that they would abide by the advice It was in these circumstances that the meeting of Muslim members of the Assembly was called on October 12

A Warning

"Early in the morning at 8 o'clock I received from a responsible and reliable source, the following information

> 'The Leader of the Congress Assembly Party has wired to the President of the Congress Parliamentary Board that, in view of the danger of a League Ministry being formed in Sind the proposed no-confidence motion should not be made a party question and freedom of voting should be permitted to the members of that party If that were done of course, all the ten members of the Congress Party would vote against the no confidence motion Mr Vallabhbhai Patel has sent out telegrams to the members of the (Parliamentary) Board, soliciting their views I am aware of the contents of the documents in your (Mr Jinnah s) possession signed by six gentlemen on the evening of Sunday, October 9 but I thought that you (Mr Jinnah) ought to know about this new move Any attempt to gain time today (October 12) may, therefore not be permitted '

Premier Springs A Surprise New Condition Imposed

When we met on October 12, much to the astonishment of everyone Khan Bahadur Allah Bux backed out of the agreement and took up the unabashed position that he and his supporters would join the League Party only if he was assured beforehand that the Party would agree to elect him leader and allow him to continue as Chief Minister An overwhelming majority of the members present at the meeting objected to this attitude on the ground that it was contrary to the very conception of the formation of a party that any individual member or group should hold the pistol and impose a condition precedent before joining the party Every effort was made to persuade Khan Bahadur Allah Bux and the six or seven members who were inclined to support him Finally, he left the meeting after several hours discussion and after unsuccessful attempts by various members to induce him to give up such an attitude and abide by the agreement which he had already signed

"Meanwhile those who were inclined to join the League Party signed the pledge and handed them to me, accepting the creed policy and programme of the League As the result of this 27 members made it clear that they would come under the banner of the League Khan Bahadur Allah Bux, however was adamant and left with an ultimatum that unless his condition, namely that he should be accepted as leader and allowed to continue as Chief Minister, was agreed to he was not prepared to proceed any further On his taking up this extraordinary attitude some of his own supporters also signed the pledge and remained in the meeting The 27 members present considered that the attitude of Khan Bahadur Allah Bux was most improper and unjust and that he was guilty of a gross breach of faith in resiling from the agreement which he had already signed in the presence of Sir Sikander, Mr Fazlul Huq and myself

Demand Conceded

'Nevertheless, without hesitation — as the words of my address to the Sind Provincial Muslim League Conference namely 'Unity at any cost were fresh and ringing in their ears — they showed a wonderful spirit of sacrifice and rose to the occasion and agreed to accept even this unreasonable condition in the hope that Khan Bahadur Allah Bux would be prepared to come in and work wholeheartedly under the banner of the League When this decision of 27 members was communicated to him about 8 p m by Sir Abdoola Haroon and others who went to his residence, he replied he would consider the matter and let us know tomorrow morning' that is today although he had promised to come to the meeting immediately if his condition was accepted In the meantime it has become public property — and newspaper reports clearly show — that Khan Bahadur Allah Bux was in the hands of his Congress Party and was marking time to receive instructions from the Congress 'High Command

Criticism of Congress

I regret to say that he had not even the courtesy to give me his promised reply this morning I waited the whole day before issuing this statement One can only draw the inference that he has been given an assurance by the Congress 'High Command who seem to me to be obsessed with the one and only idea of destroying any effort which will bring solidarity among Muslims at the sacrifice not only of the vital interests of the country at large and Sind in particular where it is essential to have a stable Ministry for the welfare and progress of the people and who do not seem to hesitate to sacrifice all their principles and professions and the interests of the people which they claim so loudly to serve

So far as we are concerned I am glad we have formed the Muslim League Party in the Assembly consisting of an overwhelmeing majority of Muslim members of the Sind Legislature and we shall carry out our programme for the social economic educational and political uplift of the people of Sind generally and Muslims in particular Our party in the Assembly will always be willing and ready to co operate with any party or group notwithstanding the Muslim majority for the advancement and welfare of the people of Sind, but we cannot accept the position of subordination as Khan Bahadur Allah Bux has chosen to do '

152. Advises Sind Muslim Students—"Organize Education on Mass Scale"[1]

Karachi (By Mail). The second session of the Sind Muslim Students' Conference was held recently in the Muslim League *pandal* before a huge gathering of students and elite of the city including such distinguished visitors as the Raja Saheb of Pirpur, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Mr Abdul Majid Sindhi, Principal Advani, Mr A Waseque, General Secretary, All India Muslim Students Federation

The follwoing message sent by the Hon Mr A K Fazlul Huq was read at the commencement of the session

> It is with the deepest regret that I feel compelled to leave Karachi on the eve of the second session of the Sind Muslim Students' Conference It was my heart s desire to participate in this very important function but an urgent message from home has made it impossible for me to stay till the Conference meets on the 11th I am therefore leaving these few lines as a message to my young friends in the hope that they will excuse my inability to be present and accept my sincere wishes for the successs of the Conference I realise the importance of conferences of this kind and I have no doubt that under the able guidance of the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad and Mr A Waseque from Bengal the conference will be able to achieve unprecedented success

The need for a separate Muslim students' organisation on an all-India basis was stressed by various speakers at the opening session of the Sind Muslim Students Conference held with the Raja of Mahmudabad in the chair A large community of students, including about 100 girls was present

Syed Ghulam Mustapha Matiari, Chairman of the Reception Committee, emphasised the need for mass education He added that the education of girls must also form a plank of Muslim education on a large scale He concluded by saying that there is an urgent necessity for a separate college for Muslim students The Raja of Pirpur emphasised the creation of a separate body for Muslim students Mr Habibullah from U P spoke at length on the advantage of education He showed how the western countries were spending huge sums of money on the education of the youth and it was discouraging to find here in this country that only very little was being spent

[1]Public speech *Star of India* 19 October 1938

Needs of Muslims

Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah recalled that 28 years ago when he was a member of the Imperial Council, a Sindhi came to him and asked him for advice as to how Sindhis could prosper He said that there were only three things which a Muslim should acquire — education, commerce and industry and ammunition

He threw the blame on parents He said that parents were responsible for the high percentage of illiteracy of Muslims He added that it was discouraging to find such a low figure and quoted the number of Muslims in all stages of education — primary, secondary and higher — and the education of girls He advised them to follow the motto "Self help is the best help," as Britishers would not like the people of this country to be literate and as their sister community, the Hindus, would not like Muslims educated as they (the Hindus) would be deprived of services, government as well as private, as they had been holding a monopoly for all these years He appealed to the Muslims to organise education on a mass scale

After acquiring education, the Muslims should organise the economic side They must start industries and business houses, added Mr Jinnah The third thing was the acquisition of power that is swords When success was achieved in business they would get "silver bullets" with which they would realise gold and would be able to get "golden cannon balls" This would pave the way for power

At the end Mr Jinnah appealed to the students to organise themselves

153. Challenges Bose that Congress Alone Can "Deliver the Goods"[1]

Karachi, October 20: "To say that the Congress is ready and willing to negotiate a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question with the Muslim League in one breath and in another to say that the Muslim League is not a representative organisation of the Muslims is so transparently ridiculous and yet the Congress President, Mr Subhas Chandra Bose, arrogates to himself, on behalf of the Congress, the right to be one organisation that is not only able to deliver goods but also that it can alone discuss with the British government a final solution of the Indian problem " Thus declares Mr Jinnah in a statement to the Press referring to Mr Bose's recent statement in Bombay on the Muslim League's reply to the Congress on the Hindu-Muslim unity negotiations "

Mr Jinnah adds "Mr Bose has magnanimously assured the minorities that while refusing to acknowledge the Muslim League as one representative political organisation of the Muslims, the Congress would do what was fair and just towards all minorities Mr Bose clearly, consciously or unconsciously, identified himself with the majority community by making such a declaration I congratulate Mr Bose for having said that, because that is the honest and true position Continuing Mr Jinnah states that the Congress does not represent Muslims and Congress alone cannot deliver the goods As long as this foolish policy is pursued, India cannot advance

As far as the Muslim League was concerned, its policy was laid down by the executive Council at Karachi and he did not wish to enter into any wordy warfare with Mr Bose in this connection as the matter now rested with the Executives of both organisations "But I must say this much," adds Mr Jinnah, 'that the absurdities of the position as explained by Mr Bose on behalf of the Congress manifest to any man who possesses any intelligence "

Absolutely Untrue

Mr Jinnah characterises the interview attributed to Sir Sikander Hyat Khan suggesting that Sir Sikander held a different view from that of the reply sent by the League's

[1]Press statement *Star of India*, 21 October 1938

Executive Council to Mr Bose as absolutely untrue and adds that the League's reply to the Congress was adopted unanimously by the Executive Council, Sir Sikander taking a very prominent part in the working of the reply Mr Jinnah could not believe that between Karachi and Lahore, Sir Sikander should have changed his mind as was attributed to him — API

154. ML to Pursue Only "Constitutional Methods"[1]

Karachi, October 20 "It is absolutely untrue that the Muslim League will pursue any other course except constitutional methods No individual or, for the matter of that, the District League or the Provincial League can depart from all India policy of constitutional methods That is the League's definite policy and it can only be changed by the decision of the full session of the All India Muslim League Therefore, I appeal to every Muslim to be loyal to the policy and programme of the League as it stands today", said Mr M A Jinnah in the course of an interview to the Associated Press Giving impressions of his Sind tour, Mr Jinnah observed there had been a wonderful awakening among the Muslims of Sind Mr Jinnah had no doubt that within a short time the League would be organised in such a manner that those who were now trying to put difficulties in its way would regret it

"As I said before, I do not attach any importance to the formation of Ministries as an acid test in our struggle The main purpose for which I came to Sind is to organise the Muslims under the banner of the League throughout Sind My mission has succeeded beyond my expectations and I see a bright future for Sind Muslims" Questioned about Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's statement on the Sind ministerial tangle Mr Jinnah said that in his view Maulana Azad neither counted with the Hindus and certainly not with the Muslims

Mr Jinnah is leaving tonight for Bombay by the mail boat — API

[1]Press interview, *Tribune*, 21 October 1938

155. Tribute to Ataturk— "Greatest Musalman Passed Away"[1]

Bombay, Nov 10 Interviewed on the death of Kemal Ataturk, Mr M A Jinnah, President, of the All India Muslim League, said

> "He was the greatest Musalman in the modern Islamic world and I am sure that the entire Musalman world will deeply mourn his passing away
>
> 'It is impossible to express adequately in a press interview one s appreciation of his remarkable and varied services as the builder and maker of modern Turkey and an example to the rest of the world especially to the Musalman states in the Near East The remarkable way in which he rescued and built up his people against all odds has no parallel in the history of the world He must have derived the greatest sense of satisfaction that he fully accomplished his mission during his lifetime and left his people and his country consolidated united and apowerful nation In him, not only the Musalmans have lost, but the whole world has lost one of the greatest men that ever lived — AP

[1]Press interview *Civil & Military Gazette*, 11 November 1938

156. Appeal to Observe Kemal Day[1]

Bombay, November 11 "I request Provincial, District and Primary Leagues all over India to observe Friday, November 18th, as Kemal Day and hold public meetings to express the deepest feelings of sorrow and sympathy of Muslims of India in the irreparable loss that the Turkish nation has suffered in the passing away of one of the greatest sons of Islam and a bold figure and the saviour and maker of modern Turkey, — Ghazi Kemal Ataturk," appeals Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League in a statement issued through the 'Associated Press'

[1]Statement, *Star of India*, 12 November 1938

157. Palestine: "Indian Muslims Solidly Behind Arabs"[1]

Bombay, November 10 The view that Muslims of India are solidly behind the struggle which the Arabs are carrying on in Palestine for their freedom was expressed by Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League Commenting on the declaration of policy by His Majesty's Government on the Palestine problem, Mr Jinnah said

I feel that the Arab leaders of Palestine and the neighbouring States will be far more competent to deal with the matter than any Indian can from this distance, as they not only are fully competent but also understand the situation on the spot better I would not, therefore, at this stage venture to make any suggestion of a concrete nature, but would like to make it clear that Muslims of India are solidly behind the struggle which the Arabs are carrying on for their freedom Their feelings and sentiments have been repeatedly presented to the British Government

Muslim Resentment

'Only in September last in a long interview with His Excellency the Viceroy I conveyed to him and the Government of India the intensity of the feeling in India on this matter It has been the greatest difficulty with us during the last few months to restrain and to hold the Muslims of India from openly revolting The way in which the British Government have hitherto dealt with the Arabs is the greatest blot on their national honour I trust that the British nation and His Majesty's Government will make the fullest amends for their past mistakes before it is too late and not take shelter under the plea of that most unjust Balfour Declaration which never ought to have been made, and further under the plea of appeasing international Jewry

In my opinion Great Britain should never have broken her plighted word with the Arabs and should have given them their promised independence long ago Further it was a most cruel thing that they should have tried to dump Jews on Palestine at the bidding of foreign nations influenced by the Jews and thus created a most pitiable situation for the Jews themselves who went to the land of the Arabs and settled there under the plea of their so called national home

I can only strike a note of caution to the Arab leaders if they decide to participate in the proposed Round Table Conference that they send representatives of their own choice commanding the confidence and the respect of the Arabs and see that the conference does not turn out to be the story of the monkey doing justice between the two quarrelling cats — API

[1]Press statement *Star of India* 12 November 1938

158 Message—"*Star of India* Rendered Greatest Service to ML"[1]

"Malabar Hills
Bombay,
13th November 1938

Dear Mr Atkinson,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 1st of November 1938 and I have learnt with much pleasure that the *Star of India* is preparing to bring out a special Id supplement Let me wish you every success Your paper has rendered the greatest service to the All India Muslim League not only in Bengal but in other Provinces for which I publicly thank you In my opinion every educated Musalman who has the welfare of his community at heart should subscribe to your paper as it not only gives the Muslim news of various provinces but in some of your leaders you have advocated and championed the cause of the Musalmans and upheld the policy and programme of the League in a masterly manner I wish the *Star of India* long life and prosperity

Yours sincerely,

M A Jinnah'

C Atkinson Esq ,
Editor,
Star of India,
3, Wellesley Place,
Calcutta

[1]Message to *Star of India* 22 November 1938

159. "Islamic Code of Law Most Equitable"[1]

New Delhi, November 22 Mr M A Jinnah, President, All India Muslim League, in a statement to the Associated Press says

"My attention has been drawn to the following statement made by the Hon'ble Hafiz Muhammad Ibrahim in the United Provinces Legislative Assembly on November 16 Mr M A Jinnah, the Muslim League leader had made it clear in the Central Assembly that personal law had nothing to do with agricultural law

"This statement is entirely without foundation and one would expect from an Hon'ble Minister holding a responsible position to have at least verified from some authentic source before he had attributed such an expression of opinion to me and might have given reference as to the occasion and date when I made such a statement I presume that he must have in his mind the speech I made in the Legislative Assembly during the passage of the Bill relating to Muslim Personal Law (*Shariat*) Application Bill What I said then was just the contrary to what has now been attributed to me by Hafiz Sahib I then said We have saved agricultural law because I find that under the Government of India Act, it is a provincial subject and therefore it cannot be dealt with here My ambition is very limited I do not believe in visionary ideas I do not believe in dreaming of things To make one territorial law for the whole of India will take a very long time indeed I cannot wait till then But I find and I have no hesitation in saying this that Islamic code of law with regard to succession is most equitable, most just, most advanced and most progressive I therefore say that let the Muslims at least be governed by it —API

[1]Press statement *Star of India* 23 November 1938

160. Warns Sikander—"Your Primary Allegiance to ML"[1]

At the meeting of the Muslim League Council yesterday [New Delhi, December 8], a stern warning couched in clear and unambiguous language was given by Mr M A Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, to Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, for the latter's speech in Simla in which he made an unconditional offer of support to the British Government in the event of war breaking out Mr Jinnah made it perfectly clear that Sir Sikander could not have conflicting loyalties and as prominent leader of the League he should not have made the statement

Sir Sikander who had attended the meeting with his band of loyal supporters was not in a penitent mood He made a fighting speech in support of the stand taken by him at Simla He made a very subtle attempt to exploit anti-Congress proclivities of his audience for securing a verdict in his favour He even imported a communal tinge in his speech by advancing the argument that the offer he made was in the interests of the Muslim community and placed those in the Punjab in a position superior to the Congress, but it did not carry conviction with the overwhelming majority of members of the Council who thought that Sir Sikander had a 'tactical blunder'

Mr Jinnah, who intervened in the debate in the end, gave a stern rebuke to the Punjab Premier for ignoring the League throughout his speech Mr Jinnah seemed to be obsessed with the feeling that, in view of the protracted discussions of the Congress Cabinet at Delhi at the time of the crisis in order to determine the Congress attitude in the event of a war, the Muslim League should have also met in a similar manner in order to prove its claim as an organization parallel to the Congress Mr Jinnah knocked the bottom out of Sir Sikander's argument that he was speaking on behalf of the Punjab by pointing out that the Punjab was 56 per cent Muslim His speech left no room for doubt on the issue that the League would not

[1]Address to AIML Council Meeting, Delhi, 4 December 1938, *Hindustan Times*, 5 December 1938 *Star of India*, 5 December 1938 reported the session's proceeding in less detail However, it contained following additional information 'Three resolutions lamenting the death of Ghazi Kemal Ataturk, Nawab Muzzamilullah Khan and Maulana Shaukat Ali were passed and an Educational Sub-Committee was appointed to consider the Wardha scheme of education in its relation to the political and cultural life of Muslims and to the language and script of Urdu The terms of reference of the Committee include investigation of the question of a separate system of education for Muslims ' See appendix XVIII 17

tolerate divided allegiance The members from the U P, who form a progressive bloc in the League, led by Nawab Ismail Khan, supported Mr Jinnah in his view and the matter was closed on the explanation of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan

No Response

Although yesterday's meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League was thrown open to the public only 17 tickets were sold It showed how little interest the Muslims of Delhi took in the affairs of the League The whole proceedings were carried in English although the League was committed to a programme for the promotion of Urdu language

Raja in Khadi

Raja Mahmudabad was dressed in spotless Khadi and had a Gandhi cap on, and was taken for a Congress man by casual observers Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, who appeared as the champion of Islam yesterday, was aptly wearing Turkish cap

Detailed Report

New Delhi, Sunday The one day session of the Council of the All India Muslim League held today was notable for a resolution challenging Sir Sikander Hyat Khan's right to offer, in the name of Indian Muslims, help to Britain in the event of a war

The resolution moved by Mr Z H Lari, member of the United Provinces Assembly, sought to censure the conduct of the Punjab Premier for offering support to Britain in the event of a war The mover declared that the speech did not reflect Indian Muslim opinion Mr Lari described the British policy as anti-Muslim and asserted that Palestine as also Congress governed provinces in India where the Governors, he declared, have failed to protect Muslim minority interests were examples of the British Government's anti-Muslim policy Punjab, he said, was the province on which Muslims all over India depended most for the protection of their rights, and Punjab should therefore respond by voicing the resentment of Muslims against the British policy, but Sir Sikander's Simla offer ran counter to this need of the hour and went against the spirit of the Muslim League's policy According to Mr Lari, it was the height of indiscretion for the Punjab Premier, who was a prominent leader of the Muslim League, to have made the statement he did in Simla Mr Wadiduddin supported the resolution

Sir Sikander's Reply

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, clarifying his position in regard to his Simla speech, said that in such moments the security of the Motherland was the first essential and majorities and minorities would have all gone to the dogs if the security of India was not assured Sir Sikander claimed that it was his duty and right to speak on that question as it concerned the Punjab more than any other province and he would have failed in his duty as Premier if he had not voiced the unmistakable feelings of the martial race of the Punjab to a man

Sir Sikander emphasized that the Punjab was the sword of India and he, as Premier of the Punjab, was in a better position to give an assurance of support to the British Government in the event of a war than the Congress The offer was not made without cogent and strong reasons He emphatically asserted that the stand he took was not only in the best interests of the country but in the interests of the minorities also He tried to prove the latter part of the proposition enunciated by him by pointing out that his whole point in making the offer that he did in Simla was that the British Government should look to the Punjab and not to the Congress for support in the event of a war, which reflected credit on the Punjab which was predominantly Muslim and as such would be in a position to dictate terms to the British Government when the opportunity came for it If the British Government looked to him for help he was not ashamed of saying that he would help them

Palestine

Referring to Palestine, Sir Sikander said that it would have been fairer if the mover had mentioned his (Sir Sikander's) 'humble part in the Palestine affairs ' He had made it amply clear and had reiterated it in the Punjab legislature that he wholeheartedly and vehemently denounced the British policy in Palestine He had made it clear that, if even one man from the Indian Army were sent to Palestine, he, as an elected representative of the Punjab, would be the first to oppose it His position on the question of the Indianization of the Army had also been defined on many occasions He was emphatically in favour of Indianization of the Army on right lines It was also his strong opinion that, if Britain wanted to keep any British soldier in India in the Imperial interest, it was only fair that the cost should be borne by the British Exchequer But he insisted that in any scheme of Indianization, the Punjab should retain its present share in the army He assured minorities all over India that the Punjab's supremacy in the army was a better safeguard for the interests of minorities all over India

than the Congress could offer He offered support to Britain in the event of a war over the Czechoslovak question because that was the feeling of the martial classes of the Punjab to a man The question whether this was the feeling or not was sought to be raised in the Punjab Legislative Assembly by the Opposition He readily offered to give time on an official day for the discussion of this question, but the Opposition did not have the courage to take advantage of the offer

Punjab's Position

He had exercised the natural right of the Punjab to offer or withhold support to Britain in matters of defence, because he was convinced it was the martial classes of the Punjab that really mattered as far as this question was concerned He refused to allow the Congress to arrogate to itself the role that naturally belonged to the martial classes of the Punjab Did Muslims in 'minority provinces wish that the Congress should be left to make bargains with the British through sheer bluff? Was it not better in the interests of Muslims that Britain should rather look for help from the martial classes of the Punjab? Punjab was the only province capable of defending the India of the future and the interests of minorities in other provinces Muslims in minority provinces should, therefore, help in establishing the Punjab in its rightful position ' In the end Sir Sikander said that the statement he made in Simla was not in the name of the Muslims of India or on behalf of the League He said that he could not have the audacity to bring in the League in the matter

Real Issue Jinnah's Attack on Sikander

Mr Jinnah who intervened in the debate at a time when enthusiasm on both sides had reached a pitch, speaking in low distinct voice, recalled Pandit Jawaharlal's statement that there were only two parties in the country, i e , Congress and the Muslim League Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, said Mr Jinnah, had not done better, as between the British Government and the Punjab Ministry the Muslim League was nowhere The question, according to Mr Jinnah, was simple and boiled down to this whether Sir Sikander, a foremost leader of the League, in fact one of its strongest pillars, of whom they were proud, could have divided allegiance He wanted Sir Sikander to know that he owed his allegiance primarily to the Muslim League Mr Jinnah refuted the logic of the argument that Sir Sikander was speaking on behalf of the Punjab and not in the name of the Muslims or the League by pointing out that the Punjab had a Muslim majority and 56 per cent Muslim element in the Army came mostly from the Punjab The patent hollowness of

the argument, added Mr Jinnah, was clear from the fact that the Ministry, on whose behalf Sir Sikander was speaking, depended for its existence on 86 Muslim Leaguers, and he himself was the head of the Muslim League Party in the Punjab Assembly That solid block of Leaguers was the backbone of the Ministry in the Punjab and, hence, Sir Sikander or his Cabinet could not separate themselves from the League

Nowhere Without League

Continuing Mr Jinnah put the question to Sir Sikander as to whether he could carry on without the support of the Muslim League inside and outside the Punjab Assembly He did not attribute any motive to the Punjab Premier who, he thought, felt as keenly for the Muslims as any other, but still, he most respectfully urged that they should not remain in constant terror because of the Congress If Sir Sikander thought it was necessary to make a statement he could call a meeting of the Working Committee of the Muslim League even at Lahore Sir Sikander, interrupting, said 'But you were ill '

For Future Light

Mr Jinnah said that he might be ill but that did not mean that the meeting could not be called The Congress was also meeting daily at the time in Delhi as the situation was grave It was well-known a fortnight before Sir Sikander made his statement that the situation might take a serious turn According to Mr Jinnah the statement of Sir Sikander closely following upon that of the Maharaja of Patiala hardly augured well His remarks, said Mr Jinnah, were meant for future light

A Stern Warning

Warming up again, Mr Jinnah, turning to Sir Sikander and his supporters, said "You cannot divide your soul into two If you are in the League you owe primary allegiance to the League We cannot tolerate a prominent leader of the League making pronouncements on vital issues This is a warning I want Sir Sikander to clearly and definitely understand that he owes his primary allegiance to the League He must be careful in making offers to the British Government and the Congress He is just like a member of a Cabinet, and any member of the Cabinet who makes such a statement without consulting his colleagues has to go out of the Cabinet " After Mr Jinnah's speech Maulana Zafar Ali Khan suddenly got up to champion the stand taken up by Sir Sikander but the meeting did not want any more reasoning

Resolution Withdrawn

In view of the categorical statement made by Sir Sikander that the statement he made was not on behalf of the Musalmans of India and the warning given to him by Mr Jinnah, Mr Lari withdrew his resolution The meeting was then adjourned for prayers Earlier, the Council unanimously re-elected Mr M A Jinnah President of the Muslim League for the ensuing year

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan informed the House that only three of the affiliated Provincial League Committees had sent their recommendation regarding the election of the new President and in each case the name of Mr Jinnah had been proposed Representatives of other Provincial Leagues explaining why they were unable to submit their proposal, but expressed concurrence with the proposal that Mr Jinnah should be League's President for another year Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, supporting the proposal, said that considering Mr Jinnah's services in the cause of the Muslims and the work he had done during the past years in organizing the Muslims, it was but fitting that the presidential honour should be offered to him The present strength of the Muslim League was the result of Mr Jinnah's unswerving faith in the League and his unremitting and energetic work in the provinces which he toured in spite of heavy physical strain, which could only be rewarded by appointing him life-President of the League In fact, there was no other leader in India who could take his place as President of the League Thereafter representatives of different provinces supported the proposal in short speeches

The meeting was attended by representatives from many provinces Punjab was represented by a strong and representative team headed by the Premier, while others present included Sir S Abdoola Haroon the Raja of Mahmudabad, the Raja of Pirpur, Maulana Aziz Ahmed Khan, Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan, Maulana Kahmur Raza Khan, Maulana Muaziz Hussain, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Malik Barkat Ali, Nawab Khizar Hayat Khan, Capt Sir Sher Muhammad, Nawab Ahmad Yar Daulatana, Syed Afzal Hussain Hasni, Mir Maqbool Mahmud and Nawabzada Khurshid Ali Khan [1]

[1] For the text of the resolutions at the meeting, see appendix XVIII

161. Indianisation of Army—Declines to Serve on Committee to Review Progress[1]

New Delhi, December 14 Mr M A Jinnah, who is leaving for Bombay tomorrow morning, has released the correspondence which passed between him and the Defence Secretary on the personnel and terms of reference of the Indian Sandhurst Committee

Letter from the Defence Secretary dated New Delhi, December 6

'My dear Mr Jinnah I am desired to ask whether you will consent to serve on the committee to be appointed as a result of the resolution adopted by the Assembly on Friday the second September, 1938 on the subject of implementing the recommendation of the Skeen Committee's report that the progress of the Indianisation of the Indian Army should be reviewed in 1938 with a view to determining whether or not acceleration is possible The terms of reference are as follows To examine the progress of the Indianisation of the officer ranks of the Indian Army with a view to determining whether the results achieved justify acceleration and if not to recommend such alterations in the system of recruitment to the Indian Military Academy as may be expected to lead to an improvement in the number of suitable candidates

'I am also to say that the committee hope to secure the services of Dr Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad a member of your party in the Assembly who served on the Skeen Committee The other members whom it is proposed to invite are Brigadier R D Inskip C I E D S O M C, the Hon'ble Pandit H N Kunzru, M C S, Mr Asaf Ali, M L A Mrs Subbaroyan M L A Sir Jogendra Singh Lieut Col M A Rahman M L A Capt Sardar Bahadur Dalpat Singh M L A, Capt Sardar Sir Sher Muhammad Khan, C I E M B E, M L A, Mr P R Damzen M L A, Dr B S Moonje and a representative of the Education Health and Lands Department and the Secretary Defence Department

'The committee will begin its session on Monday, the 16th January 1939 and will be presided over by Lieut General Sir R Wilson, Adjutant General in India As far as can be estimated at present the session will last for about three weeks Hoping that you will be able to find time to accept

Mr Jinnah's reply dated December 14, 1938, was as follows

"Dear Mr Ogilvie, I am in receipt of your letter of the 6th December 1938 and I have consulted my party the Muslim League and beg to inform you that we are not satisfied with the terms of reference nor with the proposed personnel and therefore I regret to say that I cannot consent to serve on the proposed Committee —AP

[1]Correspondence, *Civil & Military Gazette*, 16 December 1938

162. Rejects Viceroy's View that Provincial Constitution Operated Satisfactorily[1]

Bombay, December 20 "The reply of the under-Secretary of State for India to certain questions put in the House of Commons on December 16, 1938, and today's news from London with regard to the attitude of His Majesty's Government would go to some extent to allay the grave apprehensions on the part of the Muslims of India inasmuch as the main objective of the Congress in stirring up trouble in the States to secure a majority in the Federal Legislature by forcing His Majesty's Government to bring pressure to bear upon the Princes to set up an elective system for returning their representatives, has failed " Thus says Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah in a statement to the Associated Press

Mr Jinnah adds "As regards the appeal of His Excellency the Viceroy of India to give a trial to the Federal Scheme embodied in the Government of India Act, I am somewhat disturbed when His Excellency starts by expressing his enthusiastic satisfaction over the working of the provincial constitution so far Those of us who have had experience of the last eighteen months are completely disillusioned and I am sure His Excellency must be aware of the fact that the Congress Provincial Governments are not functioning on the lines of a democratic parliamentary system of Government, but on the lines of Fascism and authoritarian Governments with the British Army and police behind them And so far as the Muslims are concerned in particular, they have, in many parts of those provinces, been curtly treated and attempts have been made to crush them while the Governors have failed to protect them notwithstanding their special powers

'Unnatural Scheme'

"This peach tree which has failed to produce any fruit and is withering in provinces, His Excellency now wants us to implant it on the sands of the Jumna at Delhi on the sole plea that the unity of India can only be secured throughout the sub-continent by this highly artificial and unnatural scheme Is this the way to secure the political and economic integration of India which in the judgment of the Viceroy, outweighs all other considerations, apart from the inherent defects and flaws in the Federal Scheme? In my opinion, the British Government, by forcing the scheme upon India, will bring about more disastrous

[1]Press statement, *Star of India* 21 December 1938

consequences to all concerned than even the ill-fated Versailles treaty which created the new State of Czechoslovakia Republic by artificial methods which dragged in together wholly antagonistic and foreign elements and sections of people and faces under a so-called system of democratic parliamentary Government

Communal Problem

"Perhaps His Excellency's absence from India may, to some degree, be responsible, if he does not know that all hopes of communal amity have already been dashed on the rock of Congress Fascism as it is evident from the letter of the Congress President, Mr Subhas Chandra Bose, sent to me on December 16, 1938, and which was published in the press a few days ago So long as the Congress 'High Command' continues to put forward the most preposterous claim that they alone can speak and deliver the goods on behalf of the people of India, there cannot be any Hindu-Muslim settlement The All India Muslim League is the authoritative and representative organisation of the Muslims of India and we are prepared to face any situation that may arise to maintain that cardinal principle at any sacrifice

"As many enquiries have been made with regard to the alleged recent meeting of Nawab Ismail Khan with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and a certain amount of misunderstanding has been created in the mind of the public by the press reports I wish to make it clear that if Nawab Ismail Khan met Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, he had neither authority from the Executive Council of the Muslim League nor had I any knowledge of it I strongly deprecate any member of the Muslim League going to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and thereby recognising his pretensions, directly or indirectly, that he holds the Islamic portfolio in the Congress High Command "— API

163. ML Flag is "Flag of Islam"[1]

Patna, December 24 Mr M A Jinnah, President elect of the All India Muslim League conference, who arrived here this morning, had telegraphically advised abandoning the programme for procession for reasons of his ill-health and as a result of this, vast concourse of Muslims assembled at the Patna City Station [was] deeply disappointed In spite of this instruction thousands waited in biting cold from early morning at the Patna City Station and thoroughfares

Mr Abdul Aziz, Chairman, [and] Mr Shareef, Secretary, Reception Committee, received Mr Jinnah at the compartment and presented Nawab Ismail, Nawabzada Mehdi, Chairman, Municipality and Chairman, All India Shia Conference, Messrs Asheque Warsi, Latifur Rahman, Jaafer Imam, Naimul Haque, Badruddin, Mazhar Imam, Munawarul Huda, Commander National Guards, Bihar, Syed Imamduddin, Muhammad Noman, Maulana Abdul Ghani, Abdul Sattar Seth, M L A (Central), and other members of the Reception Committee to him Mr Jinnah smilingly shook hands with them and was greeted by cries of 'Allah-o-Akbar', 'Jinnah Zindabad,' 'League Zindabad' 'Mr Abdul Aziz then garlanded Mr Jinnah amidst tumultuous cheers, Messrs Jinnah, Abdul Aziz and Nawab Ismail then sat in a decorated car and proceeded to Patna Thousands of volunteers on foot and horseback in picturesque uniforms and with drawn swords escorted the President's car while cyclist guards who had arrived from Nagpur and other guards from Sind and Delhi under Generals Zafar Hussain, Yusuf Hasan and Muhammad Hasan in beautiful green uniforms were most conspicuous

The whole city is decorated, with flags and festoons and over hundred arches have been erected and named after League leaders As a result of special appeals issued in leaflets by Syed Abdul Aziz, Chairman of the Reception Committee, Muslims desisted from forming a procession but in spite of this thousands of eager citizens followed the car containing [carrying] Mr Jinnah on cycles, in cars and on horsebacks Mr Jinnah thanked the Muslim crowds on the road by saluting them and though he looked weak, was cheerful and smiling Mr Jinnah and Miss Jinnah are staying at the *Dilkusha* which with the Patna lawn is now a city of tents and spacious *pandals* beautifully decorated with flowers, buntings and placards bearing Iqbal's immortal poems

[1]News report *Star of India* 24 December 1938

Flag-Hoisting Ceremony

The Flag-hoisting ceremony was performed by Mr M A Jinnah at 12-30 p m in the presence of about 50,000 Muslims at the main gate of the *pandal* on the Maidan Mr Jinnah with Miss Jinnah, Syed Abdul Aziz and Mr Shareef arrived at the *pandal* escorted by magnificently uniformed Body Guards with drawn swords The party was greeted with cries of 'Allah-o-Akbar', 'Jinnah Zindabad,' 'Muslim League Zindabad ' Mr Jinnah first inspected the Guard of Honour formed by the National Guard representing different provinces and districts

Qari Syed Zahir Ahmad recited a verse from the Holy Quran and Mr Muhammad Hanif sang most melodiously Dr Sir Muhammad Iqbal's national anthem *Chin-o-Arab Hamara* which visibly moved all hearts and many eyes to tears Mr Jinnah then hoisted the beautiful green Crescent-Star flag amidst cries of 'Allah-o-Akbar' Mr Muhammad Hanif of Allahabad sang the flag salutation song *Purchum Rahey Buland Hamara* [may our flag fly high] in chorus This most significant song impressed every heart unanimously

Mr Jinnah's Address

Mr Jinnah said "By inviting me to hoist this flag of Islam, you have done me the greatest honour This is the flag of the Muslim League It means that all Muslims should rally under it When Muslims will be united under the flag of Islam, no earthly power will defeat them Victory and success will be theirs Let every Muslim come under this flag and realise the mission of Islam in the world " Amongst those present were Mr Saadullah Khan, leader of the Frontier Muslim League Party and Mian Ziauddin of Peshawar

164 ML Council resolutions — Palestine, Status of ML, *Vidya Mandir* Scheme, Urdu and Sikander Hyat[1]

Patna, December 25: The All India Muslim League Council met this evening at 6 p m in a spacious Shamiana in the grounds of Syed Abdul Aziz's residence There was a fairly large attendance of members Prominent among those present besides the President, Mr Jinnah, and the Secretary, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, and Syed Abdul Aziz, were Nawab of Chhattari, Raja Saheb of Pirpur, Mr Zahoor Ahmad, Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad Malik Barkat Ali, Mr Ashique Hussain, Nawabzada Khurshid Ali Khan, Pir Tajuddin, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Sir Nazimuddin, Sir Ali Muhammad Dehlavi, Maulvi Abdul Matin Choudhary, Mr Aurangzeb Khan, Shaikh Abdul Majid, Sir Sultan Ahmad, the Hon'ble Mr Hossain Imam, Khan Bahadur S M Ismail and Maulvi Hussain Mian

After recitation from the Holy Quran, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the League, said that the first item on agenda before the Council was confirming the proceedings of the Working Committee of the League at its last meeting He said that everything was published in the papers and he wanted to know whether there was any need to read out the resolutions passed at that meeting One or two members said that everybody did not read papers

Mr Jinnah Explains

Delegation To Cairo Conference

Mr Jinnah, thereupon, explained in brief the resolutions He said that the Working Committee passed a resolution to send a delegation on behalf of the League to the Cairo Conference on Palestine Accordingly, this delegation went and attended the Conference [2] He added that the Palestine problem was one on which he too wanted them to ponder over and decide what attitude they should adopt towards the British Government in regard to Palestine

[1]Address *Searchlight* 26 December 1938 For an eyewitness account by Muhammad Anisur Rahman of the proceedings of this session, see Rahim Bakhsh Shaheen (ed) *Naqoosh e Quaid i Azam* (Urdu) Shaikh Academy Lahore 1976 pp 116 26 Anisur Rahman was a Commander of the Muslim League Volunteer Corps and a delegate of the All India Muslim Students Federation at the Patna session

[2]For an account of what happened at this Cairo Conference by a member of the Indian Muslim delegation see Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman, *Pathway to Pakistan* Longmans, Lahore 1961 pp 198 211

Reply to Congress

Secondly, the Working Committee framed a reply to the Congress President on the unity talks It reiterated that the first term of the agreement ought to be the recognition of the Muslim League as the representative and authoritative organisation of the Muslims in India The Congress, Mr Jinnah added, had refused to accept that claim

C P *Vidya Mandir* Scheme

Proceeding, Mr Jinnah said that the third important matter that the Working Committee discussed was the C P Muslims' grievances against the *Vidya Mandir* scheme The leader of Muslims from the Central Provinces appeared before the Committee and represented the case of C P Muslims After several hours' discussion the Committee decided to depute Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan to visit the province and make enquiries The Nawabzada's response to the call, he said, was magnificent and he had written his report after personal enquiries

Funds to Organise Muslims

The Committee then discussed minor matters including that of funds Ninety million Muslims, he said, could not be organised without money and so an influential Fund Committee was appointed consisting of the Raja of Mahmudabad and Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim He added he was not in a position to say what progress the Committee had made

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan said that the reports of repression on and bloodshed of Arabs in Palestine were pouring in and the Muslim League should now inform the British Government in strong words that if the bloodshed was not stopped they (League) would not be responsible for the consequences Mr Jinnah intervening said that they were not now discussing any resolution, but simply getting the Working Committee proceedings confirmed Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan then read out the resolution of the Working Committee on the C P *Vidya Mandir* scheme Some members rose to give their views on it and one member wanted that the Nawabzada should also make an enquiry in Bihar where also the Wardha scheme was being introduced

Council's Verdict Wanted

Mr Jinnah once again explained that the Working Committee discharged its duties pending the opinion of the Council which was now asked to give its verdict on what the Committee actually

had done On Mr Jinnah taking the sense of the House, several members affirmed that the proceedings were confirmed

English Or Urdu?

The proceedings of the previous meeting of the League Council were then submitted for confirmation But before the Nawabzada proceeded to read out the proceedings, one member said that Urdu was not the official language of the League and hence proceedings should be read out in English as many did not understand Urdu Mr Jinnah said that the League had no official language as yet but as far as possible the proceedings should be in Urdu He assured them that he would himself learn Urdu — in fact he had already done so — and added that those who knew Urdu should speak in Urdu alone Maulana Zafar Ali humourously said that Mr Jinnah's broken Urdu possessed more charm than his English Muhammad Khalilur Rehman (Bengal) said that instead of having Urdu "as far as possible", they should now declare Urdu as the official language (cheers)

Resolution on Sir Sikander Hyat
Why it was Withdrawn

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan then read out in Urdu the report of the last meeting of the Council of the League, held at Delhi It was mentioned therein that the resolution of Mr Lari condemning the speech of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan assuring support in men and money to the British Government in the event of a war, was ultimately withdrawn after some discussion In this connection Maulvi Muhammad Farook (U P) wanted to know if the above resolution was withdrawn on Sir Sikander giving any kind of assurance or it was withdrawn because the House was against that resolution Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan replying informed the House that Sir Sikander in the course of his speech had made it clear that he did not make that pronouncement on behalf of the Muslim League or on the behalf of the Musalmans of India It was as the Premier of the Punjab that he made that speech on behalf of his province On that Mr Jinnah then observed that he could not divide his allegiance into two Mr Lari must have been satisfied with the explanation given by Sir Sikander and in fact he (Mr Lari) declared that he wanted to withdraw his resolution because his purpose had been served by the discussion that had taken place on his resolution

The Hon Mr Hossain Imam observed that Mr Lari did not withdraw his resolution because the House was against it Mr Zahoor Ahmad observed that Mr Lari himself had admitted that

the purpose of his resolution had been served and therefore he withdrew the same Mr Malik Barkat Ali pointed out that the circumstances in which Mr Lari withdrew his resolution were not clear from the report This should be made clear so that there might be no misunderstanding about it Maulana Zafar Ali observed that the President had made it clear that no such thing would happen in future Therefore there was no use prolonging this matter unnecessarily Mr Ashique Hussain (Punjab) suggested that it should be made clear in unequivocal terms in the report that Mr Lari did not withdraw his resolution because the House was against it

Mr Jinnah Clarifies Position

Mr Jinnah said that he had not the least doubt in his mind that Sir Sikander made that speech with the best of intentions His bonafides could not be questioned He (Mr Jinnah) was quite convinced that Sir Sikander did not yield to anyone in his loyalty to the Musalmans and to the League Sir Sikander explained the circumstances in which he had made that speech and made it perfectly clear that it was not on behalf of the League or the Musalmans of India that he had made that announcement He (the speaker) did not challenge his bonafides But it should be made clear, as he (Mr Jinnah) did in the last Council meeting, that there must be some principle to guide them in future, that is, that a member of the Working Committee should not make any pronouncement of vital character without the permission of that body And Sir Sikander had agreed Mr Lari's resolution had served its purpose and was, therefore, withdrawn

Mr Jinnah suggested that if the House desired, it might be made clear in the report that the House enunciated the principle that no prominent member of the League, particularly a member of the Working Committee, should make any vital or new pronouncement without the permission of the Working Committee or the President Mr Tajuddin of Lahore suggested that the words "the speech of the President was the verdict of the House" should be added to the report (Voices No, No) Mr Hossain Imam suggested that no prominent member of the League, particularly a member of the Working Committee, should make any pronouncement which was 'inconsistent with the views of the League' In his opinion, the paragraph as suggested by Mr Jinnah meant that no member of the League was to express any opinion at all without the permission of the Working Committee or the President Mr Jinnah pointed out that it was no resolution that they were adopting at present All that they wanted to add to the report was a sort of precautionary warning note to the members and nothing more

The report of proceedings was then adopted with the addition of the words 'as suggested by Mr Jinnah ' The affiliation of the C P and Berar and Sindh Leagues was then confirmed

Wardha Scheme

The question of the Wardha scheme was next taken up Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan informed the House that the expert committee appointed by the League to consider the scheme had submitted an *ad interim* report, but wanted further time of a month or two to make their detailed recommendation on the same Maulana Hussain Mian of Phulwari Shareeff observed that the matter would be delayed too long if further time of two months was allowed to the Committee In Bihar it was proposed to start working the scheme probably from May next Therefore the Committee should expedite consideration of the question Khan Bahadur S M Ismail Even if the Committee submitted its report now, they could not prevent the scheme from being given effect to The Raja Saheb of Pirpur, the convener of the Committee, explained in brief the contents of the 'interim' report submitted by the Committee He pointed out that it dealt mainly with the principles as to how far and in what way the scheme would affect the Urdu language and script and the nationality and the culture of the Musalmans But for a detailed examination of the scheme and for a constructive suggestion as to what scheme would be most suited to the Musalmans, the Committee wanted time of a month or two In the course of his speech, when the Raja Saheb referred to Gandhiji as 'Mahatma Gandhi' objection was taken by a number of members to his using the word 'Mahatma' Therefore the Raja Saheb subsequently referred to Gandhiji as 'Mr Gandhi' or 'Gandhi Saheb'

Maulvi Abdul Ghani pointed out that an expert body like the All India Muslim Educational Conference at its last session at Patna had adopted a resolution condemning the scheme as harmful in the interests of the Musalmans There was, therefore, not much left for them to consider any further As such they should reiterate the same resolution or adopt a resolution on similar lines as that of the A I Muslim Educational Conference Mr Jinnah said that their opposition to be effective must be preceded by serious study and consideration They need not be in hurry or rush matters because the Wardha scheme was not going to spread all over India in a few days or so "I believe in thoroughness', he said "In the meantime," he said, "the preliminary report should be distributed among the members of the House '

165. "Congress Determined to Establish Hindu Raj"[1]

"Ladies and Gentlemen! I thank you for the great honour that you, the people of Patna and Bihar have done me It is a matter of great satisfaction to me that such a large number of people have come from all parts of Bihar and from all over India to attend this session I thank them for the trouble they have taken I also thank those who have taken pains to make this session a success and who have built this wonderful *pandal* and made all these marvellous arrangements

Before I come to deal with the problems which are engaging our attention, I must express our joint and deep sorrow at the passing away of Maulana Shaukat Ali Maulana Shaukat Ali was a great man, a man who was always ready and willing to make any and every sacrifice for the cause in which he believed He was a colleague and a personal friend of mine He never swerved even by an inch from the path he had chosen and served the cause of the Muslim League with unflagging zeal to the very last It is not only a personal loss but I am sure also a national Muslim loss which is mourned all over India

Another great figure a world figure, that has passed away is Mustafa Kemal Ataturk His death has come as the greatest blow to the Muslim world He was the foremost figure in the Muslim East In Persia and Afghanistan in Egypt and of course in Turkey, he proved, to the consternation of the rest of the world, that Muslim Nations were coming into their own In Kemal Ataturk the Islamic world has lost a great hero With the example of this great Musalman in front of them as an inspiration will the Muslims of India still remain in quagmire? (Cries of No, No)

The Muslim League has already deplored the loss of Dr Sir Muhammad Iqbal His death too is an irreparable loss to Muslim India He was personal friend of mine and singer of the finest poetry in the world He will live as long as Islam will live His noble poetry interprets the true aspirations of the Muslims of India It will remain an inspiration for us and for generations after us

Ladies and Gentlemen! I will now refer to the position of the Muslim League It was only three years ago that we laid down the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League at Bombay The position at that time was this Of the intelligentsia of the Muslims who were in the forefront of what is called political life most — I do not say all — were careerists They chose their place according to their convenience either in the bureaucratic camp or in the other camp, that is, the Congress camp Those who thought that they could better their position by joining the bureaucratic camp joined the same The others thought they could get position and power in the Congress camp and joined that camp Their object was how best to make careers for themselves So far as the masses were concerned and so far as my

[1] S Shamsul Hasan, Assistant Secretary All India Muslim League, *Presidential Addresses of Qaid e Azam M A Jinnah delivered at the Sessions of the All India Muslim League*, Daryaganj Delhi, 1946 The above address delivered on 26 December 1938 at the 26th AIML Annual Session at Patna (26 29 December 1938), like Jinnah s most addresses including addresses at League's annual sessions from 1938 onward, was delivered extempore

dear young friends, the Muslim youths, were concerned they were all hypnotized by the Congress falsehood The youth believe in slogans and catchwords They were caught right in the net that was spread for them by the Congress They were led into the belief that the Congress was fighting for the freedom of the motherland Being honest themselves they could not believe that other people could be otherwise They were led to believe that the question was really an economic one and that they were fighting for *dal bhat*,[1] for the labour and the Kisans Their pure, untutored minds became easy victims of the Congress net When we, who saw through the game and understood the inward meaning of the Congress leaders' move tried to make them understand that they were being misled we were dubbed reactionaries, communalists and much else besides

"That was the position in 1936 I am glad to say that things have now changed One thing has been demonstrated beyond doubt, namely that the Congress High Command wanted the Musalmans to be a mere understudy of the Congress mere footpages of the Congress leaders to be used, governed and brought under the heels when they had served the purpose of the Congress The Congress leaders wanted them to submit unconditionally to the Hindu Raj That game has now been fully exposed We have got ample proofs of it The Chairman of the Reception Committee has some of those proofs in his address I congratulate him for his most eloquent exposition of the true state of affairs in this country and also of the aims and objects of the Congress

The Congress has now, you must be aware killed every hope of Hindu Muslim settlement in the right royal fashion of Fascism The Congress does not want any settlement with the Muslims It wants to thrust its own terms on the Muslims of India As the Chairman of Reception Committee has said in his address the Congress wants the Muslims to accept the settlement as a gift from the majority The Congress High Command makes the preposterous claim that they are entitled to speak on behalf of the whole of India, that they alone are capable of delivering the goods Others are asked to accept the gift as from a mighty sovereign The Congress High Command declares that they will redress the grievances of the Muslims, and they expect the Muslims to accept the declaration I want to make it plain to all concerned that we Muslims want no gifts The Muslims want no concessions We Muslims of India have made up our mind to have our fullest rights but we shall have them as rights not as gifts or concessions

'As I have said before there are four forces at play in this country Firstly there is the British Government Secondly, there are the rulers and peoples of the Indian states Thirdly, there are the Hindus, and, fourthly there are Muslims The Congress Press may clamour as much as it likes they may bring their morning afternoon evening and night editions the Congress leaders may cry as much as they like that the Congress is a national body But I say it is not true The Congress is nothing but a Hindu body That is the truth and the Congress leaders know it The presence of the few Muslims the few misled and misguided ones and the few who are there with ulterior motives does not cannot make it a national body I challenge anybody to deny that Congress is mainly a Hindu body I ask, does the Congress represent the Muslims? (Voices No No) "I ask does the Congress represent the Christians? (Voices No, No) I ask, does the Congress represent

[1]Poor man's food, literally meaning rice and lentil

Scheduled castes?" (Voices No No) "I ask does the Congress represent the non-Brahmans?' (Voices No No) 'I say the Congress does not even represent all the Hindus What about the Hindu Mahasabha? What about the Liberal Federation? The Congress, no doubt, is the largest single party in the country But it is nothing more than that It may arrogate to itself whatever titles it likes, the Congress High Command in the intoxications of power, like persons who are drunk may make any claims it pleases them to make But such claims cannot alter the true character of the Congress It remains what it is — mainly a Hindu body

'Such claims might have hoodwinked some people for sometime, but they cannot hoodwink all the people all the time and can certainly not hoodwink the Muslims any longer I am convinced — I think you are also now convinced and many who are not yet convinced will soon be convinced and those who are honestly mistaken now — not those who are dishonest in their conviction — will also be convinced that the Congress is not a national body It is a misfortune of our country, indeed it is a tragedy that the High Command of the Congress is determined, absolutely determined, to crush all other communities and cultures in this country and establish Hindu Raj They talk of *Swaraj* but they mean Hindu Raj They talk of national government, but they mean only Hindu Government But the bubble has been pricked too soon Intoxicated with power gained under the new constitution, with majority in six or seven provinces the Congress game has been exposed a little too soon what did the Congress do when it got the power? With all its pretensions of nationalism, it straightaway started with the *Bande Mataram* It is admitted that *Bande Mataram* is not the national song yet it is sung as such and thrust upon others It is sung not only in their own gatherings but Muslim children in Government and Municipal schools too are compelled to sing it Muslim children must accept *Bande Mataram* as their national song no matter whether their religious belief permit them to do so or not It is idolatrous and worse — a hymn of hatred of Muslims

Take the case of the Congress flag Admittedly it is not the national flag of India Yet that flag must be respected by everyone and hoisted on every Government and public building It does not matter if the Muslims object to it the Congress flag must be paraded as the national flag of India and thrust upon the Muslims Take next the case of Hindi Hindustani I need not add to what has already been said on the subject by the Chairman of the Reception Committee Is there any doubt now in the mind of any one that the whole scheme of Hindi Hindustani is intended to stifle and suppress Urdu? (Voices No, No) Take next the Wardha scheme of Education Were the Muslims taken into confidence when the scheme was under preparation? The whole scheme was conceived of and its details worked out behind the back of the Muslims Who is the author of the Scheme? Who is the genius behind it? Mr Gandhi I have no hesitation in saying that it is Mr Gandhi who is destroying the ideal with which the Congress was started He is the one man responsible for turning the Congress into an instrument for the revival of Hinduism His ideal is to revive Hindu religion and establish Hindu Raj in this country and he is utilizing the Congress to further this object

'The reaction of the Muslims to such a scheme of education could not but be what it has been all over the country You have seen the Pirpur Report and I need not add to what has been described in that document The position may be summed up in one sentence Today

Hindu mentality Hindu outlook, is being carefully nurtured and Muslims are being forced to accept these new conditions and to submit to the orders of the Congress leaders This Hindu outlook is daily interfering with the normal life of the Muslims The Musalmans are being forced to accept the Hindu ideals in their daily life Have Muslims anywhere done anything of the sort? Have they anywhere sought to impose Muslim culture on the Hindus? Yet whenever Muslims have raised the slightest voice of protest against the imposition of Hindu culture on them, they have been branded as communalists and disturbers of peace and the repressive machinery of the Congress Governments has been set in motion against them Take the cases that have occurred in Bihar Who have suffered suppression of culture under the Congress Government? It is the Muslims Against whom are the repressive measures taken prohibitory orders issued and among whom are arrests made? It is the Muslims I should like to know a single instance I am prepared to learn and correct myself — a single instance where the Muslim League or Muslim individuals may have tried to force their own culture upon the Hindus in the last eighteen months '(Cries Nowhere)

"I do not wish to dwell any longer upon this I have done with it so far as the Congress is concerned As regards the Musalmans I can say that it is a matter of great congratulation to the All India Muslim League that it has succeeded in awakening a remarkable national consciousness among the Muslims Muslims, as I said before were like men who had lost their moral cultural and political consciousness You have not yet got to the fringe of acquiring that moral cultural and political consciousness You have only reached that stage at which there has come awakening — your political conscience has been stirred Today you find — apart from the fact whether the Congress claims are right or wrong — today you find that the Hindus have to a very large degree acquired that essential quality — moral cultural and political consciousness — and it has become the national consciousness of the Hindus This is the force behind them that is the force I want the Muslims to acquire When you have acquired that, believe me I have no doubt in my mind you will realise what you want The counting of heads may be a very good thing but it is not the final arbiter of the destiny of nations You have yet to develop a national self and national individuality It is a big task and as I have told you, you are yet only on the fringe of it But I have great hope of our success The developments that have already taken place are almost miraculous I never dreamed we could make this wonderful demonstration which we see today But even then we are only on the fringe of the problem

Among the immediate issues we have to grapple with which may come up before the Subjects Committee is the question of Palestine I know how deeply Muslim feelings have been stirred over the issue of Palestine I know Muslims will not shirk from any sacrifice if required to help the Arabs who are engaged in the fight for their national freedom You know the Arabs have been treated shamelessly Men who are fighting for the freedom of their country have been described as gangsters and subjected to all forms of repression For defending their homelands they are being put down at the point of the bayonet and with the help of martial laws But no nation, no people who are worth living as a nation, can achieve anything great without making great sacrifices such as the Arabs of Palestine are making All our sympathies are with those valiant martyrs who are fighting the battle of freedom against usurpers They are being subjected to monstrous injustices which are being propped up by British Imperialism with the ulterior motive of placating international Jewry which commands the money bags That question we will have to consider

'Another question that will come up for consideration is the situation that is developing in the Indian States You have heard the Chairman of the Reception Committee on that subject One point I would like to add to his observations As you are all aware, we are in fullest sympathy with the aspirations of the States people I am convinced, however, as I am convinced about the real objects of the Congress, that the motive of the Congress championing the rights of the States people is far from what is made out to be I would like to put only one question Why all this agitation in the States? Why are all the forces being let loose in the name of the Arya Samajists and the Hindu Mahasabha in Hyderabad State? I would ask the Congress, what is it doing in Kashmir? The Arya Samajists the Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress nationalists as also the Press the subservient Press of the Congress, why are they silent about the affairs of the Kashmir State Is it because Kashmir is a Hindu State? Is it because the vast majority of the Indian subjects of Kashmir State are Muslims? I have no doubt about the real meaning of the Congress solicitude for the people of the Indian States Mr Subhas Chandra Bose has said in one of his speeches that the Congress want to make an alliance with the peoples of the Indian States May I ask, do they want to make an alliance only with those who are Hindus or also with the Musalmans? According to the present constitution of Muslim League, the League cannot interfere in the affairs of the Indian States But I want to make it clear that if Congress pursues its campaign in Muslim States like Hyderabad with the ulterior motive which undoubtedly is inspiring it at present the Muslim League would have to consider afresh the question of interference with the affairs of Indian States We cannot leave our Muslim brethren in the Hindu States at the tender mercies of their oppressors and those who wish to exploit them

'The next question that you will have to consider is that of the Federation Let the Congress continue to say that they will never accept the Federation But I tell you I do not at all believe in the professions of the Congress The Congress will tumble into it just as it tumbled into the provincial part of the constitution Mr Subhas Chandra Bose was loud in his declaration the other day that whatever individual Congress man might say here and there the Congress as a whole was determined to reject the Federation lock stock and barrel I do not believe in such declarations I know another Congress leader has said that revision and modification will satisfy them and if the elective principle was accepted it would appease the Congress, and yet another leader declared that if the Federal scheme could be so altered as to give them the substance of independence the Congress might work it and in that way the undesirable and unworkable Federal Constitution might be made a desirable and workable one I say the whole idea behind the Congress leaders move is once again to deceive the Muslims I want to tell these leaders however that they cannot deceive the Muslims any more The Muslims are not what they were three years ago The whole game of the Congress is and has been to get a substantial majority in this wretched highly objectionable and rotten constitution which they want to enjoy If they get a majority they will accept the Federation with utmost glee, and then they will begin to pursue their nefarious scheme of destroying the Muslim culture and organisation and to build up the Congress organisation as the one and only totalitarian organisation of the Fascist brand And then they will be able to establish their ideal of Hindu Raj in Hindustan

The Congress leaders know what they are aiming at They have got their majorities in seven provinces and have Congress Governments

there There are only four provinces left The covetous eyes of the Congress leaders are now cast upon these provinces Every now and then they declare that the non-Congress Governments in these provinces are tottering, aye tottering in spite of their majorities, struggling on their last legs The Congress leaders think that in these four provinces the Ministries are not very strong But it is not difficult to see through the Congress game They want to see a Congress Government in whichever of these provinces they can I had a talk with some friends of the North West Frontier Province I am told that in that Province our co religionists — credulous Pathans as they are — have been told that the Congress is for the good of the people that the Muslim League is the supporter of Imperialism and ally of Imperialism I say there cannot be a greater falsehood than allegation that the Muslim League is an ally of Imperialism Inside the legislature or outside the legislature have I on any single occasion supported Imperialism not to speak of proving myself an ally of imperialism?' (Voices No No) I am sure even if there were few amongst Muslims who had thought in the past that the Muslims might gain their ends by alliance with British Imperialism they have now been thoroughly disillusioned I say the Muslim League is not going to be an ally of anyone, but would be the ally of even the devil if need be in the interest of Muslims

A pin drop silence suddenly appeared to seize the house at this stage Mr Jinnah paused for a moment and then continued

It is not because we are in love with Imperialism, but in Politics one has to play one's game as on the chessboard I say the Muslims and the Muslim League have only one ally and that ally is the Muslim nation and one and only one to whom they can look for help is God (Applause)

The Congress game with regard to Federation is very clear If the Congress can gain the control over the Federal machinery then by means of the direct and indirect power vested in the Federal Government the Congress would be able to reduce to nonentity the Government of the Hon'ble Mr Fazlul Huq in Bengal and the Hon ble Sir Sikander Hyat Khan in the Punjab so in the end the Congress will have seven provinces where they enjoy overwhelming numerical majority as a gift of God, and the other four provinces where Muslims dominate will be the feudatories of the Congress High Command If I am right in judgment that is the objective of the Congress Therefore I say the Congress opposition to the Federation is not honest Am I to blame for it? Am I wrong? (Voices No No)

Ladies and Gentlemen! Now it is for you and you alone to make your decision All the responsibilities will be yours You are face to face with a life and death struggle You should not allow your attention to be deflected by small questions So and so have not been taken in the Working Committee of the League so and so should not be in the League — such small matters should not divert your attention from the main issues confronting the community Only this morning some young men came to me and complained about the personnel of the League They said that certain persons, whose names I need not mention, should not be in the League To these young men as well as to the others I say that the Muslim League is not yet what it should be I am prepared to admit that there are men who are not true Leaguers But the Muslim League is the organisation of all Muslims It is your

> organisation Let me tell my young friends, if they want to purify the Muslim League, if they want to raise the Muslim League to the highest glory it is no use keeping out and finding faults with it Come in and if there is anything wrong with it put it right Therefore, I appeal to everyone Come into the Muslim League It is your organisation It is not the property of this man or that man It is your organisation and you can make it as you like and what you like I think I have said all that I had to say You will forgive me for having made the speech extempore My health did not permit my writing out my speech Besides I have already made so many speeches The last speech I made was at Karachi only in October last I expressed my views on that occasion as on other occasions My views are therefore well known Ladies and Gentlemen! it is great pleasure to me to see that a great awakening has taken place among the Muslims They have grasped the real issues That is a great beginning Having made this great beginning, if you now harness your energies and mobilise your forces like a disciplined army, victory will be yours

Mr Jinnah then addressed a few words in Urdu He appealed to them to close their ranks He said that when the Congress started the Muslim Mass Contact campaign, they threw out a challenge that the Muslim masses were with them The Assembly by-elections in the U P and the recent one in Hazaribagh in this province [Bihar] had given the proper reply to the Congress challenge And now the Congress refused even to set up their own candidate in the by-election to the Central Assembly (caused by the death of Maulana Shaukat Ali) What had happened, he asked, to the Congress Muslim Mass Contact campaign? He added that the Congress should now give up this contact affair Proceeding Mr Jinnah said that they were now told that there was no possibility of a settlement, and that the Muslims were to be won over on independent lines "Let us wait and see what those independent lines are" Concluding, he appealed to the Muslims in the Congress camp to join the Muslim League for their own benefit and the benefit of the entire Muslim community

166. Patna ML Session "Most Successful Session Since 1913"[1]

Patna, December 29 Winding up the proceedings of the 26th session of the All India Muslim League this evening, Mr Jinnah, the President, observed that the Patna session marked an epoch in the growth of Muslim solidarity and the League in that it was the most successful session he had ever seen since 1913 when he joined the League Mr Jinnah paid a tribute to the public of Patna for their orderly manner (which Syed Abdul Aziz also sincerely emphasised) and appealed to them to rally under the League banner Mr Jinnah said that the resolution on 'Direct Action' adopted by the League, constituted a fundamental principle of a revolutionary nature and pleaded for patience on the part of the Muslims

The Resolution states

Federation

In the afternoon the open session adopted the resolution on Federation which was moved yesterday

'The All India Muslim League reiterates its views that the scheme of Federation as embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is unacceptable but in view of further developments that have taken place or will take place from time to time it hereby authorises the President of the All India Muslim League to take such steps and adopt such course as may be necessary with a view to exploring the possibility of a suitable alternative which would completely safeguard the interest of the Muslims and other minorities of India '

Mr Z H Lari (U P), supporting the resolution, said that the Congress wanted a majority in the Federal Legislature, and hence the League should vest powers in the President to evolve a suitable substitute after negotiating with the powers that be or otherwise take the necessary steps adequately to safeguard Muslim interests Khan Bahadur S M Ismail (Bihar), declared that Federation was unacceptable to Muslims as the scheme did not safeguard Muslim interests and even the provinces where they were in a majority would be reduced to the position of minority Malik Barkat Ali (Punjab) declared that no Federal scheme would be acceptable to the Muslims if it allowed the Federal Legislature to thwart the administration of those

[1]News report *Star of India*, 30 December 1938

provinces where the Muslims were in a majority Mr M Asghar Imam (Bihar) urged the Muslims to be prepared for every sacrifice to resist the imposition of Federation because it would perpetuate subordination of India to aliens

Burma

The next resolution on Burma was taken up Moving this, Mr Zahur Ahmad (U P) traced the origin of the riots and narrated the atrocities committed by the Burmans on the Indians especially the Muslims Mr Mahmud Hassan (Hyderabad) attributed the culture and progress of Burma to Indian Muslims, but said that Hindu Sabha and Arya Samaj organisations were carrying on propaganda against the Muslims in Burma

The resolution was passed

Baluchistan

The next resolution on Baluchistan, which was moved by Khan Bahadur Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani (Parliamentary Secretary, Punjab), had a quick passage

Frontier Policy

Strong criticism of the British policy in the N -W F P was made during consideration of the next resolution on Government s policy in the Frontier

The resolution states

Whereas the forward policy of the British Government, which, in the name of Indian defence, aims at forcible subjugation of the independent tribal belt lying between Afghanistan and North-West Frontier on the border of India, has failed with all its military resources, to attain its objective and has resulted only in incalculable yearly loss of men and money, without any propects of coming to a successful end in the near or distant future and whereas the transfrontier border tribes, who prefer total extinction to life servitude, have all along made it clear that they will resist to the bitter end, all British attempts to dominate their homeland, this session of the All India Muslim League is of opinion that the time has now come for the British Governmentto reconsider its Frontier policy in a more statesmanlike manner, based on the universally recognised principle of self-determination Further it condemns the policy and activities of the Congress in the N -W F P whereby they have given indications that tribal areas should become parts of the administered territory '

Mr Zafar Ali Khan (Punjab) who moved the resolution said that British policy was futile in the Frontier since the tribes

against which it was directed had been Independent from time immemorial He asked the Government to change the present policy to one of conciliation The resolution was passed after the speech of Mr Ziauddin Khan (N -W F P)

Mr S A Aziz, Chairman of the Reception Committee, paid a tribute to the gathering for its orderliness He also stated that thousands of women from Bihar had joined the League While congratulating the volunteers he referred to the enthusiasm of one who had come on foot from Assam and other two who had covered the distance from C P on push-bikes

Mr Jinnah's Remarks

Winding up the proceedings, Mr Jinnah said that the League had laid down, during the present session, a fundamental principle of a revolutionary nature which was a departure from the past namely decision to adopt 'Direct Action' if and when necessary So long, he said, the League had been wedded only to the policy of constitutional progress The Patna session, he added, was the most successful he had seen ever since 1913 when he joined the League and paid a tribute to the public of Patna for their orderly manner In connection with 'Direct Action' Mr Jinnah pleaded for patience and asked Muslims to organise the League so that the nine crores of Muslims might come under the banner of the League API

167. Congress Terms "Unjust" — ML Wants "Perfect Equalities"[1]

Patna, December 30 [1938] There were three forces in the country the British, the States and the Congress The time has now come to give battle to all these forces and the sooner young men made up their minds to do so the better for them, observed Mr M A Jinnah, inaugurating the All India Muslim Students' Conference on Thursday evening [29 December] in the Muslim League *pandal*

Criticising the Congress at length, he said that young men had been deluded into believing that the Congress fought for the freedom of the country and the masses, and that the Congress would turn the country into a land of milk and honey But now it was amply evident that it said one thing while meaning something quite different Mr Jinnah strongly repudiated the various charges and criticisms levelled against him such as being a communalist, a fanatic and an ally of Imperialism seeking personal gratification in the face of the gravity of the problems facing the country

Referring to the negotiations with the Congress for a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question and the political status of the League he said that the Congress had offered terms which were unjust and prejudiced The Muslim League would be satisfied with nothing less than perfect equalities The Congress claim of being the only body representing the entire country was preposterous India was not a nation yet, but a number of nationalities Referring to Federation he warned the audience against being deluded by the Congress declaration that they did not want Federation He added that the Congress had declared that it would not accept the new constitution but was now embracing it — AP

[1]Public speech *Civil & Military Gazette*, 1 January 1939

168. "Gandhi Destroying Congress Ideal" — "Nehru Has Lost All Sense of Fairness"[1]

Patna, January 1 In the course of a statement to the Associated Press on Mr Gandhi's observations on the League *vis-a-vis* the Congress, appearing in the latest issue of *Harijan*, Mr M A Jinnah reiterates that the Congress claim to be the 'only body that can deliver the goods on behalf of the people of India' is "preposterous"

Mr Jinnah says "I have seen the report of the interview[2] given by Mr Gandhi to Mr H V Hodson,[3] and it is quite clear that he

[1]Press statement *Civil & Military Gazette*, 4 January 1939

[2]Given below is the text of interview reproduced from the Director, Publications Division, Government of India, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* Vol LXVIII, 15 October 1938 — 28 February 1939, New Delhi 1977 pp 240 41

Interview to H V Hodson (Extracted from Pyarelal's 'Weekly Letter' dated 25 December 1938)

Mr Hodson expressed the opinion that the solution of the Hindu Muslim question was made difficult by the fact that, owing to its very nature the Congress tended to take on the nature of a 'totalitarian party' and acted as if it were the one and the only party in the country that mattered, instead of regarding itself simply as one of the principal parties

Gandhiji It is a very wrong view to take of the Congress The Congress does claim to be the one and the only party that can deliver the goods It is a perfectly valid claim to make One day or the other some party has to assert itself to that extent That does not make it a totalitarian party It is the ambition of the Congress to become all representative of the entire nation, not merely of any particular section And it is a worthy ambition in keeping with its best tradition If you have studied Congress history you will find that since its inception the Congress has sought to serve and represent all sections in the country equally without any distinction or discrimination Thus it used to have Rajas and Maharajas on the Reception Committee and has defended the cause of the States against the Paramount Power as in the case of Kashmir and Mysore It would love to be absorbed by the Muslim League if the Muslim League would care to absorb it or to absorb the Muslim League in its turn so far as the political programme is concerned For religious and social activity of course every community can have its separate organization

[3]H V Hodson b 1906 Fellow All Souls College Oxford 1928 35, editor *Round Table* 1934 39 and of *Sunday Times* 1950 61 Reforms Commissioner Government of India 1941-42, author of *The Great Divide Britain — India — Pakistan* Oxford University Press, 1969 (with Epilogue, 1986)

maintains the preposterous claim of the Congress that it is the 'only body that can deliver the goods on behalf of the people of India' and indulges in platitudes and talks about the history of the Congress and its ambition to become 'all-representative of the entire nation' He says that "it is a worthy ambition, in keeping with its best tradition" and that, "if you study the Congress, you will find that, since its inception, the Congress has sought to serve and represent all sections in the country equally"

Hodson But if the Congress has the ambition of absorbing other political organizations it cannot help being a totalitarian party

Gandhiji You may try to damn it by calling it totalitarian Absorption is inevitable when a country is engaged in a struggle to wrest power from foreign hands it cannot afford to have separate rival political organizations The entire strength of the country must be used for ousting the third and usurping party That is what is happening in India today Where there is no common danger to oppose, there must be separate parties representing different schools of thought You should bear in mind that the Congress does not impose its will on others Its sanctions are non violent

Hodson Would not the march to full responsible government be more rapid if the Muslims were taken along?

Gandhiji Of course it would be Personally I do not want anything which the Muslims oppose But I have faith that the solution of the Hindu Muslim tangle will come much sooner than most people expect I claim to be able to look at the whole position with a detached mind There is no substance in our quarrels Points of difference are superficial, those of contact are deep and permanent Political and economic subjection is common to us The same climate, the same rivers, the same fields supply both with air, water and food Whatever therefore leaders Mahatmas and Maulanas may say or do the masses when they are fully awakened, will assert themselves and combine for the sake of combating common evils

The effect of the Socialist and Communist propaganda too is to bring the masses of both the communities together by emphasizing identity of interests I have my differences with them, but I cannot withhold my admiration for their endeavour to demolish the superstition that keeps the different communities apart

Harijan 31 12 1938

Continuing, Mr Jinnah says "Mr Gandhi is mainly responsible for having destroyed that ideal and the tradition of the Congress, since he has captured it It is all very well for Mr Gandhi to say that the Congress 'would love to be absorbed by the Muslim League if the Muslim League cared to absorb it, or to absorb the Muslim League in its turn, so far as the political programme was concerned ' Is it not absurd, on the face of it, to set the Muslim League the task of absorbing the Congress, the Congress being mainly a Hindu body with a majority of four to one? Mr Gandhi is quite safe and he knows that the result will be that the Congress will absorb the Muslim League, and he can well afford to talk in this strain

"In fact, Mr Gandhi proceeded to say when asked, the Congress, in its ambition to absorb other political organisations, tended to become a totalitarian party, 'You may damn it by calling it totalitarian Absorption is inevitable' Then Mr Gandhi hastens to say, 'You should bear in mind that the Congress does not impose its will on others' Is this true? And then he says, 'Its (the Congress's) sanctions are non-violent' Is this true?" When asked by his interviewer 'Would not the march to full responsible government be more rapid if the Muslims were taken along', his reply was 'Of course it would be Personally I do not want anything which the Muslims oppose, but I have faith that the solution of the Hindu-Muslim tangle will come much sooner than most people expect ' I am glad that Mr Gandhi is beginning to see some light through an impenetrable darkness "

Muslim League View

"But", Mr Jinnah continues, "the story of Mr Gandhi, when he says I do not want anything which the Muslims oppose, is so old and so oft repeated by him that it is not going any longer to deceive the Musalmans When he talks of his 'detached mind', it is difficult to believe it So far as the Muslim League is concerned, they have been driven to the conclusion that, whatever may be the ideal and theory and however worthy, actual realities show that the Congress has proved in its policy and programme, whenever they have been called upon to act, that they are no better than the Hindu Mahasabha which openly stands for a Hindu Raj in this country as laid down by them only a few days ago at the Nagpur session of the Hindu Mahasabha

Referring to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's observations at the United Provinces Political Conference on the criticism of the Congress made by prominent leaders at the Patna session of the Muslim League, Mr Jinnah says "Mr Jawaharlal Nehru has said that the 'attacks by the Muslim League on the Congress were baseless and absured' and he is 'ashamed that in any country a man could indulge in such abuses when they all were engaged

in the fight for freedom ' All I can say is that Mr Jawaharlal is either utterly ignorant of what is going on even in his own province, or that he has lost all sense of fairness and justice when he characterises the charges against the Congress Governments as baseless' Turning to press comments on the Patna session of the League, Mr Jinnah says "In a responsible section of the press it has been said that they do not know what are the instances which amount to persecution of Musalmans in Congress governed provinces If the representatives of the press who were present at the deliberations of the session of the Muslim League had cared to report the instances which were openly narrated in the open session by one speaker after another, I am sure that they would have agreed with us that we are not exaggerating when we characterise the treatment of Musalmans in several cases as amounting to atrocities

169. Asks Nehru "First to Study Pirpur Report"[1]

Bombay, January 5: The view that if Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is really in earnest about his offer of referring the complaints of the Muslim League against Congress Governments to an independent and impartial tribunal, he should communicate to him (Mr Jinnah), the sanction behind the proposed impartial inquiry, is expressed by Mr M A Jinnah, President of All India Muslim League, in the course of a statement to the Press Mr Jinnah says

'My attention has been drawn to the statement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and to his plea for an enquiry I note that he now says that he is ignorant of what is taking place even in his own province and he requests me to inform him of the charges against the Congress party majority Governments While I will not doubt his impulse for justice it is most extraordinary that he should have characterised the allegations in the first instance as baseless and absurd and that he was ashamed that in any country a man should indulge in such abuses when they all were engaged in a fight for freedom

The Muslim League appointed a committee on March 20 1938 under the chairmanship of the Raja Saheb of Pirpur which after most careful investigation and examination on the spot in the various provinces, has made its report which has already appeared in the Press Has not Pandit Jawaharlal's attention been drawn to it? He is good enough to say that an eminent lawyer like myself should know that one sided charges have to be proved before they are believed But Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has characterised them as baseless and absurd on his own admission, without even knowing what those charges are and he wants me to inform him as to what they are It is difficult to deal with such a mentality Not only that but in the very conference over which he presided at Ajodhya in U P the Prime Minister of the United Provinces had the temerity to say that the Muslims were not only treated justly but generously I would ask him what about Tanda Dadri Bhagalpur and Hazaribagh not to mention various other instances that are given in the Pirpur report submitted to me and published in all newspapers Would Pandit Pant the Prime Minister mention the instances of the generous treatment of the Muslims in U P? So the Prime Minister of U P has already delivered his verdict Pandit Dwaraka Prasad Misra, a responsible Minister in C P is also reported to have done so in today s papers

Pandit Jawaharlal proceeds to say with a big 'I' as follows 'I would be happy to have these charges placed for investigation before any independent and impartial body which will enquire into them ' But I ask is this offer merely a propaganda or a serious one or intended merely for the Press I ask this question because in order to constitute an independent and impartial body of enquiry, you have first got to decide its terms of reference, its powers and the

[1]Press statement *Star of India* 6 January 1939

authority behind it and also to whom it will be responsible and to whom it will submit its report and who will be the authority to take action accordingly All these questions have got to be considered At present, Mr Jawaharlal's offer is in the air through the Press If Pandit Jawaharlal is really in earnest let him communicate with me as to what will be the sanction behind the proposed impartial and independent enquiry committee and various other matters of details mentioned by me In the meantime I would most earnestly request Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru first to study the Pirpur report which has not only been published but is also available, if he wishes to obtain a copy from the League's office before pronouncing his verdict again *ex parte* ' — API

170. Palestine Conference — Urges HMG "to Concede Arab Demands"[1]

Bombay, January 29: Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has issued the following statement

"In view of the forthcoming Palestine Conference which is going to take place on or about February 7, 1939, in London, I have sent the following telegram to Mr Chamberlain [2] the Premier of Great Britain the Secretary of State for India, and Mr Malcolm MacDonald [3] the Minister for Colonies

> The All India Muslim League urges upon His Majesty s Government to give representation to the Muslim League on the Palestine Conference and concede Palestine National Arab their demands Muslim India is awaiting most anxiously the results I cannot by means of a telegram express adequately and impress (on you) the intensity of the feeling prevailing throughout India Failure of the Conference will be most disastrous throughout the Muslim World resulting in grave consequences Trust this earnest appeal will receive your serious consideration'

Mr Jinnah requested the various Provincial, District and Primary Leagues to hold public meetings all over India on February 8 and send similar telegrams to the Prime Minister of Great Britain He says he has issued instructions accordingly

[1]Statement *Star of India*, 30 January 1939

[2]Arthur Neville Chamberlain b 1869, edn Rugby and Mason College Birmingham entered Birmingham City Council and became Chairman of its Town Planning Committee 1911, Alderman 1914 Lord Mayor of Birmingham 1915 16 Director General of National Service 1916 17 Postmaster General (1922 23) Paymaster General (1923), Minister of Health 1923 1924 29 and 1931 Chancellor of Exchequer 1923 24 and 1931 37 Chairman of Unionist Party 1930 31 Prime Minister 1937 until resigned in May 1940 and succeeded by Winston Churchill d 9 November 1940

[3]Malcolm MacDonald (son of James Ramsay MacDonald), b 1901, edn Oxford MP 1936-45, held several ministerial appointments including those of Colonial Secretary 1935, 1938-40 and Minister of Health 1940-41, High Commissioner in Canada 1941-46 Governor General of Malaya and Borneo 1946-48, Commissioner General in South East Asia 1948-55 High Commissioner in India 1955 60 Governor General (1963 64) and High Commissioner in Kenya 1946 65 Special Representative in East and Central Africa 1965 70, d 1981

171. Congress "Methods of Coercion and Intimidation" in States[1]

The positive aggression now being adopted by the Indian National Congress towards the Indian States is in fact an attempt to betray the electorate of British India, declared Mr M A Jinnah in an exclusive interview on the Muslim League's recent resolution condemning the attitude now being taken towards the Princes as exemplified by Mr Gandhi's latest article in the *Harijan*[2]

'The motive cannot be disguised The move follows directly on the Congress declaration that the foremost condition requisite to acceptance of Federation under the Government of India Act described in the same breath as unacceptable is the provision of elected representatives in place of nominees from the Indian States The object is to secure for Congress at the Centre undisputed power and to crush the influence of, nay, the very existence, of other parties in British India and particularly the Muslim League

The attitude of the Muslims and of the Muslim League representing their interests has been clear from the outset During the Round Table Conference we secured our legitimate claim to one

[1]Interview Quaid i Azam Papers File No 1096 p 1889 6 February 1939

[2]Reproduced below

Bardoli January 31 1939 **Rajkot and Jaipur**

Appeals are being made to me not to precipitate matters in the States These appeals are unnecessary After three months of non violent struggle by the people of Rajkot an honourable understanding was arrived at between the Thakore Saheb in Council and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel representing the people and the struggle was closed amid general rejoicings But the noble work done by the Thakore Saheb and the people has been undone by the British Resident

Honour demanded that the people should fight unto death for the restoration of the covenant between the Thakore Saheb and his people The struggle now is not between the Ruler and his people but in reality it is between the Congress and the British Government represented by the Resident who is reported to be resorting to organized *goondaism* He is trying thereby to break the spirit of innocent men and women who rightly resent the breach of faith

It is a misrepresentation to suggest that Rajkot has been made a test case There is no planned action with reference to Kathiawar States What is happening is that those who feel that they are ready for suffering come to the Sardar for advice and he guides them Rajkot seemed ready and the fight commenced there

'Jaipur's case is incredibly simple and different from that of Rajkot If my information is correct, the British Prime Minister there is determined to prevent even the movement for popularizing the ideal for responsible government Civil disobedience in Jaipur is being therefore offered not

third of the British Indian representation As far as the States were concerned however no arrangement was made or guarantee given During the proceedings of the Federal Structure Committee, I registered a protest at the weightage being conceded to the States in the Central Legislature I pointed out that this meant the Federal Legislature could only legislate as far as the States were concerned, in such matters as they delegated by their instruments of accession The States, on the other hand, would receive a disproportionate and decisive voice in the affairs of British India It was at that time suggested that the States representatives would not vote on an issue solely affecting British India But that is not so provided in the Government of India Act While the Hindu-Muslim issue remains unsolved it might reasonably be expected that the nominees of the States Governments would be responsible and experienced administrators who would be willing and capable to appreciate the common interest whatever their communal predilection

'It is however patent that the real objective of the Congress is to secure elected demagogues boosted by the Congress organisation and blindly obedient to Congress dictates Since Provincial Autonomy came in the Congress have arrogantly rejected the co operation of other parties in rebuilding the nation, and have exploited the opportunity rather for building Congress as a single totalitarian organisation claiming the sole right to speak for and negotiate on behalf of the Indian people On the other hand Government dominated by the Muslim vote and headed by the Muslim League, present a striking contrast being broadbased coalitions including representation of the other major communities despite the fact that the Muslim franchise alone would suffice to maintain a majority Government Abominating as they do the idea of true democratic compromise with other sections Congress seeks undisputed dictatorship at the centre and desires to ride roughshod over the minority communities For this purpose they are seeking to coerce the Princes The plausible excuse of a new found active commiseration for the condition of States subjects will deceive no one The Congress campaign is being conducted with as uncompromising virulence and intensity in States like Mysore and Travancore and Hyderabad with comparatively high standards of administration as in Kathiawar and the Nilgri States

for responsible government but for the removal of the bans on the Praja Mandal and its president Seth Jamnalal Bajaj

In my opinion it is the duty of the Viceroy to ask the Resident in Rajkot to restore the pact and to ask the British Prime Minister of Jaipur to lift the bans Such action by the Viceroy can in no sense be interpreted to mean unwarranted interference in the affairs of States

Harijan 4 February 1939 reproduced in Director, Publications Division Government of India *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* Vol LXVIII New Delhi 1977 op cit pp 360 61

"The Muslim League is unalterably opposed to the British Parliament's Federal scheme for reasons that are clear, and the resolution of the Executive Council of All India Muslim League declares without equivocation that 'if the methods of coercion and intimidation resulted in the British Government yielding to the Congress the Musalmans will not hesitate to resort to the most extreme measures in their opposition to such a position where their most vital interests would stand to be sacrificed The Muslim League has the fullest sympathy for the legitimate aspirations of the States people in their desire for constitutional advance, but I am afraid the States people are being misled and exploited in a manner which, in my opinion is detrimental to their own interest and the country generally

172. Indian Representation at Palestine Conference — Regrets HMG's Refusal[1]

New Delhi, February 6 Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has released to the Press the following telegraphic communication that passed between himself and the Secretary of State for India in regard to the demand for representation on the Palestine Conference made by him on behalf of the Muslim League Telegram from the Secretary of State for India to Mr M A Jinnah

> 'I have received your telegram asking on behalf of the All India Muslim League for representation for the Muslims of India at the Palestine Conference His Majesty's Government have already carefully considered the possibility of making arrangements of this nature but for cogent reasons connected with the general composition of the Conference they have with great regret reached the conclusion that it would not be possible to extend the scope of representation already decided upon
>
> You will appreciate other considerations apart that any widening of the basis of that representation in respect of one party to the Conference must inevitably involve a corresponding widening in other directions But you have my assurance that His Majesty's Government have throughout been kept fully informed of the views of Muslims of India and that they have constantly had in mind, and will continue to bear in mind the great importance attached by Indian Muslim opinion to the issues before the Conference It is their earnest hope that the Conference will succeed in finding solutions of the Palestine problem which will result in a reconciliation of the opposing interests and be accepted as just by Muslims throughout the world

Telegram from Mr M A Jinnah to the Secretary of State for India

> Greatly appreciate courtesy your reply Deeply disappointed His Majesty's Government not inclined extend representation Muslim India at Palestine Conference No analogy comparison Muslim India other parties in view of solemn promises assurances given to Musalmans India during War Palestine their first Qibla Muslims deeply and vitally concerned their holy places Earnestly urge His Majesty's Government meet request

Mr M A Jinnah has also received a cable from the Arab Higher Committee, which runs as follows

> Palestine Arab Higher Committee met your request for Indian

[1]Telegraphic communication *Civil & Military Gazette*, 8 February 1939

Muslims' participation in Palestine Conference London with great satisfaction Thanks, Committee hopes you insist on your demand British Government accepted representation of world Jewry and has no right ignoring Muslim relations to Palestine especially relation of Indian Muslims with holy land first Qibla of Islam ' — AP

173 Election Petition Against Sheikh Sadiq ML Candidate Punjab[1]

Lahore, February 8. Mr M A Jinnah, President, All India Muslim League, was examined on Commission in the election petition filed by Mr Zakria Kitchlew questioning the return of Sheikh Muhammad Sadiq, M L A , pending in the court of Punjab Election Tribunal Interrogatories were sent to Mr Jinnah asking him if he had sent telegrams to the respondent supporting his candidature and whether he had any authority to grant the Muslim League ticket or was it only the Punjab Provincial Muslim League Parliamentary Board which could give ticket to the respondent, and whether he adopted him as a Muslim League candidate

Mr M A Jinnah had replied that he had sent two telegrams to the respondent The telegrams spoke for themselves that witness had given his personal support to the respondent The respondent was supported by the witness as a Muslim League candidate and the telegrams were sent by him in the capacity of President, All India Muslim League By sending these telegrams witness did not give to the respondent the Muslim League ticket nor did he nominate him as a Muslim League candidate It was not correct that Provincial Parliamentary Board had refused to give Muslim League ticket to the respondent or to nominate him as a Muslim League candidate His information was that the Provincial Muslim League failed to adopt him as a Muslim League candidate and it was open to the witness as President to give his support and to appeal to Muslim voters to vote for the respondent as against other candidates who were admittedly the opponents of Muslim League

Mr Jinnah added that it was the inherent power of the President, All India Muslim League, to appeal to the Muslims to support a member of Muslim League who stood by the policy and programme of the League and pledged himself to the organisation Asked if there had been passed any resolution at the Patna Session of All India Muslim League to the effect that Provincial Parliamentary Boards were the only bodies which could give ticket to a Muslim League candidate, Mr Jinnah replied that the resolution had directed Provincial Leagues to set up a machinery in the place of the present Parliamentary Boards and until such machinery was established the present Parliamentary Boards continue to function The Punjab Provincial Parliamentary Board was not functioning It had to be reconstituted by virtue of Jinnah-Sikander agreement which was adopted at the Lucknow Session in October 1937

[1]News report, *Tribune*, 9 February 1939

174. Message to Palestine Conference — "ML Solidly Supports" Arabs[1]

Mr Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, M L A (Bengal) and Mr Khaliquzzaman, M L A (U P), the representative delegates of the All India Muslim League, now in London in connection with the Palestine Conference, entertained the delegates from the Arab countries at a dinner at Claridge's Hotel on the night of Friday, February 3 The function was held on behalf of the Muslim League to assure the delegates of India's sympathy and deep interest in the work before them and to wish them success in their deliberations The Arab delegates in their flowing robes and *Iqals* and the Indians in their *sherwanis* and caps added grace and dignity to a brilliant gathering the like of which has seldom assembled before The atmosphere in the large reception hall was in the best tradition of Islamic fraternity and the guests mixed with each other freely

Mr Jinnah's Message

The third message [The first two messages were from the Premiers of Punjab and Bengal, Sikander Hyat Khan and A K Fazlul Huq respectively] is from the President of the All India Muslim League, Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who says

> 'Muslim India heartily wish all success to Arab Delegations Muslim League solidly supports you There is only one thing more for me to say I wish you, the Delegates of the Arab and Muslim World success in your deliberations May Allah crown your efforts with success for this success will bring joy and happiness to every Arab and Muslim home The day the message goes forth from London that right has triumphed will be the day of the third and the greatest Id this year, for Muslims May Allah grant you courage and wisdom and may you be guided to success by His light Amen'

[1]Message, *Star of India*, 15 February 1939

175. Tribute to ex-Governor Brabourne — "Made More Friends Than Enemies"[1]

Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, said that he was extremely sorry to receive the sad news of Lord Brabourne's[2] sudden death

Mr Jinnah who knew Lord Brabourne since the first Round Table Conference and afterwards as Governor of Bombay, said that he always found him a fine and courteous gentleman with whom, as time went on, he enjoyed relations which were almost those of personal friendship As a Governor, Lord Brabourne was always extremely tactful and both in Bombay and Bengal he made more friends than enemies One always had the deepest respect for his point of view whether one agreed with him or not, because he would always urge his views frankly and freely Mr Jinnah added that his deepest sympathy went out to Lady Brabourne in her bereavement

[1]Statement, *Star of India*, 24 February 1939

[2]Michael Herbert Rudolph Knatchbull, 5th Baron Brabourne, b 1895, served European War 1915 18 MP Ashford Division Kent, 1931-33 Parliamentary Private Secretary to Secretary of State for India, 1932 33, Governor Bombay 1933 37 and of Bengal 1937 till his death on 23 February 1939

176 Jamait-i-Ulama "Obstacle" to Hindu-Muslim "Understanding"[1]

New Delhi, March 1: Mr M A Jinnah, Leader of the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislative Assembly, has issued the following statement

"I am informed by some prominent members of the Muslim League that the organisers of the Jamait-i Ulama i-Hind approached them to attend their conference which is to take place on March 2 3 4 and 5 in Delhi Further, a report in the press that invitations have been issued to prominent members of the Muslim League and myself has been brought to my notice and, therefore, I am obliged to make the position clear

'I hope that no member of the Muslim League will have anything to do with this conference because their policy and activities have been hostile and destructive towards the All India Muslim League These few individuals who are using the name of Jamait i-Ulama are, in my opinion, doing the greatest possible harm not only to their community but to the country at large They are one of the causes of the tension and bitterness that exist between the Hindus and Musalmans today and in no small degree are the obstacles in the way of the achievement of an honourable understanding between the two communities I still appeal to them to rally round the Muslim League flag which is the only authoritative and representative political organisation of the Musalmans of India '

[1]Press statement, *Civil & Military Gazette*, 2 March 1939

177. Begum Muhammad Ali Nominated To ML Working Committee[1]

The nomination of Begum Muhammad Ali to the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League is announced today by Mr Jinnah in a statement to the Press Mr Jinnah says

"I feel that it will not be in the interest of the Muslim League organization to reshuffle and reconstitute the personnel of the present Working Committee But as there has occurred one vacancy owing to the unfortunate death of Maulana Shaukat Ali I propose to fill his place by nominating Begum Muhammad Ali

"Apart from her great services, and those of Maulana Muhammad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali I think the time has come when it is necessary to have one who could represent also the views of the women of India, and their wants and requirements in the national life of the Musalmans

The Committee will now be as follows

Mr A K Fazlul Huq Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Sir Abdur Rahman Siddiqui Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan Mr Khaliquzzaman Syed Abdul Aziz, Mr Muhammad Ashik, Sir Ali Muhammad Khan Dehlavi Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Syed Abdul Rauf Shah Sir Sikander Hyat Khan Malik Barkat Ali, Haji Abdul Sathar Essak Sait Sir Abdoola Haroon, Mr Shaikh Abdul Majid, Mr Khan Saadulla Khan M L A Mr Aurangzeb Khan, M L A, Sir Syed Saadulla, Mr Abdul Matin Choudhury, and Begum Muhammad Ali — Associated Press

[1]Press statement, *Statesman*, 17 March 1939

178 "Congress Perpetrating a Big Political Fraud" — Liaquat Propounds Division Scheme[1]

Meerut, March 25:

> 'I want an independent India where Muslims have power and freedom for the Muslims are a nation and not a community It would be a travesty to dismiss 90 million people with a glorious past as a community Although Hindus and Muslims live in the same country, they live differently because their religion culture and civilization are different Muslims do not favour the pseudo nationalism that the Hindus have borrowed from Europe If Hindus and Muslims could not now live together amicably in India — and it had become almost impossible for them to co-exist under the same regime — then they might be able to do so by dividing the country on a religious and cultural basis [2]

This view was propounded by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Secretary of the All India Muslim League, in the presidential address which he delivered tonight to the Meerut Divisional Muslim League Conference

With the arrival today of Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, and other leaders, preliminary discussions have begun which may lead to the reorientation of the League policy in certain important respects The Associated Press special correspondent gathers from well-informed quarters that there are two questions uppermost in the minds of the leaders here These are, firstly, the formulation of a scheme which will secure the political and cultural development along traditional Islamic lines, of the Muslim nation in India, and, secondly, the immediate adoption of measures effectively to safeguard the interests of the Muslims in the States The expression given tonight by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan to the view of a certain section of League opinion that the 1935 Constitution has failed so far as Muslims are concerned has brought Muslim leaders to the point where they are considering whether Muslims should press for securing to themselves political and cultural independence In this connection attention is being focused on a number of draft schemes

As regards the policy of the League *vis-a-vis* the States, the general feeling among the leaders assembled here appears to be that the League should render all help to Muslims in the States to enable them to secure their legitimate place in any reforms that may be introduced

[1]Public speech *Star of India*, 27 March 1939

In all probability this is the first occasion when suggestion for an Indian partition had been made from the Muslim League platform by an important League functionary

President's Address

The Nawabzada in his address set out to show how the position of the Muslims had deteriorated since the establishment of Provincial Autonomy and how they would be reduced to a state of serfdom under the proposed Federation An ever increasing number of defects had become apparent in the Government of India Act since the Congress had taken office The protection given to the religious, cultural, linguistic and other rights of the minorities under the Instrument of Instructions had proved to be futile and meaningless It was an established fact that the Governors had not yet realised in a single instance their powers in respect of the minorities 'This will explain why the Muslims insisted that all the safeguards in respect of the minorities should be embodied in the constitution itself — and we see that, while the Congress has suspended its crusade against British Imperalism, the Governors have not failed to vie with it by suspending the exercise of their special powers May we presume that these were the understanding, tacit or otherwise, of the 'gentlemen's agreement' between the Congress and White Hall?'

The Muslims were beginning to understand that in the minority provinces they had been reduced to the status of subjects Federation would complete the disaster, for the British Government was acting in alliance with Congress to transfer the Government of the States to a patronised and dragooned democracy, in order that the Congress might secure a majority in the Federal Assembly and form the Government 'Two victims — the Indian States and the Muslims — are to be sacrificed to this new-fangled entente between the British and the Congress "It is not mere speculation that even in the provinces where they have a majority the Muslims will bereduced to a subordinate status of serfdom under the proposed Federation ' Under the present form of Government the majority was the majority by reason of religion

Pre-considered Majority

'This preconsidered majority has created the critical position that the Hindus are and will be the Government, the Muslims are and will be the opposition, and the best oratory cannot convert the majorities into minorities or vice versa Centuries will pass and the Muslims will be in opposition always deprived of power How are the Muslims, thus constituted and preconditioned, to fit into this country? They cannot live honourably if only some changes are made here and there in the Government of India Act Unless the rights of the Muslims

are guaranteed there can be no peace and tranquility in the country There is mutual suspicion of religious favouritism on all sides and it has become almost impossible for the Hindus and the Muslims to coexist under the same regime

Cynics may inquire how the two communities succeeded in living together in the past The answer is tremendous in its simplicity They lived together because they did not live under a parliamentary democracy but under a benevolent autocracy which did not enforce its religion and culture on its subjects The more this might and power has been transferred in the name of democracy, the more pronounced have the differences become between the two communities The Hindus who are in power want to shape India according to their ancient ideas but the Muslims who have their own past and their own ideas cannot willingly accept this

'Only Way Out'

The only way out of this impossible situation is to allow each community to develop itself unhindered Many schemes had been and were being drawn up to achieve this end, but whatever scheme is finally adopted, it is obvious that if the Hindus and Muslims cannot live amicably in any other way, they might be allowed to do so by dividing the country in a suitable manner on a religious and cultural basis Only thus can each community develop freely without annoying the order The Hindus would now, however, welcome this proposal because of their inordinate desire to rule and because they could not think of permitting the Muslims to live a free life according to their own ideal

'Nevertheless', concluded the Nawabzada, 'the idea is same and must be adopted It were better that it were accepted with mutual consent and goodwill '

Mr Jinnah's Attack on Congress Policy

Mr M A Jinnah, speaking in Urdu, said that during the last two years Muslims had been made to realise that the Congress was trying to perpetrate a big political fraud Muslim League members were still called communalists because they were not prepared to fall into the trap set for them by the Congress The Muslims were told by certain interested persons that they should not oppose the Congress which was working for the uplift of the poor and was devoting itself to solving the problem of "bread for the masses" Was it really the object of the Congress to liberate the people? (Cries of No, No) The Muslims had now seen what atrocities were being wrought on them in the Congress provinces It was to be regretted that there were even some

amongst the Muslims who were in favour of their unconditionally joining the Congress

Mr Jinnah said that Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan [of Baghpat] was not an extremist and had, until recently, believed in working with the British and the Hindus Similarly, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan was of the conservative school of thought and came of a Nawab family What then were the forces at work which had brought about this change in the mentality of these two men? The answer to this could be found, he said, in the Congress game summarised above

Referring to the interview which the special correspondent of the *New York Times*[1] recently had with Mr Gandhi, Mr Jinnah said that Mr Gandhi had said, in answer to the correspondent's questions, that the Congress had not yet decided whether, firstly, they would accept Dominion Status and, secondly, whether they would support the British Government in the case of war What did this imply? Further, in one of his recent statements Mr Gandhi had admitted that the Congress had entered into an alliance with the British Government Should it then lie in the mouths of Congress men to say that the Muslim League was an ally of the British Government?

"False Propaganda"

Mr Jinnah exhorted his audience not to be led astray by the false propaganda of the Congress He assured them that if they united and organised themselves, no power on earth would be able to crush them or their organisation, the Muslim League

Pressed to add a few words in English, Mr Jinnah said that it was presumably the intelligentsia that spoke English Addressing the intelligentsia, therefore, he impressed upon them that it was

[1]The newspaper was represented by its special correspondent F E Birchell The interview which was reprinted by Reuter appeared under the date line 'New York March 23' as an Associated Press message from New Delhi *The New York Times* reported the interview as follows

> Asked what advice he would give the Congress regarding his attitude should the Paramount Power become involved in a European war Mahatma Gandhi pleaded that that was too difficult to answer at that time He demurred also to a question whether he wished India to take her independence within the British Commonwealth of Nations or outside it

Gandhiji said That again is difficult I cannot exactly tell where I myself stand on that Both are difficult questions

Correspondent But don't they go to the root of the situation?

Gandhiji Wise journalists never go to the root

Cited in Director Publications Division Government of India *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* Vol LXIX 1 March 1939 — 15 July 1939, New Delhi 1977 p 76

from their ranks that the leaders and officers of their organisation must come Throughout the world it was the intelligentsia that was providing the leadership and drive of the great movements But he warned that they must be prepared to make every sacrifice to establish and maintain their solidarity His message to them, he said, was "Be prepared to sacrifice anything and everything rather than sacrifice a hair of your national community"

The audience of about 5000 men — most of them kisans and labourers — applauded Mr Jinnah loudly A section of the great *pandal* in which the conference was held was curtained off with semi-transparent cloth Behind this cloth stood the women and children and every now and then their shrill applause could be heard above the bass voices of the men

Reception Address

Welcoming the delegates to the conference, Major Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan, Chairman of the Reception Committee, declared that the march of time demanded that the Muslims should take stock of their activities in the field of practical politics rather than merely passing resolutions The All India Muslim League he said, stood for the unity of Indian Muslims and its object was to awaken them to their religious duty and make them aware of their internal and external enemies

'Failure' of Democracy

He said that the Muslims stood for that liberty which aknowledged equal rights for everyone irrespective of cast, creed or colour The freedom that Provincial Autonomy had brought was not wanted It had deprived the people of peace of mind and the events in Benares, Cawnpore, Mercira, Badaun Maharajganj and Allahabad in U P were a sufficient proof of that He thought that experience had shown that the Western type of democracy had failed in India

The Rajkot incident, he said was an eye-opener If this sort of interference was continued, the Muslims of British India would be obliged to take steps to safeguard the interests of their brethren in the States He complained that the zamindars of the U P were being deprived of their possessions by false pretences and that the Indian problem was the problem of bread He deplored the propaganda that was being carried on against the Urdu language He said that if India attained freedom then Urdu would be the only Indian language that could help in carrying on diplomatic talks with countries in the Near East

Finally he appealed to the Ulama to give a true lead to the Muslims in formulating their attitude towards other political parties in India — API

179. Indo-British Trade Agreement — "Cotton Growers' Interests Treated with Criminal Negligence[1]

Mr M A Jinnah, Leader of the Muslim Party in the Central Assembly, has issued a statement to the Associated Press in New Delhi, replying to the criticisms made by several members in the Council of State on the attitude taken up by him and his party on the Indo-British Trade Agreement

I have carefully read the speeches made on the Indo British Trade Agreement in the Council of State says Mr Jinnah I am accused of throwing dust in the eyes of the agriculturalists Here are the facts which cannot be denied by any honest man This is what I stated in the Assembly[2] during the debate on the Agreement

What have you done for the cotton *quid pro quo* for the advantages conferred on Lancashire? It is much worse than the position we occupied without this Agreement Hereafter Lancashire need not take more than 400,000 or 450,000 bales at the most whereas without the Agreement off take of cotton is nearly 500 000 That you will find from the official document and I will read from the memorandum attached to this Agreement so that there may be no room for a misunderstanding This is what the Government themselves say

Raw Cotton Exports

The scale of raw cotton exports prescribed under this Article takes full account of the recent increase in United Kingdom purchases In the three years ending 1937-38 exports to the United Kingdom attained an average of 487 000 bales per annum Under the Agreement the concession of reduced duty is liable to be withdrawn if in the first two cotton years exports amount to less than 400 000 bales — (So the sanction does not come in unless less than 400 000 bales a year are taken) — "or if in any subsequent cotton year the total quantity of exports is less than 450 000 bales The scale of raw cotton exports which regulates the duty chargeable on United Kingdom cotton piece goods had been fixed at a much higher level and every inducement has been placed in the way of United Kingdom importers to increase their purchases to a figure exceeding 700 000 bales These provisions are calculated to improve the demand for Indian raw cotton in the United Kingdom and are therefore of great potential value to India s cotton growers

[1] Press statement *Statesman* 3 April 1939

[2] For the full text of Jinnah s speech on the subject in the Indian Legislative Assembly on 28 March 1939 see Waheed Ahmad, (ed) *Quaid i Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Speeches* op cit pp 434 44

When I corrected or rather interrupted my friend Mr James when he spoke of a guarantee I asked him where was the guarantee Is it not rather abusing the English language to say that this is a guarantee? What is the guarantee and where is the guarantee? Very often we have agreements in courts that if you do not do this or that you have to pay so much of damages What is the damage here? Increase of duty Who would be damaged because Lancashire failed or committed default? Who suffers? The cotton grower? Who gets the benefit? The millowner That is the compensation for the poor cotton grower I have come to the conclusion that the poor cotton grower s interests have been treated with criminal negligence by the Government of India

"Nothing But Dust"

I know that some Muslims in the Punjab are under the impression that they have got a good mine in this Agreement Let me tell the Muslims of the Punjab and all my Muslim friends here it is nothing but dust It is to throw dust in their eyes for vote catching purposes by pretending that they have come to the rescue of the agriculturists We are not all sophisticated Some of us are able at least to understand the political language of the Government when we are told that there is some big concession being made to us There is no concession On the contrary we are nowhere and certainly no better off than we were before this agreement which is an eye wash and even the moderate claim of the cotton growers to guarantee off take of at least 7 5 lakh bales is turned down

180 Muslims in States — "No Geographical Limits Can Divide Children of Islam"[1]

Aligarh, April 6 Mr Jinnah was entertained at an 'at home' by the Muslim University Union on Saturday evening [1 April] Prominent among those who attended were the Hon Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman, Vice-Chancellor, the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad, Mr Sajjad Haider, Mrs Kheiri, Miss Qamar Jehan, Dr Babar Mirza and Dr Abid Ahmad Ali, President of the Muslim University Muslim League

Later Mr Jinnah was welcomed by the Muslim Students Federation The Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad presiding Dr Babar Mirza, President of the local branch of the Federation, welcomed Mr Jinnah and the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad in a neat little speech requested the latter to take the chair The proposal was seconded by Prof Sattar Kheiri who remarked that Mr Jinnah was fit to be the leader of the youth as he had a clear vision of the future destiny of Muslims (Cheers)

The Head and the Heart

The Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad taking the chair amidst thunderous cheers said that he had been taking interest in Aligarh ever since his father began to take part in the movement for the establishment of the Muslim University He remarked that if any scientist could devise a machine to dissect their hearts, the picture of Mr Jinnah would be found in the heart of every Muslim youth today He requested Mr Jinnah to guide the Muslim Students Federation and said that if the Muslim League was the head the Federation was the heart Addresses of welcome to Mr Jinnah were then presented by the Kashmiri Students' Federation and the Rajputana Muslim Students' Federation Making a joint reply to the addresses Mr Jinnah said

> The Rajputana Students had clearly stated in their address that their goal was complete national cultural and political independence A few days ago the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League at Meerut had laid down our policy regarding Indian States namely we advise the Muslims in the States to organize themselves and resist tyranny and the Muslim League would render every assistance to them wherever they may be No geographical limits can divide the children of Islam (cheers) About our ideals there was no doubt now But how are we going to achieve them? It is in the hands of the Muslims themselves I am glad that they are realising it now They must first grasp the fundamental principle of their existence and then back it up with all sacrifice

[1]Public speech *Star of India* 8 April 1939

Lot of Kashmiris

I have been to Kashmir and have seen the miserable lot of the Muslims Some Muslim leaders specially Mr Abdullah have been misled, they have fallen not into the hands of their friends but their foes just as many of our brethren in British India have fallen into the trap Our first task is to rescue Muslims from falling into the clutches of their opponents When you go to Kashmir ask your leader to spare the Muslim League and confine himself to the betterment of his own people Many people who used to say that the Muslim League was in the wrong today admit that it is right I hope Mr Abdullah for whom I have great respect, will also realise that we are right We will help the Kashmiris but you must make the League stronger and avoid falling into the hands of our enemies I am fully alive to the problem of Kashmir I am sure with the co operation of the Muslim League and the Muslims of Kashmir we shall yet rescue Kashmir

Rajputana Muslims

As for Rajputana I have already spoken I want to assure my young friends that they must not be disheartened See the history of the different nations of the world Do you realise what other nations have sacrificed? What Spain has gone through? Compare that to what we are suffering? I do not justify the tyrannies inflicted on you but it is inevitable I anticipated it In my Lucknow speech I warned the Muslims that if they wanted an honourable place they could not get it without making sacrifices In the Great War how many millions were killed Sons of great Earls and Lords men rolling in wealth left their home and hearth and their beloved ones and went to the Front to fight for the honour of their country It is through the crucible of sacrifice that you will get consolidated as a nation and win your independence But we must go step by step I don t want the Muslims to get excited all of a sudden That is one of the things I want them to learn I would rather take one step and stand solidly rather than take ten and then go back

Equip Yourselves

The methods of fight have to be regulated according to the time and the forces ranged against us Learn and study and find your way out Old weapons and old methods of attack are gone Aeroplanes have now come and can destroy the mightiest fleet in no time I ask the Muslims to study and find the latest methods and weapons of carrying on the fight and the struggle and success will be assured '

Dr Babar Mirza thanking the two distinguished guests said that the Muslim youth may be lacking in many things but he had one precious thing viz , young and warm blood which he was prepared to shed at the command of his Leader — API

181. Congress Activities in States: Schemes of Division Before League Council[1]

New Delhi, April 10 The Council of the All India Muslim League, which met on Saturday [8 April] morning under the presidentship of Mr M A Jinnah, attracted a large attendance including representatives from all the provinces Mr Jinnah, after formal business, explained at considerable length the implications of the resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the League after its Patna session He said that copies of the Pirpur Report on communal disturbances had been forwarded to the Viceroy and the Congress Governments concerned and that the League was now awaiting the action on that Report

In regard to Palestine, Mr Jinnah advised the Council to defer further action till the publication of the proposals by His Majesty's Government and the return of their own delegates from London

Mr Jinnah was glad to inform the Council that Muslims in the Indian States were rapidly organising themselves In regard to Federation, he said that there were a number of schemes in the field, including that of dividing the country into Muslim and Hindu India[2] These schemes were before the committee which had been set up by the Working Committee of the League He assured the meeting that the committee was not pledged to any particular scheme It would examine the whole question and produce a scheme which, according to the committee, would be in the best interest of the Muslims of India

Considerable discussion ensued on the work of the Organisation Committee appointed in the Punjab Maulana Zafar Ali, Mir Maqbul Mahmud, Malik Barkat Ali and Mir Ahmed Shah participated in the discussion One point of view was that the Organising Committee was not working as it should work Mir Maqbul Mahmud explained that the Committee had been able to organise 20 District Leagues He assured the meeting that Muslims of the Punjab were rapidly becoming League-minded

National Guard

The meeting discussed at length the proposal to organise a national guard on an all-India basis The Raja of Mahmudabad wanted a Committee to work out the scheme Maulana Zafar Ali

[1] News report, *Civil & Military Gazette*, 11 April 1939

[2] It is perhaps first time that Jinnah mentions publicly schemes before the League Council of dividing the country into Muslim and Hindu India This follows Liaquat Ali Khan's suggestion of Partition given a fortnight earlier, *supra* pp 355 59

felt that the members of the national guard should be paid Mr Jinnah wanted a beginning to be made with volunteer organisations in the provinces which might develop into a national guard Nawab Ismail Khan urged that the personnel of the guard should consist of educated persons and a committee was necessary to determine the period of training and qualifications of recruits After some discussion the Council decided to appoint a committee

Rajkot

Three resolutions relating to Rajkot, Jaipur and Hyderabad were adopted by the Council The resolution on Rajkot runs as follows

> The Council of the All India Muslim League deplores Mr Gandhi s action in launching upon his fast in a matter of political issue involving, amongst others, the inclusion of two Muslim representatives on the Rajkot Constitutional Reforms Committee, already nominated by the Thakur Saheb This Council earnestly urges upon the Thakur Saheb and the Viceroy who has thought fit to intervene as representing the Paramount Power and thereby has created a dangerous precedent, that in no case should these Musalman members who are the truly chosen representatives of the Musalmans of Rajkot now be displaced by the nominees of Mr Patel The Council further urges upon the Musalmans of Rajkot and the Muslim Council to do all in their power to resist any change with regard to their representation already declared as the Muslim League is of the opinion that such a change would be highly detrimental to the vital interests of Rajkot Musalmans '

During discussion of this resolution Mr Jinnah declared that he was not in the confidence of the Viceroy and nothing which the Viceroy had said or done was in consultation with him He added that one end of the episode was the award given by the Chief Justice of India 'We must wait and see what happens next ' Maulana Zafar Ali asserted that Rajkot was a test case and was bound to have repercussions everywhere in the Indian States

Jaipur

The resolution on Jaipur runs as follows

> This Council is of the opinion that our Muslim brethren who have migrated from Jaipur should be persuaded to return to their homes as it is in their own interest to do so, and that they should not be misled by anyone who advised them to the contrary The Council further advise the Musalmans of Jaipur to organise themselves and appoint a committee of chosen leaders to press for their demands in an organised manner The Council fully sympathises with their deeply wounded feelings in regard to the firing which resulted in loss of life and injury to many innocent people and will do everything to help them in pressing their demand '

The resolution was moved by Maulana Zafar Ali who explained the circumstances under which as many as 6,000 Musalmans from Jaipur had migrated to Delhi He said that the Muslim League was opposed to this migration which has cost Jaipur Musalmans a good deal of money and inconvenience Mr Zia-ul-Haq from Delhi explained that migration was not undertaken by Jaipur Musalmans at the instance of the League He informed the meeting that the migrators were not so far prepared to go back to Jaipur as they said it would be against the oath they had taken before leaving their homes Furthermore, there was chaos among them and many of them were not prepared to entrust their case to the League

Mr Jinnah endorsed this point of view He said that his own inquiries showed that the Jaipur Musalmans were hopelessly disorganised and had no leader to guide them He urged that the first thing essential was to persuade them to go back to Jaipur and organise themselves under a leader

Hyderabad

The Hyderabad resolution was adopted without discussion It runs as follows

> 'In view of the revolutionary unrest that is stalking the land as a result of the intensive propaganda launched by the national' Congress and its henchmen to establish Hindu hegemony all over India in utter disregard of the just and natural aspirations of Indian Musalmans this Council trusts that while giving the fullest protection to the Musalmans of the Deccan who constitute the main strength of Islam in His Exalted Highness's dominions His Exalted Highness s Government will provide for adequate representation for millions of depressed classes in the impending scheme of constitutional reforms and take effective steps to emancipate these voiceless millions from the bondage of high-caste Hindus who have hitherto monopolised all administrative and educative power in the rural areas throughout the dominions
>
> This Council views with grave alarm the united onslaught of the Arya Samajists the Hindu Mahasabhaites and their Congress friends on His Exalted Highness s dominions on the unreal pretext that Hindu religion and Hindu civil liberty are in danger of extinction in those dominions The Council is firmly of the opinion that the indefensible policy of the Paramount Power in refusing to stop this subversive movement in British India against His Exalted Highness the Nizam, who is their faithful ally', has already resulted and will go on resulting in inter-communal clashes for which the main responsibility lies on its shoulders
>
> In view of the fact that Gandhiji s direct interference in the affairs of the Indian States has for its main object the total extinction of the sovereign prerogatives of the Indian Rulers and the overlordship of the Congress ridden majority, the popular front which is overwhelmingly Hindu as evidenced by the

Rajkot episode and other atrocities of the Congress in Indian States, the Council urges upon His Exalted Highness's Government not to recognise outside agencies It further emphatically calls upon the British Government to stop their mischievous and dangerous activities as they are already creating communal tension and hatred and must lead to serious and disastrous consequences '

182. "Muslims and Hindus are Two Nations"[1]

Aligarh, April 12 (By Mail) Replying to the address of welcome presented by the staff of the Aligarh Muslim University, Mr Jinnah said that Aligarh, to quote the words of the address "was the hope and the aspiration of the Muslims He had almost retired from public life but when the call of Islam came he could not keep himself away Muslims were not in the No Man's Land they were the No Man's Land " The Muslim was not in his own Proceeding, Mr Jinnah said, there are two important instruments for bringing up a nation — the mother and the teacher It was a most responsible task I realise that you have done your best within your limits The Aligarh man has acquitted himself magnificently wherever he has gone Much, however, remains to be done Teaching in India has shown one definite result — Our intelligentsia is being manufactured, as it were, in factories, as careerists The foremost idea of most of them was careerism

Camp Followers of the British and the Hindu

The result was that they sought a career either in the Bureaucratic camp or the Congress camp They had either the one or the other to look to They could get jobs, titles preferences in the British camp The others became camp-followers of the Congress, styling themselves as 'Nationalist Muslims' and the Congress was now doling out its patronage to them I ask you members of the staff should this not be stopped? A re-orientation of the mentality of the intelligentsia was urgently needed We cannot even today rely on fully equipped men I have knocked about a great deal, and I find that one important ingredient is missing The intelligentsia has not grasped one principle — self confidence and moral, cultural and political self-consciousness No nation has ever achieved anything unless the intelligentsia is prepared to make sacrifices

Muslims a Nation

I make no secret of the fact that Muslims and Hindus are two nations[2] and the Muslims cannot maintain their status as such unless they acquire national self-consciousness and national self determination The Muslim mind suffers from defeatism Fear demoralisation and mendicancy haunt the minds of many

[1] Public speech *Star of India*, 12 April 1939

[2] This is perhaps the first occasion when he used the word 'nation in emphatic terms in relation to Indian Muslims However three years earlier he had stated that he believed that the Muslims could arrive at a settlement with the Hindus as two nations if not as partners *supra* p 40

of us There is no hope for us so long as the defeatist mentality continues But we are now awakening to our duties We are going to live as a nation and play our part as a nation

Don't Be Purchasable

A great change has come about during the last eighteen months, an instance of which is this meeting and this address A British Military Officer speaking to me about the Muslim League admitted the progress made by us but remarked that it was one man's band Naturally this could not be wonderful orchestra I am looking out for a band This cannot be achieved unless the intelligentsia are coming forward

Commodities

All sorts of questions are put to me Why don't you have a first-class daily? Why don't you organise the Muslim League? Why have you done this or that? What is your economic programme? How can one do it all without men and money? I ask you if you know that Muslims have no shares in any industrial development or concern No nation can progress without economic stability Who will attend to it? So long as the intelligentsia are not prepared to come forward to build up the nation there can be no hope for us You were kind enough to remark that I am one of those who cannot be purchased I ask you to follow the example and train your youth in such a way that they would not allow themselves to be purchased by anybody" (Cheers)

183. "Gandhi Wants Muslims to be his Creatures"[1]

New Delhi, April 18: Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has issued the following to the Press

'Mr Gandhi has proved beyond doubt that he wants the Musalmans to be his creatures to carry out his behests by insisting upon their agreeing beforehand to obey his orders and vote as he would finally order them to do even for the purpose of formulating recommendations for the political and constitutional advancement of the people of Rajkot This is a condition, which could not be accepted by any self-respecting man who is going to do his duty honestly as a representative of any interest concerned or representing the interests of Musalmans

'The fact that Mr Gandhi insisted upon a Parishad majority, which means the Pact Committee of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel makes it quite clear that he does not desire to co operate with Musalmans as free and equal collaborators The Parishad represents only one party amongst the people of Rajkot and to assume that it alone has the monopoly of patriotism and the Musalmans are to be considered as suspects is in my opinion Mr Gandhi's fundamental blunder The first step that I will advise the Musalmans of Rajkot to take is to boycott this Pact Committee and urge upon the Rajkot Durbar to decline to treat it as a representative committee of the people of Rajkot We shall have seriously to consider what further steps to take in this matter as I am awaiting a full report from the President of the Muslim Council of Rajkot

I congratulate the Bhayats for taking an equally honourable stand in declining to submit to similar humiliating restrictions and conditions imposed upon them by Mr Gandhi for the inclusion of their representative in the Committee Finally I assure the Muslim Council of Rajkot and the Musalmans of Rajkot, who I am glad are solid and united, that the Muslim League will do all in its power to help them in every possible way in this honourable struggle they are carrying on'

[1]Press statement, *Civil & Military Gazette* 19 April 1939

184 "Sink Differences and Rally Round ML Banner"[1]

Sholapur, May 6 A rousing reception was accorded to Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, and the President elect of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League Conference, and Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, on their arrival here this morning by the Madras Mail Khan Bahadur Abdul Latif Hazrat Khan, Chairman of the Reception Committee, and other members received them at the station and the two leaders were taken in a mile-long procession through the city in a flower-decked motor car preceded by Muslim national guards Mr M A Jinnah hoisted the Muslim League flag at the Conference *pandal*

Unfurling the Muslim League flag at the conference *pandal* before a gathering of over 7,000 people, Mr M A Jinnah complimented the Muslims on their awakening to their rights and responsibilities as a community and exhorted them to sink their differences and rally round the Muslim League banner Mr Jinnah expressed gratification for the splendid reception that was accorded to Sir Sikander Hyat Khan — API

[1] Public speech *Tribune* 7 May 1939

185. Sunni-Shia "Fratricidal Struggle" — "Congressite Muslims Responsible"[1]

Sholapur, May 7 An appeal to the Muslims of U P to declare truce forthwith with a view to enabling the League to find a reasonable and honourable solution of the Shia-Sunni controversy in Lucknow was made by Mr Jinnah in an interview to the Associated Press

Mr Jinnah said "I caution Muslims not to fall into surreptitious machinations of the enemies of the Muslims which are calculated to create and exploit the differences among them One cannot help nothing in the unfortunate developments in Lucknow that those responsible for leading, rather misleading, sections of both Shias and Sunnis in a fratricidal struggle are prominent Muslim Congressites " Mr Jinnah, however, expressed satisfaction that all responsible and thoughtful leaders of both the sects had very wisely kept themselves aloof and were making every endeavour to put an end to the serious situation that had been created

Mr Jinnah also referred to the recent events in the Jaipur and Rajkot States Mr Jinnah urged an impartial enquiry into the recent firing on Muslims in Jaipur which, he believed, was proved to have been resorted to without justification and without warning and demanded the punishment of those found guilty and the release of those who were being prosecuted in this connection with a view to restoring peace and goodwill between the Durbar and Muslims

Moral

Mr Jinnah added "The representative of the Paramount Power quickly cancelled his tour, rushed to save Mr Gandhi s life on the Rajkot issue and intervened even with regard to constitutional advance Whereas the Paramount Power, which maintained its undoubted right and responsibility to intervene in a case of maladministration in a State, has taken no steps so far in Jaipur where the Muslims are concerned The moral is obvious We have to organise and when we begin to count ourselves in crores, instead of lakhs, the Paramount Power would be awakened to their sense of responsibilities towards the Muslims

Turning to the Congress, Mr Jinnah expressed the hope, that "thoughtful leaders among Hindus will awake to realities and check the wreckless path which the Congress High Command

[1]Interview *Tribune*, 8 May 1939

has been following" He stated "The Hindus are under a delusion A large body of Hindus, untutored and unsophisticated, are being exploited by the Congress by giving them the impression that they are fighting for a Hindu Raj There is a large body of thoughtful Hindus who not only are not with the Congress but are definitely opposed to the policy of Mr Gandhi and the present Congress High Command and deplore the attitude which has led to a complete estrangement between the two communities and created intense bitterness They deplore the wrong headed policy pursued by the Congress in the last eighteen months in and outside the legislatures" — API

186. "ML Will Make Federation Impossible"[1]

Sholapur A stern warning to the British Government that they would be making a very great mistake if they thought that they could settle the Federation issue with the Congress leaving out the Muslim League, was given by Mr M A Jinnah, inaugurating the Bombay Provincial Muslim League Conference He declared that in such a case the Muslim League would fight Federation alone and make it impossible

In this connection Mr Jinnah pointed out that Muslims were prepared for greater sacrifices as he had a feeling that Congress would ultimately join the Federation It was curious and significant, he stated, that Mr Gandhi had not uttered a word about Federation in recent months Mr Jinnah reiterated the Muslim League policy *vis-a-vis* the Indian States as one of no intervention But, he declared if the Congress continued in contravention of its resolutions to interfere in the Indian States then the Muslim League would be compelled to interfere therein in order to protect Muslim interests in the States

"Not Henchmen"

Mr Jinnah traced at length the history of the recent growth of the Muslim League organisation and expressed gratification at its present strength He stated that it had been proved that the Congress High Command did not want Muslims to collaborate or co operate with them as their equals and partners, they wanted Muslims to be their henchmen Every action of the Congress High Command, whether inside or outside the legislatures, was directed to crush and divide the Muslims Mr Jinnah cited the instances of the Bombay Municipal Amendment Act and the District Local Boards Act which, he said, were deliberately enacted to injure Muslim interests Referring to the Rajkot affair Mr Jinnah said that it had proved his worst apprehensions that Mr Gandhi wanted Muslims to play the part of his henchmen which they would never do Mr Jinnah severely criticised Mr Gandhi's proposal of conditional representation of Muslims on the Reforms Committee and said "It is a proposal which I would feel ashamed to offer to Hindus"

Mr Jinnah concluded with the advice "In difficulties, do not despair in victory, do not lose your head"

[1] Public speech *Civil & Military Gazette* 9 May 1939

187. South Africa's Asiatic Segregation Bill "Obnoxious and Unjust"[1]

Matheran, May 24 "The passing of the obnoxious and unjust Asiatic Segregation Bill by the South African Assembly is unanimously condemned by the Government of India and the entire public," declares Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, in a statement He asks "Will the Senate cry halt "

Justice to the Indian Nationals, and the wider interests of statesmanship demand the stoppage of further progress of the invidious Bill And the proper course to find an honourable solution is to negotiate with the representatives of India Else the consequence will be disastrous " Mr Jinnah suggests that the Viceroy should openly advise His Majesty to refuse to give assent to the Bill and maintain India's self-respect and honour

- API

[1]Press statement, *Tribune*, 25 May 1939

188. ML Proceedings — Congress Activities in States and Congress-Governed Provinces[1]

Bombay, July 4 Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has issued the following statement setting forth the conclusions of the meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League held here during the last two days

A meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League was held on July 2 and 3 at Mr M A Jinnah's residence Little Gibbs Road Bombay The following members were present Mr M A Jinnah, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan Syed Abdul Aziz Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi, Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Esak Saith Sir Ali Mohammad Khan Dehlavi, Mr Ashik Warsi, Mr Abdul Matin Chowdhury Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin Chowdhury Khaliquzzaman Sir Abdoola Haroon Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad Syed Abdur Rauf Shah Mr Abdur Rahman Siddiqui and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

Congress and Hindu-Muslim Question

The Committee considered the correspondence that has passed between Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Syed Abdur Rauf Shah Sahib regarding the appointment of a Muslim Minister in C P The Committee was of opinion that no individual province should negotiate or come to any settlement with the Congress with regard to the Hindu Muslim question in their provinces and if any such proposals are received from the Congress intimation should be sent to the effect that the matter should be referred by the Congress to the President or the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League

It was resolved that the next annual session of the All India Muslim League be held at Lahore on December 28 29 and 30 The All India Muslim League expresses its full sympathy with Indian nationals in South Africa in their struggle against the obnoxious and unjust segregation measure and extends to them all possible help

Indian Overseas

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League strongly urges upon the Government of India to take prompt steps for the protection of the rights of Indians in Ceylon The Working Committee urges upon the Government of India to take immediate action to secure justice and fair treatment to Indian nationals in Belgian Congo

Palestine Fund

The Working Committee having examined the White Paper on Palestine and having heard the Muslim League delegates is of

[1]Press statement *Star of India*, 5 July 1939

opinion that the proposals embodied in the White Paper are most unsatisfactory and disappointing and are totally unacceptable The Committee urges upon the British Government to meet the Arab demands and redeem their solemn pledges made to the Arabs and the Muslims of India who stood by them solidly in the Great War The Working Committee hereby resolves that a Palestine Fund be opened forthwith for the relief of the dependents of those who lost their lives or suffered in the struggle for independence and for the protection of the first *Qibla* of Muslims The following Committee with powers to co opt is appointed to devise ways and means of collecting money for the Palestine Fund and remitting the same to Palestine through the President of the All India Muslim League, Sir Abdoola Haroon, Mr Abdur Rahman Siddiqui Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Esak Saith, Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim and Chowdhury Khaliquzzaman (Convener) The Working Committee appreciates the services rendered by Mr Abdur Rahman Siddiqui and Chowdhury Khaliquzzaman who went to Cairo, London and the Near East in connection with the Palestine question

The Working Committee resolved that the Madras Provincial Muslim League be affiliated to the All India Muslim League The consideration of the report of the Economic Programme Committee was postponed

Muslim National Guards

The question of Muslim National Guards could not be considered as the report of the Committee appointed by the Council in this connection has not yet been received It was decided that the Committee be requested to submit their report latest by the end of September

The Committee considered the explanation of Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi regarding his resignation from the Muslim League Party in the Central Assembly The Working Committee declined to consider the acceptance of his resignation from the Council of the All India Muslim League as it was sent by Sir A H Ghuznavi after the receipt of the notice by the Honorary Secretary calling for an explanation why disciplinary action should not be taken against him regarding his conduct in resigning from the Muslim League Party in the Central Assembly and defying the resolutions of the Council of the All India Muslim League The Committee resolved after giving full consideration to all the papers documents and evidence that the name of Sir A H Ghuznavi be removed from the Council of the All India Muslim League, and further that he should be disqualified for the membership of the League organisation for next four years from July 3 1939

Muslims in Indian States

The Working Committee has received reports and representations of maltreatment and injustice being done to the Muslims in the various Indian States namely Jaipur Jodhpur Bhavnagar, Cutch and Patiala The Committee most earnestly urges upon the Rulers of the States concerned to redress the grievances and protect the lives, honour and properties and all liberties of their Muslim subjects thereby creating a sense of security amongst them and preventing the situation from taking a serious turn

Jaipur Muslims

The Working Committee has every sympathy with the Muslim *Muhajirin* from Jaipur who have been undergoing great hardships and suffering since they left their homes The Committee urges upon the Jaipur Durbar to meet the just demands of the Jaipur Muslims without further delay so that the situation that has been created may not worsen and at the same time advises the Muslims of Jaipur to suspend Civil Disobedience and organise themselves effectively as their salvation lies in their own inherent strength

Hyderabad Agitation

"The Working Committee of the Muslim League views with grave concern the situation that is being created by the mischievous activities and propaganda of the Arya Samajists and Hindu Mahasabhaites all over India in organising and dispatching *jathas* to Hyderabad with the ostensible object of vindicating their religious rights in order to coerce the State administration The Working Committee warns the Arya Samaj and the Mahasabha organisations that the offensive bearing these *jathas* and shouting of provocative slogans has created intense bitterness among the Muslims and unless these provocative *jathas* are stopped forthwith there is a grave danger of sporadic clashes developing into widespread inter communal strife throughout the country The Working Committee urges upon the Provincial Governments and Paramount Power to take immediate and adequate action in order to stop this mischief which seriously threatens the peace and tranquillity of the country

Bihar League's Request

The Working Committee considered the request of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League to launch Civil Disobedience against the Wardha scheme of basic education The Committee decided (message mutilated) that the League should send a memorial representing their complete case aginst the Wardha scheme to the Governor General the Governor and the Prime Minister of Bihar and report to the Working Committee the result of the representations The Committee in this connection also advises all other Provincial Leagues to do likewise

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League views with grave apprehensions the resolutions as reported in the Press passed by the recent Home Ministers' Conference held at Simla particularly resolution No 1 which read as follows It is recommended to all Provincial Governments that they should undertake a concerted campaign against propaganda of a communal nature and against incitement to violence of any kind whatever as it is likely that in the absence of an authoritative explanation as to what is meant by the phrase propaganda of a communal nature the Congress Ministries which are opposed to the Muslim League movement will abuse the opportunity thus afforded to them by victimising the Muslim League organisations the Muslim Press and by stifling the general Muslim public opinion on any and every pretext The Working Committee while requesting the Home Department of the Government of India to issue a public statement explaining what the Home Minister's Conference meant by the phrase propaganda of a communal nature, warns Congress

Ministries of the great consequences which will follow any move on their part that is likely to result in the misuse or abuse of the decisions of the Home Ministers' Conference in order to muzzle legitimate Muslim public opinion in those provinces

Wardha Scheme

The Working Committee disapproves of the Wardha Scheme of education on the following grounds among others apart from its origin, conception and communal aspect there are fundamental objections to the scheme The scheme is calculated to destroy Muslim culture gradually but surely and the Working Committee is of opinion that the textbooks are entirely unacceptable The scheme is intended to secure the domination of the Hindu culture and as it stands it tends to destroy Muslim culture and language, (2) it imposes the Congress party ideology and aims at inculcating among others the doctrine of *Ahimsa*, (3) its objective is to infuse political creed policy and programme of one party namely the Congress in the minds of children, (4) it has neglected the question of providing facilities for religious instructions, (5) under the guise of the name of Hindustani the scheme is meant to spread highly Sanscritised Hindi and to suppress Urdu which is really the lingua franca of India at present, (6) the textbooks prescribed and provisionally sanctioned by certain Provincial Governments are highly objectionable from the Muslim point of view in that they are not only offensive to the feelings and sentiments of Muslims but are mainly devoted to the praise of Hindu religion philosophy and heroes minimising Islamic contributions to the world and to India in particular and ignoring their culture history and heroes and speaking of them with scant courtesy

The Committee considered the position of Muslims in Congress governed provinces and as full representations have already been made to the Governor-General recently the Committee decided to postpone this matter till next October Before taking any definite step it was decided to await the action of the Governor-General The Committee hopes that the Governor-General would consider the representations that have been made to him and will not fail to discharge his obligations as required by the Statute in safeguarding the rights and interests of Muslims ' — API

189 Urges HMG "Not to Force Federation Upon Unwilling India"[1]

Bombay, July 30 The All India Muslim League's opposition to the federal scheme is reiterated by Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, in the course of a statement Mr Jinnah appeals to Lord Linlithgow and His Majesty's Government not to force the federal constitution "upon an unwilling India in the teeth of opposition" The following is the text of the statement

From the decision of the Indian Princes at their Bombay meeting characterising the terms of the draft Instruments of Accession to Federation as fundamentally unsatisfactory and unacceptable one would have concluded that neither the British Government nor Lord Linlithgow would persist in it any more That was the most representative gathering of the Indian Princes and the States Ministers and they decided *nem con* that the draft Instruments were fundamentally not acceptable to them This decision was arrived at after various deliberations which had taken place for more than a year and after a thorough examination of the situation and the provisions of the Government of India Act and the draft Instruments of Accession One naturally wonders why after this time is extended to September 1

Propaganda in Press

Alarming reports have appeared in the Press that the Princes are being coerced by the Paramount Power and their agents Tremendous propaganda is carried on in some sections of the Press with a view to threatening the consequences of their holding out' It is said that they will never get better terms that unless they come into Federation they are doomed to destruction and that their best safeguard is the goodwill of Lord Linlithgow and the Paramount Power The basic principles and the fundamental merits of the federal scheme are forgotten It has been pointed out times out of number that the federal scheme gives no real control or responsibility to the legislature whereas all vital departments of the Government are outside the pale of the legislature or the Ministry that might be formed, and even with regard to the minor departments which are transferred to the legislature and would be in charge of the Ministry the powers of the Governor General are greater and larger than those of Hitler

In the first instance no doubt the Princes think that the federal scheme is detrimental to their interests and also that of their people and the States generally and that they are called upon to make a tremendous sacrifice — and for what purpose? They naturally do not wish to be the pawns in the federal scheme to be used by the Paramount Power They know that the Congress is opposed to it and so is the Muslim League With whom are they then to federate?

[1] Press statement *Star of India* 31 July 1939

Therefore, not only would they be signing their own death warrant by joining the Federation— but to what purpose is the question? Will they be helping the country? Will they be helping the Hindus or the Muslims as there is not even 2 per cent of responsibility given at the centre

I therefore, trust that they will apart from their interests and sacrifices, will stand by their Bombay decision and not be coerced by any outside agencies

Congress Attitude

As to the Congress which represents a solid body of Hindus in the country their declarations are clear that they are fundamentally opposed to the federal scheme Will the Congress be allured into accepting this federal scheme as it is urged upon them to do so on the ground that otherwise the Muslims will break away as they are thinking already of Pakistan which will mean the destruction of all India unity? Will the Congress accept this constitution because the Muslims have a special additional grievance that they are not adequately safeguarded in the federal scheme? Will it satisfy the ambition of some Congress leaders that in this dummy legislature without control and responsibility on all vital matters, because they will secure a majority and therefore dominate in number over the Muslims it is good enough to accept it? It has been openly said that Mr Gandhi conveyed at Rajkot to some of his followers that they will have to accept the Federal scheme as embodied in the Government of India Act A few days ago when he was interviewed at Lahore it is reported that he was asked a question as to what his opinion was as to Federation and he declined to make any statement Is Mr Gandhi going to fall into the trap for the sake of merely having a Congress majority under this wretched federal scheme and is he going to be frightened to death on the score that the Muslims will break away and it might lead to a partition of India? Is he going to accept this halter round India's neck simply for the sake of dominating the Muslims in those few minor departments which are transferred to the legislature? I cannot believe it and I cannot believe that the Congress will be a party to such a betrayal of the vital interests of India

League's Stand

As regards the Muslim League, I need not repeat that we are firmly and definitely opposed to the scheme of Federation as embodied in the Government of India Act and I once more appeal to Lord Linlithgow and His Majesty's Government not to force this federal constitution upon an unwilling India and in the teeth of the real genuine opposition by every responsible party in the country and save the fair name of Britain and his own prestige and reputation in annals of future history and India — API

190. "I was born a Muslim and Shall die a Muslim"[1]

Bombay, August 6: The view that democracy is unsuited to the genius of India, was expressed by Mr M A Jinnah speaking yesterday on the present political situation The cultures of the two communities, Muslims and Hindus, he said, were so different that one having power naturally tried to run the other down In such a country, comprising different nationalities, a democratic system of Parliamentary Government was, in his view, an impossibility What the future Constitution should be was a matter to be decided

Muslims on their part, asserted Mr Jinnah, did not want to harm the Hindus and, in turn, wanted the Muslims to be left alone In this connection, Mr Jinnah referred to the attempts of the Congress to meddle in Sind politics and to the Muslim mass contact move

Bande Mataram

Mr Jinnah narrated how the Congress was attempting to corrupt" the Muslims in the legislatures by offering them Ministerships He referred to the flag question, *Bande Mataram* and attempts to introduce Hindi as onslaughts on Muslim culture At such a time the foremost duty of the Muslim League, he said was to organize the Muslims and make them a strong united body This step was essential in order to enable the community to take their rightful place in national affairs Those who took that view might be branded as communalists "So far as I am concerned, I am willing to be branded so for doing my duty to Muslims, I was born a Muslim, I am a Muslim, and I shall die a Muslim," concluded Mr Jinnah

[1] Speech *Star of India* 7 August 1939

191 Federation — "Gandhi should come out openly in the Press"[1]

Bombay, August 9 Mr M A Jinnah, President of All India Muslim League, has released the following correspondence between him and Mr C P Shukla, Manager of the *Harijan*

Copy of a letter from Mr C P Shukla to Mr M A Jinnah

Poona August 1

Dear Sir

In your latest statement to the Press you have made some remarks about Gandhiji's attitude towards the Federal scheme embodied in the Government of India Act, and you seem to have based your criticism on a hearsay report of what Gandhiji is believed to have said at Rajkot I venture to send you three extracts from what he has actually written on the subject in the course of the past year which probably you have not seen In the course of an article entitled 'Federation' in *Harijan* dated October 1 1938 he wrote

In the first place in all my talks which have been very few I have made it clear that I represent nobody and that I have not even aired my views to any Congress man I have also made it clear that what the Congress says and does is of consequence whatever I may say is of no value unless it represents the Congress view As a matter of fact, too I have said that the Congress will never have Federation forced upon it, and that there was no hope of peace in India till there was Independence in virtue of a constitution framed by a duly convened Constituent Assembly

I have also made it clear that so far as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and I are concerned though we may talk in different languages, we are one in most things that matter to India On the question of Federation there never has been any difference of opinion between us And I have made a rule for myself that as far as the Congress is concerned, if there is an unbridgeable gulf between him and me his view should prevail

In replying to a letter from Lord Lothian he said in Harijan of February 11 1939 But the Federal structure is inconceivable to me because it contemplates a partnership, however loose, among dissimilars how dissimilar the states are is being demonstrated in an ugly form for which I was unprepared Therefore, the Federal structure as conceived by the Government of India Act I hold to be an utter impossibility'

[1] Correspondence *Civil & Military Gazette*, 10 August 1939

Then again as recently as June 24, 1939 in an interview which he had with Mr Steel of the *New York Times* and which was reported in the *Harijan*, he said 'But I feel certain that the Federation won't come whilst it is not acceptable to the Congress or the Musalmans or the Princes, I am inclined to think that the British statesmen won't impose Federation upon an unwilling and dissatisfied India but will try to placate all parties That, at any rate, is my hope It would be a first class tragedy if it is imposed upon India The Federal structure cannot be brought into being in the midst of sullenness and opposition The Federation is not wanted by any of the parties It would be the height of imprudence to force it '

I am also sending you under separate cover these three issues of the *Harijan* from which the foregoing quotations have been taken I have written this letter in the hope that it may help in leading to a better understanding of Gandhiji's attitude towards the Federal Scheme

Yours truly
C P SHUKLA

Copy of Mr M A Jinnah's reply to Mr C P Shukla

August 9, 1939
Little Gibbs Road
Malabar Hill
Bombay

Dear Sir

I thank you for your letter of August 1, embodying extracts from *Harijan* about Mr Gandhi's attitude towards the Federal Scheme I must confess that these extracts do not meet the points made in my statement issued to the Press recently and referred to by you in your letter under reply They are like declaration from the Oracle of Delphi I should have thought that instead of your writing to me as you have been good enough to do, Mr Gandhi himself would have come out openly in the Press and should have at this critical juncture, defined his attitude categorically and in unequivocal terms

However I thank you for this information

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

192 "Muslims and Hindus Poles Apart"—"Parliamentary Government" in India "Impossibility"[1]

Bombay (By Mail). An attack on the Congress, denunciation of democratic parliamentary system of Government for India, and reiteration of the Muslim League's determination not to allow subordination of Muslims to any other party or power in India, were the outstanding features of a speech delivered by Mr M A Jinnah to the Ismail College Students' Union at Andheri on Saturday Mr Jinnah who was admitted as an honorary member of the Union spoke on the present political situation in India The greater part of the speech was, however, devoted to propounding the plans and policies of the Muslim League in relation to the Congress

The first and foremost task of the Muslim League, Mr Jinnah said, was to organise the Muslims and make them a strong united body That was essential to enable the community to take its rightful place in the national affairs of the country Those who took that view might be branded communalists "So far as I am concerned", he declared, "I am willing to be branded a communalist for doing this duty to the Muslims I was born a Muslim, I am a Muslim and I shall die a Muslim "

False Propaganda

"Let us be quite clear about this," he added "What is the average Indian nationalist? Is the Congress really nationalist? You do not become a nationalist by declaring that you are one In my judgment when the Congress speaks of nationalism, it means Hindu nationalism, when it says nationalist, it means Hindu nationalist Not only that is their meaning, but they practise it in that sense "

Mr Jinnah asserted that he was forced to that view by the developments after the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy in the provinces Before the elections it was his hope that the better minds among Muslims and Hindus would get into the legislatures and that they would work in harmony for bringing about communal peace The Congress answer to that was violent propaganda against the Muslim League during the elections The Congress declared that the Muslims were reactionaries and were supporting the Imperialist power The Congress wanted to wreck the constitution while the Muslim League wanted to utilise it for what it was worth After the elections were over and the Congress

[1] Public speech, *Star of India*, 16 August 1939

found majorities in some of the provinces, it decided to accept office. Instead of wrecking the constitution, they were working it now, and working it with a vengeance.

Instead of accepting the hand of co-operation extended by the Muslim League, the Congress demanded a liquidation of the League and complete subordination to the Congress. That was an attitude unhelpful to Muslims, unhelpful to Hindus and to the country. Mr Jinnah then accused the Congress of corrupting Muslim members in the legislatures by offering them Ministerships. Such tactics were not becoming a mighty organisation like the Congress, he said. Mr Jinnah next referred to the "machinations and onslaughts" of the Congress on Muslim culture and interests in some of the Congress Provinces. Among them he mentioned the flag question, the singing of *Bande Mataram* and attempts to introduce Hindi. The latest anti-Muslim moves were the introduction of textbooks and school uniforms without consulting any responsible Muslim opinion.

Absurd

It was absurd to suggest, he added, that Muslim minorities in the Congress provinces were aggressive. They were only trying to defend themselves and their culture. The trouble was with the power-intoxicated Congressmen. They seemed to be under the impression that they were ruling the country and went about flouting the Muslims and taunting them.

Referring to the Muslim League programme, Mr Jinnah asked: "Let us know what is the Congress programme? At present a great deal of our time and energy are taken up in devising measures of self-defence. But we have done much constructive work. Our membership has gone into lakhs and today we are a force to be reckoned with. I still want to organise the Muslims to make them a greater power to take their proper share in national life. Even if the Muslims had to submit themselves to a Hindu Raj, even if they had to petition to the Hindus, still they would carry greater weight if they were united and spoke with one voice."

Muslims and Hindus, Mr Jinnah observed, were poles apart in faith, education, culture and philosophy. They were two distinct races or nationalities. It was a natural thing that whoever had greater power would influence and undermine the other's culture. He wondered how in a country like this democracy could be worked successfully. The Congress was swearing by democracy because it suited the more powerful communities. In his view, there was no such thing as democracy in any part of the world today. They talked of democracy in India, because it suited the Hindus. For them it was a matter of counting heads. What they

had to consider and ponder over was whether a democratic system of parliamentary government was suited to such a vast country with different nationalities

Hands Off Muslims

In his view, it was an impossibility What should be the future constitution was a matter for them to decide The Muslims did not want to harm the Hindus In turn, they wanted to be left free to develop their interests and culture They would not countenance any subordination to the Hindus After criticising the Congress Muslim mass contact movement and the efforts to form Congress Governments in Sind, Mr Jinnah declared "I say to the Congress hands off the Muslims' Trust us and trust our honour We do not want to be protected by you We shall take care of ourselves We have no designs against you except that we should have proper share in the national government of this country "

193. War — "Britain Must take Muslim India into Confidence"[1]

Simla, September 7 Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, in a statement to the Press, says

'As already announced, I had an interview with His Excellency the Viceroy on September 4 when His Excellency explained to me the situation as much as he was able to do Naturally, I cannot disclose the contents of this conversation between him and myself In the midst of these dark clouds, let us hope for the silver lining His Excellency is going to address both the Houses of the Central Legislature on the 11th and the public will then be in a better position to understand the situation

'One cannot help deploring and condemning the resort to arms and brute forces It does not redound to the credit of the statesmanship and civilisation of Europe that an honourable solution could not be found It is quite obvious that we are facing now a grave situation which is bound to result in horrible destruction of life and property and will mean the greatest disaster all the world over This is not the time for me to disapprove or approve of the policy of His Majesty's Government The crisis has come and we have to face and bear it as best as we can Naturally my sympathies are with the peoples of Poland France and Britain as we are at present a part of the British Commonwealth of Nations If however Britain wants to prosecute this war successfully it must take Muslim India into its confidence through their accredited organisation the All India Muslim League and so shape its policy as to apply the principles enunciated by His Excellency the Viceroy in his recent broadcast[2] soon after the declaration of war on Sunday last Musalmans want justice and fair play

I will place the views of His Excellency the Viceroy before the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League which is going to meet in Delhi on September 7 and in the meantime I appeal to the Musalmans to stand solidly and unitedly under the flag of the All India Muslim League Let us pray that in this grave hour we shall be guided by Providence to arrive at the right decision in the best interest of the Muslim India' —AP

[1]Press statement *Civil & Military Gazette* 9 September 1939

[2]Appendix XII

194 Congress Invitation to Discuss War Situation[1]

New Delhi, September 13: Mr Jinnah has received the following telegram today from Dr Prasad

> Thanks your telegram Purpose inviting you was to receive your assistance in shaping Working Committee s decision on critical situation That can't be served by my coming Delhi '

The following telegrams were earlier exchanged between Dr Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, and Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League From Dr Prasad dated September 11

> Congress Working Committee discussing war situation In view seriousness question affecting India should like discuss with you Should appreciate your joining discussions at Wardha any day up to fifteenth September '

Mr Jinnah's reply to Dr Prasad the same day

> Your telegram Should be glad discuss situation with you Delhi Can t go to Wardha owing previous commitments Muslim League Working Committee meeting Delhi 17th bound reach Delhi on 13th "
> — API

1 Telegraphic correspondence, *Star of India,* 14 September 1939

195. "I Still Remain a Nationalist"[1]

Hyderabad (Deccan), September 29 Reference to Hindu Muslim relations in the country was made by Mr M A Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, speaking at the annual dinner of the Old Boys' Association of the Osmania University last night Mr Jinnah, who has come here at the invitation of the Nizam, was the guest of honour Mr Jinnah said

> I did not expect that, even at this festive board where a galaxy of intellects have assembled, I would be involved in discussing political problems confronting India But as reference has been made to the matter I must assure you that I yield to none in the determination to safeguard the interests of my country nor would I yield to anybody in striving for the attainment of freedom for my country I am essentially a practical man, Mr Jinnah continued "I have been in practical politics for over a quarter of a century The words nationalism and 'nationalist' have undergone many changes in their definition and significance Some people have a dictionary of their own, but within the honest meaning of the term I still remain a nationalist

Appeal for Unity

> 'I have always believed in a Hindu Muslim pact But such a pact can only be an honourable one and not a pact which will mean the destruction of one and the survival of the other The Congress High Command unfortunately are not prepared to grasp the hand of friendship but would like to destroy the very hand which offered friendship One does not see much light at present but you never can say when the two communities would unite We have a recent example of the German Soviet pact between two nations which were the bitterest of enemies

> 'I say to every Musalman Mr Jinnah concluded, that Islam expects you one and all to do your duty and stand by your people as one nation

Mrs Sarojini Naidu alluded to the friendship between her and Mr Jinnah which, she said, was still unbroken in spite of the differences in their respective political views She also referred to the book she had written in which she described Mr Jinnah as an Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity Referring to domestic politics, Mrs Naidu stated that the traditional unity between Muslims and Hindus under the aegis of the Asifia dynasty was unfortunately, disturbed by recent occurrences Outsiders would do well to understand that their quarrels, which

[1]Public speech *Statesman*, 30 September 1939

were purely domestic over internal difference, could be composed without their intervention because one day they might quarrel and become the best of friends the following day

Mr Jinnah had an audience with the Nizam last evening, the interview lasting two and a half hours

196. "Congress Obsessed that it Alone Represents India"[1]

Hyderabad, October 1 Interviewed by the *Star of India* correspondent regarding Lord Zetland's statement Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, declined to express any opinion until he had met the Viceroy on Thursday [5 October]

Commenting on Mr Gandhi's statement 'Appealing to British statesmen as a friend of Britain', Mr Jinnah said "I regret to say that Mr Gandhi who is the sole interpreter and dictator of the Congress, has couched his statement in a language which once more creates the impression that the Congress is suffering, in the first instance from inability to face realities and is obsessed that it alone represents India Secondly that while it is championing the cause of democracy in India and desires to do away with the democratic imperialism of Great Britain, it has, in the last two-and-a-half years, not only declared itself as a Fascist and authoritarian body but has actually translated this principle into actual practice And thirdly that it is reviving throughout India the Hindu renaissance and domination and supremacy of Hinduism over the entire sub-continent Unless the High Command of the Congress is thoroughly cured of these maladies they will not be able to advance the progress of India which we all have at heart "

Mr Jinnah left for Delhi this evening and will meet H E the Viceroy on October 5 (already reported in these columns)

Muslims in Hyderabad

Recounting his impressions of his stay in Hyderabad Mr Jinnah said that he had found Muslims generally sound in head and heart and that there was a remarkable unity among all sections, masses and intelligentsia and, what is more welcome an awakening among women "There are no doubt a few", added Mr Jinnah "who are either oppressed by fear or are indifferent or have their own axe to grind There are certain apprehensions in the minds of Muslims regarding the Reforms proposals recently published by the Government of Hyderabad and I have found that His Exalted Highness is keenly alive to the situation I am glad to say that I am leaving Hyderabad with the impression that the fears and apprehensions of Muslims will be allayed and that His Exalted Highness' Government will give Muslims the necessary assurances which will satisfy them My humble advice to Muslims here is that they should stand united and organise themselves to play a part worthy of their past history and heritage in this great dominion of the Nizam "

[1]Interview *Star of India* 3 October 1939

197 War — Avoids Pressman's Queries Before Meeting Viceroy[1]

New Delhi, October 5 The residence in Hardinge Avenue, of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Secretary, All India Muslim League, has become a place of pilgrimage for Muslim India since Mr Jinnah's arrival here to participate in the discussions the Viceroy is having with Indian political leaders In a quiet little cosy library room, surrounded on all sides by costly book-shelves, Mr Jinnah has set up his temporary office where issues of momentous importance are being thrashed out in consultation with Muslim leaders who are coming from morning till late in the evening Pressed for time, Mr Jinnah is unable to grant many interviews, but yesterday he gave me five minutes' audience

Dressed in spotless white trousers with a long silk coat to match, Mr Jinnah smilingly greeted me and straightaway asked me what I wanted Dozens of daily newspapers with blue pencil marks were lying on one side while on the other side were scores of Press cutting pinned together, all sure signs of his getting ready for today's interview with the Viceroy Mr Jinnah refused to be dragged into conversations on current topics and cleverly evaded answering all my questions repeating all the time "how can I say?" Asked his opinion on newspaper suggestions about forming Coalition Governments he replied "Young man you had better go now, don't try to pump me" There is no doubt Mr Jinnah holds the trump card in the present political discussions and is in a position to help the Viceroy's efforts for a united India front He realises fully the gravity of the situation and the necessity of sinking all differences Sir Raza Ali Sikander Hyat Khan and others are frequently closetted with Mr Jinnah

[1]News report *Star of India*, 5 October 1939

198. Message to Aligarh Students — "Stand Solidly By ML"[1]

Aligarh, October 5 Mr M A Jinnah, President, All India Muslim League, in response to a request from Mr M Nusrat Hassan Vice-President of the Aligarh Muslim University Union, for a message to the Muslim youth of India replied as follows

> Stand solidly with complete unity by the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League which is the only organization that can speak on behalf of the Musalmans of India Muslim League as you know stands for complete freedom of India, not for one community only but for all the people composing this great sub continent and stands for free and independent Islam Islam expects every Muslim to do his duty to his people, and no service or sacrifice should be too great on the part of anyone of us at this most critical time in the history of India in order to establish and maintain an honourable place worthy of our traditions and past heritage specially now that we are facing this terrible war and dangerous and grave international situation which is bound to create a new order of things all over the world
>
> 'I am confident that young Muslim India upon whom will fall the main burden of helping and guiding the future and destiny of ninety millions of Musalmans will not fail them but would be unhesitatingly prepared for any service or sacrifice when called upon to do so '

[1]Message, *Star of India* 6 October 1939

199 Congress Ministries — Rejects Rajendra Prasad's Offer of Inquiry[1]

New Delhi, October 13 Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has released to the Press the correspondence which passed between him and the Congress President, Dr Rajendra Prasad, in regard to the allegations against the Congress Provincial Governments Dr Prasad wrote to Mr Jinnah from New Delhi on October 5 as follows

> In the resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League passed recently in Delhi reference has been made to Provincial Governments It is stated that provincial autonomy in several Provinces has resulted in the domination of the Hindus over the Muslim minorities whose life and liberty property and honour are in danger and even their religious rights and culture are being assailed and annihilated every day under the Congress Governments in the various provinces Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has also informed me that you mentioned this matter to him in the course of a recent conversation
>
> **Inquiry Suggested**
>
> We feel that these charges are wholly unfounded and are based on misapprehension and one sided reports that might have reached you and the League The Governments concerned have inquired into the matter whenever such charges have been made and have denied them On a previous occasion we expressed our willingness to have any specific instances investigated by an impartial authority We feel strongly and I am sure you will agree with us that such charges when seriously made should be inquired into and either substantiated or disproved We would like this course to be adopted in regard to any specific instances that are put forward If you agree we could request the highest judicial authority in India Sir M Gwyer[2] Chief Justice of the Federal Court to inquire into this matter In the event of his not being available some other person of a similar status and judicial position might be approached

Correspondence *Statesman*, 14 October 1939

Sir Maurice Linford Gwyer b 1878 Legal Adviser Ministry of Shipping 1917 19 Solicitor and Legal Adviser Ministry of Health 1919 26 HM s Procurator General and Solicitor to the Treasury, 1926 33 QC 1930, British Delegate to the Hague Conference on Codification of International Law 1930, Member of the Indian States Inquiry Committee (Financial) 1932 First Parliamentary Counsel to the Treasury 1934 37, Assisted in drafting the Government of India Bill January February 1935 Chief Justice of India and President of the Federal Court 1937 43, Vice Chancellor of Delhi University, 1938 50, d 1952

"I shall gladly place this matter before the Working Committee of the Congress and get them to pass a formal resolution to this effect I am leaving for Wardha today and shall be obliged to you if you will send an early reply I shall be in Wardha for about a week"

Mr. Jinnah's Reply

Mr Jinnah replied on October 6, as follows

I am in receipt of your letter dated October 5 I beg to inform you that I have already placed the whole case before the Viceroy and the Governor General and have requested him to take up the matter without delay as he and the Governors of the Provinces have been expressly authorized under the constitution and are entrusted with the responsibility to protect the rights and the interest of the minorities The matter is now under His Excellency's consideration and he is the proper authority to take such action and adopt such measures as would meet our requirements and would restore a complete sense of security and satisfaction amongst the Muslims in those Provinces where the Congress Ministries are in charge of the administration

'In these circumstances I do not wish to discuss further the various statements made in your letter as it is unnecessary to do so but I must say that some of them are wholly inaccurate" — Associated Press

200 War — Reserves Comment on Viceroy's Statement[1]

New Delhi, October 18 Mr Jinnah told the Associated Press today that he was unable to make any comment on the Viceroy's statement at this stage He pointed out that he had called a meeting of the Working Committee of the Muslim League on October 22 when the Viceroy's statement and its implications would be discussed and the attitude of the Muslim League defined, and it was not possible to anticipate this attitude by any immediate expressions of opinion

Mr Jinnah expressed the hope that no Muslim League leader would make any statement regarding the Viceroy's announcement before the meeting of the League Working Committee — API

[1]Interview, *Star of India*, 19 October 1939

201. Dispute with UP Government — Asks Khaksars for Facts[1]

Bombay (By Mail) Half an hour before sunset this evening (October 16), Mr Jinnah, Sir Abdoola Haroon, M L A (Sind), Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad and Sir Abdur Rahim, President of the Legislative Assembly, received the salute of 500 uniformed Khaksars at their camp at Karol Bagh just outside Delhi, writes the special correspondent of the *Times of India* from New Delhi He [the correspondent] adds

> Lined up four deep, each shouldering a spade the guard of honour stretched across the entire width of the camp, a sandy compound surrounded by more than 20 tents, the Khaksars living quarters In one of them Mr Inayatullah the leader released two days ago from an U P prison received his guests who squatted round him and discussed 'Khaksar policy This was Mr Jinnah s third interview with Mr Inayatullah since yesterday, and he hopes to have another tomorrow "I cannot hope to advise " he said on the Khaksar' U P dispute until all the facts are before me The U P Government have already provided me with a full statement of their case Now I want the Khaksar one Then I can sum up and give my point of view '

10,000 for U P

> For many days now the Khaksars have been leaving this base camp for Lucknow and other towns in the U P and on the U P Punjab border A report later contradicted, came through today that the Shia Sunni dispute in Lucknow had been settled but it is by no means certain that its removal would clear up the now protracted quarrel between the U P Government and the Khaksars It is reckoned that 10 000 Khaksars have already stayed at the Delhi camp *en route* for the U P While here they are put through rigorous training The camp said one of their supporters this evening is now organised on a full wartime basis Certainly the men looked keen and were active although they had not taken food since 3 30 a m

Like Cromwell

> Ramzan is strictly kept and willingly though the rare offender is lashed with a thick leather thong for his unorthodoxy The men put in a 16 hour day rising to the camp bugle at six and turning in at ten Prayers are said communally the customary five times and most of the rest of the day is spent in parading drilling and taking exercise Like Cromwell the Khaksars trust in God and keep their powder dry Through the night sentries guard the camp which by day is patrolled by men of the chosen *Janbaz*[2] those who have solemnly promised in their own blood to work for the ascendancy of Islam and to protect their leader unto death

[1]News report *Star of India* 24 October 1939

[2]Elite guards among Khaksar were known as *Janbaz* Literally the word means a daring and venturesome person

202 HMG Should make no Constitutional "Commitment" Without ML "Approval"[1]

New Delhi, October 26 "The British public may be misled by certain propaganda that the Muslims are against the freedom of India We want freedom and liberty, but the question is, whose freedom and liberty? Muslim India wants to be free and enjoy liberty to the fullest extent and develop its own political, economic, social and cultural institutions, according to its genius and not to be dominated and crushed, while wishing Hindu India well and giving it fullest scope to do likewise " So observes Mr M A Jinnah in a statement made by him to the *Manchester Guardian*, explaining the implications of his recent declaration that democratic institutions were unsuited to India The following is a statement made by Mr M A Jinnah to the *Manchester Guardian*, explaining the implications of his recent declaration that democratic institutions were unsuited to India

I am obliged to the *Manchester Guardian* for the courtesy shown to me in giving me an opportunity to place my views briefly before the British public It is difficult to make an average Englishman understand the position which is facing us Muslim today fully But I shall mention a few salient points which will give some idea of the difficulties that are confronting us The Muslims have always had their fears and apprehensions of even a representative form of Government, and far more of democracy in its strict application to India Since the time of the Minto Morley Reforms of 1908 and the historical Lucknow Pact between Hindus and Muslims in 1916 their insistence on separate electorates weightage and statutory safeguards have been clear indication of those fears

Hindu Raj

But since the inauguration of the new provincial constitutions it has been established beyond doubt, particularly by the way in which the Congress High Command has pursued its policies and programmes, that the sole aim and object of the Congress is to annihilate every other organisation in the country and to set itself up as a fascist and authoritarian organisation of the worst type Having regard to the 35 million voters the bulk of whom are totally ignorant, illiterate and untutored, living in centuries old superstitions of the worst type, thoroughly antagonistic to each other, culturally and socially the working of this constitution has clearly brought out that it is impossible to work a democratic parliamentary government in India It has definitely resulted in permanent communal majority government ruling over minorities, exercising its powers and functions and utilising the machinery of government to establish the domination and supremacy of the majority communal rule over the minorities

[1]Press statement, *Daily Gazette*, 27 October 1939 The text of this statement also appeared in *Civil & Military Gazette*, 26 October 1939

"Therefore, in my judgment, apart from other reasons into which I need not go in detail, democracy can only mean Hindu Raj all over India This is a position to which Muslims will never submit Besides, there are 60 million untouchables and other minorities such as 6 million Christians, Jews Parsis and the Domiciled British Therefore, the Muslim League after very careful consideration, has come to the conclusion that the entire problem of India s future constitution must be considered *de novo*, and that no declaration or commitment should be made by His Majesty s Government without the approval and consent of the Muslim League, which is the only authoritative and representative organisation of the Muslims of India

We want Freedom

'The British public may be misled by certain propaganda that the Muslims are against the freedom of India We want freedom and liberty, but the question is whose freedom and liberty? Muslim India wants to be free and enjoy liberty to the fullest extent and develop its own political, economic social and cultural institutions according to its own genius and not to be dominated and crushed while wishing Hindu India well and giving it fullest scope to do likewise

'I know that the Englishman who has developed in his own country a system of parliamentary government cannot think of anything else but what has worked and been developed through the centuries as the only pattern for every other country in the world But he must dismiss from his mind the experiments tried in Canada and Australia where after all the foundations of the Government are suited to the genius of the people mainly British in stock It is very doubtful as to how it will work in South Africa where there are two powerful rival communities like the Boers and the British, and even here the differences between them are not so fundamental as between Hindus and Muslims Even Ireland after decades of union did not submit to the British Parliament in spite of the close affinity with the British and the Scotch I may refer to Lord Morley's dictum that the furcoat of Canada would not do for the extremely tropical climate of India

Detrimental Claim

'The Congress insistence that they and they alone represent the peoples of India is not only without any foundation but is highly detrimental to the progress and advancement of India They know that they do not represent the whole of India not even all the Hindus and certainly not the Muslims who are often wrongly described as a minority in the ordinary sense as understood in the West They are in a majority in the North West and Bengal, all along the corridor stretching from Karachi to Calcutta That part of the Indian Continent alone has double the population of Great Britain and more than ten times the area Until the Congress come down to earth and face realities they will be wholly responsible for blocking the progress of India and unless they give up the fascist and authoritarian basis of their policy and programme which they are vigorously following there cannot be any peace in India

Muslim League Schemes

Mr Jinnah was next asked for his views regarding certain schemes put forward by the Muslim League leaders like Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and his proposals for Coalition Ministries in the provinces, representing the Congress and the Muslim League Mr Jinnah said

> There are many proposals and schemes, and importance is attached to these schemes, particularly to the one suggested by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan in view of the position he holds in the League and as the Premier of the Punjab Although his proposals may create an impression that they have emanated indirectly from the Muslim League I want to make it clear that the League is not responsible for any of them, directly or indirectly
>
> 'As a matter of fact, we have appointed a Sub Committee to examine the whole question thoroughly and when this Sub Committee has made its report it will be examined by the Working Committee of the League in order to take such steps as it may think proper Until that stage has been reached the Muslim League feels in no way bound by any schemes or proposals that are propounded by various people ' — AP

203 Khaksars and UP Government[1]

New Delhi, October 26: Mr M A Jinnah, in a statement to the Associated Press, says

> Dr Katju saw me in Delhi on October 18 on behalf of the United Provinces Government in connection with the situation created with regard to the Khaksars, and I placed before him the proposals of the Khaksars, and after a full discussion he promised me that he would go back to Lucknow and confer with his colleagues and finally let me know on or before October 25 how far the United Provinces Government are prepared to meet the demands formulated by the Khaksars
>
> "I received from him last night the proposals on behalf of the Government showing how far they are prepared to meet the Khaksars' demands I have forwarded the U P Government's proposals in answer to the Khaksars' demands to Allama Mashraqi today for him to consider and deal with them in such manner as he may be advised
>
> 'I make it clear that my position from the commencement was not that of an arbitrator nor had either party agreed to abide by my advice I tried to bring about a settlement between the Khaksars, as their sympathiser and friend and the U P Government in the best interest of the Musalmans of India as the situation was causing enormous feeling among Musalmans all over India " — AP

[1]Press statement, *Civil & Military Gazette*, 27 October 1939

204 Inquiry Against Congress Ministries — Rajendra Prasad's Offer "A Travesty of Justice"[1]

New Delhi, October 27 Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has issued the following statement to the Press

'What can one think of the responsible leaders of the Congress including Mr Gandhi? Mr Gandhi, in his article in the *Harijan*, dated October 21,[2] starts by stating that in my reply to the Congress President Dr Rajendra Prasad s letter which offered to refer the Congress League question to an arbitration tribunal, I said that I had already placed the whole case before His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General Mr Gandhi said It is unfortunate that he has rejected Rajendra Babu s proposal Is it a rejection of the hand of friendship?' I ask any intelligent man to judge for himself whether it was an offer to refer the Congress League question to arbitration In some other quarters it is said that the hand of friendship which was offered in that letter had been rejected Let us examine the whole position

Dr Rajendra Prasad in his letter said that he would get the Congress Working Committee to pass a resolution to appoint Sir Maurice Gwyer or some other person to investigate only any specific charges which we formulate against the Ministries of the Congress governed provinces ' The first question arises as to what is the authority of the Working Committee legal or constitutional Our allegations are against the Ministries of certain provinces which are responsible to their legislatures and to the electorates of their respective provinces It is true that the Congress Working Committee is a Fascist Grand Council and the Congress Ministries have been reduced to a position of being merely their creatures But we cannot acquiesce in that position The party accused are not only the Ministries but also the Congress Working Committee whose ukase is carried out by the Ministries

"A Travesty of Justice"

Now let us see how the President of the Congress begins his offer He starts by saying that our allegations and charges are without any foundation whatsoever So the accused has already passed his judgment and given his decision But after that he proceeds that he will get the Congress Working Committee to pass a resolution to appoint an impartial and independent tribunal if we specify our charges So they have already decided the terms of reference and the scope and authority of the tribunal Then again what power can they confer upon the tribunal to summon witnesses to take evidence on oath and call for the production of documents that might be required Furthermore to whom would this independent and impartial tribunal make its report for any action to be taken in the light of its findings? I suppose to the Congress Working Committee the accused, who will be the judge finally as to what action if any was to be taken against the Ministries concerned

It is a mentality which has gone beyond any sense of responsibility The whole thing would be a travesty of justice — Associated Press

[1] Press statement *Statesman* 28 October 1939

[2] See Director Publications Division Government of India *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* Vol LXX 16 July — 30 November 1939 New Delhi 1977 pp 258 61 for the text of this article entitled The Fiction of Majority in which besides the above Gandhi also condemns the British for not conceding the Congress demand for a Constituent Assembly by advancing the minority claim

205. Congress Quitting Ministries — "Interim Ministries Inadvisable"[1]

New Delhi, October 27: The attitude that the Muslim League will adopt when the Congress Ministries resign is indicated by Mr Jinnah in a statement to the Associated Press He says

"I have already sent to the Viceroy a copy of the resolution of the Working Committee about the Working Committee s decision taken on October 22 Until I hear from him I do not wish to express any opinion with regard to the debate that took place in the House of Commons and particularly the speech made by Sir Samuel Hoare on behalf of the British Government I have been informed that the Madras Ministry has tendered its resignation and that other Congress Ministries may similarly follow

"So far as the Muslim League Parties are concerned in the various legislatures, although it is premature to decide finally as to what course we should adopt it seems to me that it would be inadvisable to consider the question of forming interim ministries where the Congress Party is in an overwhelming majority In the event of the Governors deciding to act under Section 93 we shall have to consider the terms of the proclamation and the provisions that may be embodied therein"

[1]Press statement, *Civil & Military Gazette*, 28 October 1939

206 Talks At Viceregal Lodge — "I am Fed up"[1]

New Delhi, November 1 Today's talks at Viceregal Lodge between the Viceroy and the leaders, Mr Jinnah, Mr Gandhi and Dr Rajendra Prasad, lasted just over an hour A general feeling of pessimism exists here in certain circles Discussions have been adjourned but it is not known when they will be resumed No indication, however, is available as to whether any hitch against a common agreement between the parties arose but the inconclusive nature of the conversations give rise to a ray of hope yet for settlement

Prior to proceeding to the Viceroy's House Mr Gandhi, Dr Rajendra Prasad and Mr Mahadev Desai drove to Mr Jinnah's residence and were closeted for over half an hour The leaders entered Viceregal Lodge exactly at 3 p m and emerged after the conversations at 4-5 p m They drove again straight to Mr Jinnah's residence and further discussions took place between Mr Jinnah, Mr Gandhi and Dr Rajendra Prasad for nearly 30 minutes

"I am fed up"

Pressmen waiting outside Mr Jinnah's residence discovered distinctly some change in the attitude of the leaders after the Viceregal talks compared to the friendly atmosphere which prevailed earlier All the three leaders refused to say anything to the Press and Mr Jinnah is understood to have remarked "I am tired, I am fed up I have nothing to say" From the available indications, it would seem that Mr Jinnah has placed all his cards on the table during the Viceregal talks and further responsibility rests with the Congress and the Government to say whether they accept or reject Mr Jinnah's demands That Pandit Nehru and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad reported to have been summoned to Delhi by the Congress President immediately to participate in the talks would seem to suggest that the major hitch lies in formulating a settlement of the communal and minorities' question As it stands today, the situation does not hold out much hope for common agreement

[1] News report, *Star of India*, 2 November 1939

207. "Determined to Fight to the Last Ditch"[1]

New Delhi, November 6. Mr M A Jinnah has issued the following statement to the Press

"I have carefully read the article of Mr Gandhi on Hindu Muslim unity reproduced from the *Harijan* in the local papers of this morning[2] It has shocked me that the association for which there is not the slightest foundation should have been broadcast in an article penned by Mr Gandhi He could not have said anything worse about me or about the Musalmans of India at this juncture Mr Gandhi says 'Janab Jinnah Sahib looks to the British power to safeguard the Muslim rights Nothing that the Congress can do or concede will satisfy him, for he can always and naturally from his own standpoint ask for more than the British can give or guarantee Therefore, there can be no limit to the Muslim League demands'

"This is far from the truth and is a libel on the whole Muslim community of India of which a person in the position of Mr Gandhi should not have been guilty Mr Gandhi further says that the Congress does not represent the Hindus It certainly does not represent the Musalmans and one would like to know then whom it does actually represent Mr Gandhi further says that the Congress had never represented the Hindus as such 'That function is claimed by the Hindu Mahasabha' I have made it abundantly clear on more than one occasion and it has been proved to demonstration that the Congress is a Hindu body It is the same coin with a stamp on one side of the Hindu Mahasabha and on the other that of the Congress and what one speaks out openly the other practises I assure Mr Gandhi that the Musalmans of India depend upon their own inherent strength We are determined to fight and fight to the last ditch for rights to which we are entitled in spite of the British or the Congress We do not depend upon anybody

[1]Press statement *Civil & Military Gazette* 7 November 1939

[2]The full text of Gandhi's article referred to in the statement is given below

HINDU MUSLIM UNITY Hindu Muslim Unity means communal unity No pact seems to be in front of us Janab Jinnah Saheb looks to the British power to safeguard the Muslim rights Nothing that the Congress can do or concede will satisfy him For he can always and naturally from his own standpoint ask for more than the British can give or guarantee Therefore there can be no limit to the Muslim League demands So far as the Congress is concerned it does not represent all Hindus or all of any single community except in the sense that the Congress represents all because all are believed to desire independence for the country and the Congress is without a rival in fighting for that goal In fact the Congress is the only national army the country possesses It is not the less but all the more an army for its being non violent It has been the unbroken tradition of the Congress to refuse to represent any but the national interest It has certainly never represented the Hindus as such That function is claimed by the Hindu Mahasabha just as that of solely representing Muslim interests is claimed by the Muslim League

The only course left open to the Congress therefore is to state its own communal policy for the guidance of Congress men no matter to which community they belong The Congress should have no quarrel with the League for getting all it can through the British Power An institution that is fighting that power will never put itself in the wrong by fighting the Muslims **Segaon, October 30, 1939**, ***Harijan*, 4 11 1939** Cited in *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* Vol LXX op cit pp 318-19

208 Participation in Viceroy's EC — Congress Reject Offer[1]

The following is the relevant correspondence regarding the recent Viceregal talks[2] with the Muslim League President and Congress representatives at Delhi last week

Letter from His Excellency the Viceroy to Mr M K Gandhi, Dr Rajendra Prasad, President of the All India National Congress, and Mr M A Jinnah, MLA, President, All India Muslim League, dated the Viceroy's House, New Delhi, November 2, 1939

You will remember that I agreed during our conversations yesterday to let you have in concrete form the proposition which I put to you and the other gentlemen who were present at the meeting emphasizing that I did so with a genuine desire to help a desire fully shared by His Majesty's Government

The proposition which I invited you and the other gentlemen present to consider, as leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League was that given the great importance of ensuring harmonious working at the Centre you should enter upon discussions between yourselves with a view to discovering whether you could reach a basis of agreement between yourselves in the provincial field, consequent on which you could let me have proposals which would result in representatives of your two organizations immediately participating in the Central Government as members of my Executive Council I brought out, too that in my judgment it ought not to be necessary absolutely to resolve every detail of such differences as may exist in the provinces What was required as was remarked in the course of the discussion was a degree of agreement in respect of the provinces such as to make it possible for my visitors and the organisations which they represented to put forward a scheme which could be considered for the Centre

I added, in regard to any arrangement at the Centre First, that one would hope that it may be found practicable to include also one or possibly more representatives of other important groups, and that that was a question on which I should value your advice when we come to grapple with the details

'Secondly that the arrangement which I invited you to consider for the Centre would be an *ad hoc* arrangement for the period of the war and quite distinct from the much wider question of constitutional reform at the end of the war and I mentioned that on that last point my declaration had set out the position of His Majesty's Government I attach a copy of the extracts from that declaration which I brought to the notice of the meeting yesterday

[1] Correspondence, *Star of India,* 7 November 1939
[2] See appendix XV

'Thirdly, that the position of anyone appointed to my Executive Council as a member of a political party would be identical in privileges and in obligations, with that of the existing members of my Council

And fourthly, that the arrangement would be within the general scheme of the existing law It would be admittedly and inevitably a makeshift arrangement for the duration of the campaign I brought out that what was required now, if we could get a workable scheme together, was to put it into operation with as little delay as possible pending the more general position which His Majesty's Government have expressed their readiness to undertake after the conclusion of hostilities

'I think the above makes the position clear Let me in conclusion repeat that, as I said yesterday, I am at any time at your disposal or that of the other gentlemen who attended our meeting whether jointly or singly, to give any assistance in my power in reaching conclusions on these most important matters I feel certain as I said yesterday, that the suggestions I have put to you, reflecting as they do very real and substantial evidence of the anxiety of His Majesty's Government to reach a complete understanding, will receive full and sympathetic consideration from you '

Enclosure — Extracts from the Viceroy's declaration of October 18, 1939

'His Majesty's Government recognize that when the time comes to resume consideration of the plan for the future Federal Government of India and of the plan destined to give effect to the assurances given in Parliament by the late Secretary of State it will be necessary to reconsider in the light of the then circumstances to what extent the details of the plan embodied in the Act of 1935 remain appropriate And I am authorized now by His Majesty s Government to say that at the end of the war they will be very willing to enter into consultation with representatives of the several communities, parties, and interests in India and with the Indian Princes with a view to securing their aid and co operation in the framing of such modifications as may seem desirable '

I added I trust in what I have just said I have made clear that the intention and the anxiety of His Majesty's Government is, as stated in the instrument of instructions to the Governor-General to further the partnership between India and the United Kingdom within the Empire to the end that India may attain her due place among the great Dominions The scheme of Government embodied in the Act of 1935 was designed as an essential stage in that process But I have made clear in what I have just said that His Majesty's Government will, at the end of the war, be prepared to regard the scheme of the Act as open to modification in the light of Indian views And I would make it clear too, that it will be their object, as at all times in the past it has been to spare no pains to further agreement by any means in their power in the hope of contributing to the ordered and harmonious progress of India towards her goal

I remarked finally, speaking of the demands of the minorities for an assurance that full weight would be given to their views and interests

'It is unthinkable that we should now proceed to plan afresh or to modify in any respect any important part of India s future constitution without again taking counsel with those who have in the recent past been so closely associated in a like task with His Majesty's Government and with Parliament '

Congress Refusal to Negotiate

Letter from Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, to His Excellency the Viceroy, dated November 4, 1939

With reference to the joint interview which Mr Gandhi Dr Rajendra Prasad, President of the Congress and myself had with you on November 1, and in reply to your letter, dated November 2 I beg to inform you that I understood that the Congress leaders and myself were to consider the proposals of Your Excellency namely — to quote from Your Excellency's letter — 'the proposition which I invited you and the other gentlemen present to consider as leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League was that, given the great importance of ensuring harmonious working at the Centre you should enter upon discussions between yourselves in the provincial field consequent on which you could let me have proposals which would result in representatives of your two organizations immediately participating in the Central Government as members of my Executive Council I brought out too that in my judgment it ought not to be necessary absolutely to resolve every detail of such differences as may exist in the provinces What was required as was remarked in the course of the discussion was a degree of agreement in respect of the provinces such as to make it possible for my visitors and the organizations which they represented to put forward a scheme which could be considered for the Centre without prejudice to the resolution of the Muslim League of October 22, stating that the declaration of Your Excellency on behalf of His Majesty s Government was not satisfactory and required further clarification and assurances and also without prejudice to the demand of the Congress for a declaration as adumbrated in the resolution of the All India Congress Committee on October 10 1939

'In consequence I met the leaders of the Congress and I was informed by them finally that they had come to the conclusion that they could not discuss any questions with regard to matters referred to in your letter of the 2nd instant relating to the provincial field or at the Centre until the British Government had complied with their demand as embodied in the resolution of the All India Congress Committee hence these two questions were not further discussed " — API

209. Neither Britain Nor Congress Can "Foist" a Constitution on Muslims[1]

Bombay, November 7: "I am always willing to come to a settlement with my Hindu brethren on equal terms. I have no ill-will against them", said Mr M A Jinnah, addressing a Muslim meeting this evening in Bombay.

After the declaration of the war, said Mr Jinnah, a grave situation has arisen in this country. Mr Gandhi was so moved when he visualised the destruction of Westminster Abbey and the Houses of Parliament that he offered the unconditional support of the Congress to the British cause. But he found himself in a minority of one in this attitude. The Working Committee and the All India Congress Committee passed resolutions demanding that the Congress would not support or co-operate with Britain in the prosecution of the war unless Britain made India a free and independent nation with freedom for the people to frame a constitution by a constituent assembly elected on the basis of the widest possible franchise. But the British Government declared that they reserved for themselves the entire and complete right to frame the constitution for India, after consulting the various interests in the country. While both claimed the right to be the sole arbiter and judge in the matter, the position of the Muslim League was that they did not recognise the rights of either to foist on the Muslims a constitution which did not meet with the agreement and approval of the Muslim League. And we shall fight to the last ditch to see that such a constitution is not foisted on us. The minorities, added Mr Jinnah, had a right to see that not only their interests were protected but to know what sort of constitution was applied to the country.

"Fascist Grand Council"

With Muslim majority in four provinces, Mr Jinnah observed it was wrong to say that Muslims were a minority community. He was willing to come to an agreement with his Hindu brethren on terms of absolute equality, and not as a minority community with a majority community. He said he had no ill-will towards the Hindus, but so long as the present High Command of the Congress remained as a sort of "Fascist Grand Council", there was little hope of a settlement. Mr Jinnah next refuted the cry that the Muslim League had denounced democracy. Democracy in the abstract was quite different from democracy as practised. Democracy was like the chameleon, changing its complexion according to the

[1]Public speech. *Civil & Military Gazette*, 9 November 1939.

environment Democracy was not the same in England as it was in France or America Islam believed in equality, liberty and fraternity, but not the democracy of the western type — the democratic parliamentary system in which party government was the basic principle of the constitution Such a system had failed in India where the Hindus were in a majority of three to one against the Muslims

Mr Jinnah next proceeded to examine the democratic nature of the Congress organisation "Is it democracy if a Grand Fascist Council sitting in Wardha issues orders to Ministers in the provinces who are responsible to the legislatures? And the sole and final dictator of this Grand Fascist Council is not even a four anna member of this democratic organisation I ask those who preach truth to face problems, problems for which there is no parallel in the world Then will come the charter of freedom " — AP

210. Id Day Message — "Work for the Greater Good of All Human Beings"[1]

Bombay, November 13 Discipline, love and toleration were stressed by Mr M A Jinnah in a broadcast talk tonight on *Id-ul-Fitr* on this day of Id He said, there would be no worthier manifestation of the spirit that is kindled through fast and prayer than to resolve to bring about complete harmony "within our household, within our community and finally of all human beings" Briefly touching on politics Mr Jinnah declared that Muslims had their rights and claims in a future India But they would not be obstinate about them for obstinacy was the very negation of the spirit of love and toleration The following is the full text of the broadcast

"We, of the older generation have had our trials, but I wish to forget them tonight in the company of my friends particularly the young, and to touch, if I may the fresher springs of inspiration in their hearts for it is they who will henceforth have to bear the burden of our aspirations

The discipline of the Ramazan fast and prayer will culminate today into an immortal meekness of heart before God, but it shall not be the meekness of a weak heart, and they who would think so are doing wrong both to God and to the Prophet, for it is the outstanding paradox of all religions that the humble shall be the strong and it is of particular significance in the case of Islam, for Islam as you all know really means action The discipline of Ramazan was designed by our Prophet to give us the necessary strength for action And action implies society of man When our Prophet preached action he did not have in mind only the solitary life of a single human being the deeds he accomplishes only within himself the prayer and all it involves spiritually

According to the Holy Quran a very real connection exists between prayer and life You will remember how many and wonderful are the opportunities given to us to meet our fellow beings to study them, to understand them and through understanding serve them and you will notice that all these opportunities have been created by laying down the law for prayers Five times during the day we have to collect in the mosque of our *mohalla* [area] then every week on Friday we have to gather in the biggest mosque in the town then again once a year we have to congregate in the biggest mosque outside the town on the Id day and lastly, there is the Haj to which Muslims from all parts of the world journey once at least in their lifetime to commune with God in the House of God You will have noticed that this plan of our prayers must necessarily bring us into contact not only with other Muslims but also with members of all communities whom we must encounter on our way I don't think that these injunctions about our prayers could have been merely a happy accident I am convinced that they were designed thus to afford men opportunities of fulfilling their social instincts

[1]Broadcast Talk *Star of India* 14 November 1939

'Man has indeed been called God's caliph in the Quran, and if that description of man is to be of any significance it imposes upon us a duty to follow the Quran, to behave towards others as God behaves towards His mankind In the wide t sense of the word, this duty is the duty of love and to forbear And this, believe me, is not a negative duty but a positive one If we have any faith in love and toleration towards God s children, to whatever community they may belong, we must act upon that faith in the daily round of our simple duties and unobtrusive pieties On this day of Id, there will be no worthy manifestation of the spirit that is kindled in us through fast and prayer than to resolve to bring about a complete harmony within our household within our community and within our country with all its variety of religion and creeds and to work whether in private life or public for no selfish ends but for the greater good of all our countrymen and finally of all human beings

Communal Strife

It is a great ideal and it will demand effort and sacrifice Not seldom will your minds be assailed by doubts There will be conflicts not only material, which you perhaps will be able to resolve with courage, but spiritual also We shall have to face them and if today when our hearts are humble we do not imbide that higher courage to do so, we never shall All our leaders both Muslim and Hindu continue to be pained at communal strifes I shall not enter into the history of its causes but there will arise moments when the minds of men will be worked up and then differences will assume the character of a conflict It is at such moments that I shall ask you to remember your Id prayer and to reflect for a while if we could not avoid them in the light of the guidance given to us by our Quran and that mighty spirit which is Islam I would ask you to remember in these moments that no injunction is considered by our Holy Prophet more imperative or more divinely binding than the devout but supreme realisation of our duty of love and toleration towards all other human beings

' All social regeneration and political freedom must finally depend on something that has a deeper meaning in life And that, if you will allow me to say so is Islam and Islamic spirit It is not great speeches and big conferences only that make politics Several young men have been coming to me to know how they could serve their country Well, young friends, if I touch upon politics tonight, it is only to tell you as a word of advice that we have our rights and our claims in a future India But we shall not be obstinate about them for obstinacy will be the negation of that spirit of love and toleration which should fall upon us on this Id day and whose blessings the Prophet commands us to communicate to others But each one of us can serve our country by disciplining himself and discipline is the essence of this holy period Is one regular in one's habits, get up at the proper time and have one s meals at the proper time? Does one sleep at the proper time? Does one keep to the left of the road or abstain from throwing litter on the road? Is one honest and sincere in one's work? Does one render such help as one can to others? Is one tolerant? These may seem small matters but in them is the nucleus of a self discipline which will be of immense value in the combined effort of all communities and all creeds towards a greater India This will be a service to our country which may not bring you into the limelight of politics but it will assure you a lasting peace in your heart in the knowledge that you have contributed your share to making the politician's task easier

"I am coming to the end of my brief talk. As I do so, I remember John Morley's[1] book *On Compromise*. I usually dislike recommending books to young people, but I think you all ought to read that book not only once but over and over again. There is a good chapter in it on the limits of compromise and the lesson it teaches regarding the pursuit of truth and the limitations on our actions in practice are worth pondering over. In the pursuit of truth and cultivation of beliefs we should be guided by our rational interpretation of the Quran and if our devotion to truth is single-minded we shall, in our own measure, achieve our goal. In the translation of this truth into practice, however, we shall be content with so much, and so much only, as we can achieve without encroaching on the rights of others, while at the same time not ceasing our efforts always to achieve more. Finally, I would urge you never to forget that Islam expects every Muslim to do his duty by his people." — API

[1] 1838-1923. Secretary of State for India 1905-10, a distinguished man of letters, his chief works being *Edmund Burke* 1867, *Voltaire* 1871, *Rousseau* 1873, *On Compromise* 1874, *Cobden* 1881, *Oliver Cromwell* 1900, *Gladstone* 1903 and *Recollections* 1917.

211 Appeals to Bengal and Assam Muslims — "Support Wholeheartedly ML"[1]

Mr Muhammad Asghar, President of the Borhanpur District Muslim League, C P, and a member of the Muslim Minority Deputation to Assam, arrived in Calcutta on Saturday He lunched with the Hon Mr H S Suhrawardy, Secretary, Bengal Provincial Muslim League, and later left for Dhubri the same afternoon

Mr Jinnah's Message

Before leaving Calcutta, Mr Asghar received the following message from Mr M A Jinnah

> 'Tell the people of Bengal and Assam If the Muslims wish to have an honourable place in the Sun of India, there is only one course open to them, and that is to establish one flag one platform and one voice, and that can only be done by supporting wholeheartedly the All India Muslim League '

[1] Message *Star of India*, 20 November 1939

212. CP ML Conference — Wishes Success[1]

Jubbulpore. The arrangements for holding the Muslim League Conference in the end of December of this year is well in hand The site selected is Id Gah of Jubbulpore in preference to other half a dozen sites suggested This place provides free electric connection, stone flooring and pucca enclosure It can accommodate more than 25,000 people at a time The place was visited and the local authorities are being approached to grant the exclusive right of the front road and the land on both sides of it which belongs to the Nazul department The Municipal Committee has been requested to arrange for cleaning the road side, arranging the water taps and other amenities of life Vacant houses and bungalows nearby, are being made ready to accommodate the vast number of guests expected

Leaders of all-India repute are being requested to attend the Conference An Urdu section is being arranged with an All-India Mushaira Mr M A Jinnah has sent the following good wishes for the Conference

> "I am very glad that you are holding a Provincial Muslim League Conference in the last week of December I wish you all success

A tour of Alhaj Maulana Burhanul Haq and Mr Tajuddin office-bearers of the local League in the adjoining Districts is being arranged to propagate the cause of the League and to make the Conference a success

[1]News report, *Star of India* 2 December 1939

213 Departure of Congress Governments — Appeals to Muslims to Observe "Day of Deliverance"[1]

Bombay, December 6 Mr M A Jinnah, President, All India Muslim League, has issued the following statement

I wish the Muslims all over India to observe Friday December 22, as the day of deliverance and thanksgiving as a mark of relief that the Congress Governments have at last ceased to function I hope that the Provincial District and Primary Leagues all over India will hold public meetings and pass the following resolution, with such modifications as they may be advised and offer prayers by way of thanksgiving for being delivered from the unjust Congress regime

I trust that all public meetings will be conducted in an orderly manner and with all due sense of humility, and nothing should be done which will cause offence to any other community because it is the High Command of the Congress that is primarily responsible for the wrongs that have been done to the Muslims and other minorities

The Resolution

"**Resolution** This public meeting of the Muslims of (name of the place) records its opinion that the Congress Ministry has conclusively demonstrated and proved the falsehood of the Congress claim that it represents all interests justly and fairly by its decidedly anti Muslim policy It is the considered opinion of this meeting that the Congress Ministry has failed to safeguard the rights and interests of the Muslims and other minorities interests

That the Congress Ministry both in the discharge of their duties of the administration and in the legislature have done their best to flout the Muslim opinion to destroy Muslim culture and have interfered with their religious and social life and trampled upon their economic and political rights

That in matters of difference and disputes the Congress Ministry invariably have sided with, supported and advanced the cause of the Hindus in total disregard and to the prejudice of the Muslim interests

The Congress Government constantly interfered with the legitimate and routine duties of the district officers even in petty matters to the serious detriment of the Muslims and thereby created an atmosphere which spread the belief amongst the Hindu public that there was established a Hindu Raj and emboldened the Hindus mostly Congress men to ill treat Muslims at various places and interfere with their elementary rights of freedom

This meeting therefore expresses its deep sense of relief at the termination of the Congress regime in various provinces and rejoices in observing this day as the 'Day of Deliverance from tyranny oppression and injustice during the last two and a half years

[1]Press statement *Star of India*, 7 December 1939 See appendix XVI, Liaquat s statement 10 December 1939

and prays to God to grant such strength, discipline and organisation to Muslim India as to successfully prevent the advent of such a Ministry again and to establish a truly popular Ministry, which would do even justice to all communities and interests

Appeal to Viceroy

"This meeting urges upon His Excellency the Governor of (name of the place) and his Council of Advisers to inquire into the legitimate grievances of the Muslims and the wrongs done to them by the outgoing Congress Ministry, and redress the same at the earliest moment in accordance with the announcements that have been made by the Governors in taking over the Government of various provinces under Section 93 of the Government of India Act of 1935 and thus assure people that the new regime stands for even justice to all communities and interests concerned" — API

214 Justifies Observance of "Day of Deliverance"[1]

Bombay, December 9 On it being pointed out to Mr Jinnah that his appeal to Muslims to celebrate 'A Day of Deliverance and Thanksgiving' was ill-timed in view of the imminent Congress-League talks, Mr Jinnah explained the circumstances which led to the release of his statement at this particular time He said

The Muslim League was fully justified in breathing a sigh of relief on the departure of Ministries inimical to Muslim interests and in praying our popular Ministries fully representing the popular rather than a Party will This is all that he asked the Muslims to do

He had decided to issue this appeal weeks ago as soon as the first Ministry resigned and had written to the League Secretary in Delhi to this effect The matter was, however, delayed due to the Assam Ministry not resigning at the same time as the others, and it was then decided to wait till the new Ministry was fully established and as soon as this occurred, the League Secretary issued the appeal from Delhi It is thus clear that the issue of the appeal on the eve of these talks was sheer coincidence

As regards the imminent Jinnah-Jawaharlal talks, the only thing Mr Jinnah would like to say on their eve was what he had stated in his answer to Mr Gandhi's message to the *News Chronicle* and that was that while he was entirely opposed to the Constituent Assembly proposal, he appealed to Mr Gandhi to apply his mind to the far more real problem of Hindu-Muslim unity and assured Mr Gandhi that he was anxious to do what lay in his power to bring about a settlement honourable to both Congress and the League

It was in this spirit alone that he awaited the forthcoming talks with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru — API

[1] Press statement, *Star of India*, 9 December 1939

215. Congress Ministries — Wants Inquiry by a Royal Commission[1]

Bombay, December 13 Mr M A Jinnah has issued the following statement

"A great deal of unnecessary controversy has arisen over my appeal to Muslims to celebrate December 22 as a day of deliverance from oppression and, since the guilty do not admit their guilt and public memory is short, I consider it advisable simply to trace the events that led to, and the reasons that prompted this appeal To commence with the suggested resolution says nothing more or less than has been said on many previous occasions The very first complaint against Congress rule was made by me very shortly after they took office and, in my speech at the Lucknow session of the Muslim League 1937, I complained against the compulsory singing of *Bande Mataram* the question of the Congress flag and the supplanting of Urdu by Hindi and even then I called upon the Governors to exercise their special powers

Congress Caucus Gathered Speed

"From then onwards the Congress caucus like the proverbial steamroller gathered speed and complaints of oppression began to pour into the Central Office These became so numerous that the Council decided to appoint, in March, 1938, the Pirpur Committee which after an elaborate and painstaking investigation over all the Congress provinces, submitted its report at the Patna session in December 1938 The following resolution was there passed at a full session

That having regard to the atrocities that have been committed and that the elementary rights of the Muslims have been trampled upon in a systematic manner in Bihar U P and C P and that the Governors of these provinces have failed to redress their grievances or protect even the elementary rights of the Musalmans in these provinces in spite of all constitutional method adopted so far by the Muslims this session of the All India Muslim League is therefore of opinion that the time has now come to authorise the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League to decide and resort to 'Direct Action if and when necessary

'During this time in order to prevent direct action being resorted to I was repeatedly urging both the Governors and the Governor General in person and by correspondence, to exercise their special powers and to take executive action to safeguard the rights and interests of the minorities placed by the Constitution under their protection and it was only on the 17th April 1939 that the Viceroy intimated that he would take up the matter As regards the Congress Ministries our complaints were dismissed as false, frivolous and vexatious and even Mr Gandhi before whom I placed our charges as far back as May 1938 side tracked the question by writing 'I believe Congress Committees have been advised to avoid as far as possible all occasions of friction over *Bande Mataram*

[1]Press statement, *Tribune* 14 December 1939

and the flag The first two demands have come upon an unexpecting public Nevertheless they undoubtedly have to be examined on their merits, but it does not appear to me to be fair to anticipate the result of the joint committees which, I hope, will come into being without any hitch

"With no redress Muslims in certain provinces grew restive and, in the C P ignoring the Working Committee altogether, resorted to direct action over the *Vidya Mandir* Scheme

Direct Action Not Encouraged

'I may state here that at no stage did the Working Committee favour or encourage direct action and on request being received from Bihar in July 1939 for permission to launch direct action the Working Committee instructed the Bihar Muslim League to place the whole case before the Governor General, the Governor and the Prime Minister and to report later the result of their representation Similar advice was given to the other Muslim Leagues who contemplated similar measures Complaints however, continued to pour in and on the 27th August 1939 the Council of the League at Delhi passed the following resolution

(a) Resolved that this Council while deploring the policy of the British Government towards the Muslims of India by attempting to force upon them against their will a constitution and in particular the Federal Scheme as embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935 which allows a permanent hostile communal majority to trample upon their religious, political, social and economic rights, and the utter neglect and indifference shown by the Viceroy and the Governors in the Congress governed Provinces in exercising their special powers to protect and secure justice to the minorities "

In September war was declared and on the 17th of that month, the Working Committee reaffirmed the above resolution as one of the fundamental conditions of Muslim support and the Viceroy realising the gravity of the situation pressed Mr Gandhi and the Congress leaders to come to an agreement with the Muslim League in the provincial sphere on a coalition basis for at least the duration of the war Consequently Babu Rajendra Prasad wrote on the 5th October that the Congress was prepared to request Sir Maurice Gwyer or some other suitable person to investigate any specific charges which the Muslim League might formulate against the Ministries of the Congress governed Provinces

Unsound and Unpractical

"I considered this proposal unsound and unpractical for the following reasons First, legally and constitutionally, the Congress Working Committee has no place or power in the Constitution Secondly the complaints of the Muslims and other minorities were directed against the Governments of certain provinces who were responsible to the legislatures and the electorates and not to the Working Committee Thirdly, the proposed resolution of the Working Committee could not confer upon the contemplated tribunal the necessary power to summon witnesses and administer oaths Nor could the tribunal compel the production of documents that might be required and finally I wished to know to whom the tribunal was to report and who would be the final authority to take action,

if any, against the Ministries If this final authority was the Working Committee, I pointed out that, in my opinion, it was the Working Committee itself that was primarily responsible for the injustices and the wrongs committed and I also could not believe that any adequate action would be taken against the Ministries in view of the fact that the Working Committee had already decided that the Muslim League's charges were false and unfounded

I also informed Babu Rajendra Prasad that I had already placed the whole matter before the Governor-General and had requested him to take executive action without delay to safeguard and to secure justice for the minorities I must explain at this stage, that I have never asked either the Governor General or the Governors to act as a judicial tribunal as is suggested in Mr Gandhi s appeal to me What I asked them to do was to take executive action to redress our grievances and by intervention to secure justice and fair play Mr Gandhi's appeal to me to await the Viceroy's opinion is therefore based on a wrong assumption and even intervention is not possible now that the Congress Ministries have resigned For what then should I wait? However just after my letter to Babu Rajendra Prasad the Congress Ministries resigned to the very natural relief of Muslims and other minorities and I immediately decided to appeal for the observance of a day to express our relief and to show its intensity in a manner that would force ears that had hitherto been deaf to listen to us I might point out that if our appeals had been heard at the proper time no such action on our part would now be necessary

This appeal has been variously described as ill timed provocative and anti national and that the Muslims are asked to gloat over the departure of an elected government and to welcome an official administration I gladly deal with these points As regards time my appeal could not appear before it did for reasons already made public and its connection or effect on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru s visit is dealt with by me at the end of my statement

As regards provocation let me point out the words of my appeal I trust that all public meetings will be conducted in an orderly manner with all due sense of humility and nothing should be done which will cause offence to any community ' However to make quite clear my insistence that the day is observed in such spirit, I again state that I look to all districts and primary Leagues to ensure that the meetings are held in that spirit Let there be no *hartals* [strike] processions or such demonstrations, but let a spirit of humility and a mood of reflection prevail There is relief and gratitude in our hearts, not joy or triumph Thirdly it is extremely unfair and unjust to contend that the Muslims welcome the present administration It is true that we urge upon them to inquire into our grievances and to redress them, but this is only because it is in their power to do so On the other hand, my appeal emphasizes that prayers should be offered for the establishment of truly popular Ministries, which would do even justice to all communities and interests

But there is one statement on my appeal that I cannot let pass coming as it does from such an authoritative source as the Chairman of the Congress Parliamentary Committee I am told that all our charges are totally false and unwarranted, and that was to be expected, but I must take notice of his declaration

Furthermore, every Premier at my instance had invited his Governor unhesitatingly to intervene in matters affecting the rights and the interests of the minorities whenever the Governor felt that the action of the Ministry was not correct When Mr Jinnah recently made the charges, I again instructed every Premier to invite his Governor's attention to them as they also affected him and I was informed that the Governors considered the charges unwarranted

'The above statement raises a very grave issue for it makes the Governors accessories after the fact Let me inform Mr Vallabhbhai Patel that we have overwhelming evidence in support of our case and far from shirking an inquiry, as is suggested, I insist that a thorough inquiry should now be made by a properly constituted tribunal vested with all necessary powers and I now ask that a Royal Commission be appointed by the British Government of a purely judicial personnel and composed of judges of his Majesty's High Court and under the chairmanship of one of the Law Lords of the Privy Council I cannot conceive of any objections to this demand from the Congress or any other quarter and call upon them to support my request

Before concluding I must deal with Mr Gandhi's appeal and Pandit Jawaharlal s visit I would have been inclined to respond to Mr Gandhi s appeal had he and other Congress leaders practised what they preached about the necessity for a cordial atmosphere in which a communal agreement might be arrived at May I remind them that a regular crusade beginning with Mr Gandhi himself is being carried on against the League since the Delhi conversations took place Mr Gandhi himself since my conversation with him in Delhi in October has in the *Harijan* described the Muslim League as an agent of imperialism as an obstacle and an obstruction in the way of India s freedom and progress and has stated that the Muslim League is insatiable in its demands since it can always look to the British Government to fulfil them He even threatens the Muslims that though they may be holding up the country at present they cannot do so for long

Further the Congress press and organisations are carrying on propaganda all over India and abroad discrediting the League and attempting to divide the ranks of the Muslims Let me give one out of many examples in my possession Mr Gandhi is, perhaps not aware that a secret letter from the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee, the present Congress President s own province issued from the Sadaqat Ashram, P O Dighaghat, Patna and addressed to the President of the District Congress Committee, Gaya which was pub lished in the *Star of India*[1] and which remains uncontradicted, says You are I hope convinced by this time that the one outstanding question before us awaiting solution is the attainment of Hindu-Muslim unity To achieve that end, it is essential that Congress minded and truly nationalist Musalmans of Hindustan

[1] ...lated 4 December 1939 publishing the text of the Bihar Congress Committee ...etter as part of letter entitled A Bihar Congress Circular' from one Mrs A D ...Naimuddin (Gaya) to the editor *Star of India* with a warning that its contents are ...significant and cannot fail to serve as an eye opener to many patriotic Indians, particularly Muslims ' The correspondent claims the letter to be 'a true copy without giving her source

have got to become vocal so that the stopper to all progress applied by the League should disappear.' It is hardly necessary for me to point that daily propaganda on these lines has the exact results that Mr Gandhi fears will ensue from my single appeal.

"Now to deal with the chief objection raised against my appeal, that it will prejudice the communal talks taking place between Pandit Nehru and myself. Let me inform the public that rather than approaching a settlement, as has been widely assumed, such discussions have yet to commence. The discussions between him and other Congress leaders and myself were of a purely political nature and related to the political demands made by the Congress at that time. This has been stated by Congress leaders themselves. I informed them at Delhi that I could not associate the Muslim League with any joint demand to the British Government till a Congress-League agreement had first been arrived at. I also informed them that no such agreement was possible till the Muslim League was recognised as the authoritative and the representative organisation of the Musalmans of India, and as this position was not acceptable to them the talks ended on this point, and on Pandit Nehru expressing a desire to see me again I gladly agreed and I look forward to his visit."— API

216 ML "Represents Muslim Nation More Truly"[1]

'Reply to Mr Gandhi's statement, on the Constituent Assembly, published in the *News chronicle* [New Era], 14 December 1939'

I would have preferred to remain silent, but I am compelled to counteract the vigorous one sided propaganda of the Congress, both in India and abroad and in fact it is only to defend the Muslim League that I speak at all

"It was not very long ago that Mr Gandhi gave an interview to an American journalist when he said in reply to a question, as to what his view was towards the parties in a democratic India, that there was only one party which could deliver the goods and that was the Congress Told that there was the Muslim League Mr Gandhi said I would not accept any other party except the Congress Then it was pointed out to him that if there was to be only one party in India the government would be fascist and not democratic Mr Gandhi replied 'Damn it by whatever name you may there can be only one party in India, and that is the Congress '

Suddenly Mr Gandhi who was always sceptical about a constituent assembly has now become an enthusiastic convert and its champion He has been misrepresenting and insinuating motives to the Muslim League recently — for instance that the League is an obstacle to the progress of the country and is out to sell itself to the highest bidder,' in his periodical articles published in the *Harijan* He generally indulges in a campaign of polemics and metaphysics, *ahimsa* and truth But his interview to the *News Chronicle* is for the consumption of the British public A more disingenuous statement it would be difficult to find coming from Mr Gandhi and it is a pity it comes from one who is a votary of truth His sudden affection for the Constituent Assembly is on a par with what he has only striven for two decades

The opinion that counts is Indian opinion not even the Congress opinion India s opinion can be ascertained by the free vote of her people The only true and democratic method is to ascertain their will through adult suffrage or any agreed equivalent The first question will be when he says, any agreed equivalent to adult suffrage — between whom is their agreement to be arrived at? Secondly, if Britain is not to depend on Muslim, Hindu or any other opinion not even Congress opinion, then what is India's opinion?

'Now that the Congress stands exposed that it does not represent India and that it is really a Hindu body Mr Gandhi is pleased suddenly to stand for a Constituent Assembly which, in the present conditions of India will mean a second and larger edition of the Congress Having brushed aside the Indian Princes ignoring their existence altogether he (Mr Gandhi) proceeds to lay down a most extraordinary proposition I fail to see he says 'why Britain's intention about India should be dependent upon Muslim Hindu or

[1] Statement, Jamil ud Din Ahmad (ed), *Speeches and Writings of Mr Jinnah*, op cit , pp 115 21

any other opinion Mr Gandhi then proceeds to say, So far as the Congress is concerned, the people of the Indian States should be represented precisely on the same footing as those of British India Who will arrange that? And how are electorates to be established there? And what is to happen to the Treaty rights and relationships between the British Government and the Indian Princes?

Then he proceeds Muslims and other accepted minorities may be represented by separate electorates if necessary ' This is a concession but there is no grace in it when he further proceeds to state that it should be done in exact proportion to their numbers He knows perfectly well that they will be in a hopeless minority in the Constituent Assembly of Mr Gandhi s conception where he hopes to get a brute majority against the Muslims including other minorities He makes a further concession that they will determine what is required for their protection ' Is the Constituent Assembly to be bound by the minority vote as to what is required for their protection and for each minority? And then comes the ominous clause which is fundamentally wrong and once more shows blind arrogance when he says that in all matters of common interest the composite majority decision should prevail Therefore the Muslims and other minorities will have to submit to the verdict of that Assembly as to the nature character and the form of the future constitution of India which will presumably be dictated by Mr Gandhi on behalf of the Congress as for instance Muslims and other minorities may prefer a bicameral legislature whereas the Congress controlled majority of the Assembly may decide against it — which according to Mr Gandhi will be final

' But evidently his newborn faith in the Constituent Assembly is getting shaken a bit already because he says if a better way than the Constituent Assembly could be found for knowing the will of the people so far as I know the Congress will accept it without hesitation ' Mr Gandhi is neither concerned with the size of the country nor the literacy of the masses A truly representative assembly presupposes that in order faithfully to express judgment of the people it can only be constituted if you have a fully developed public opinion an electorate educated and experienced free from superstition and capable of judging the vital political issues affecting the country and not as India stands today composed of castes creeds superstitions and provincial jealousies quite apart from the main division of British Indian States The assembly proposed by Mr Gandhi would at best therefore be a packed body manoeuvred and managed by the Congress caucus It is surprising when Mr Gandhi complacently says that an election campaign will itself be sufficient education for the purpose of broadly knowing the popular will But have we not had sufficient evidence, under the present Constitution though in smaller and more informed electorates? And what about the experience of the Congress (with its four anna franchise) of abuses of power and malpractices which were eloquently condemned by Mr Gandhi himself? It will not be the popular will as Mr Gandhi professes, but it will be the will of one community which is an overwhelming majority

But he is anxious, as a friend of Britain bound by many personal ties that she should come out victorious not because of superiority in the use of arms but because of her will to be just all along the line ' hence his anxiety to advise Britain to follow him to success in the war!

Mr Gandhi's notion of justice is to follow what he advises then alone it can be just I am constrained to say I wish Mr Gandhi will stop airing views which change from day to day and week to week, and which consistently perpetuate inconsistencies and apply his mind to the only and one question namely, setting the Hindu Muslim question as he, of all the Congress leaders is best fitted to represent the Hindus as such and he can deliver the goods on behalf of the Hindus and bring about complete adjustment between the two major communities and the rest will follow I need hardly reiterate that I am willing to help to the utmost of my power on behalf of the Muslims towards an honourable solution Apart from this academic discussion about a Constituent Assembly, it shows colossal ignorance, both historic and constitutional, to expect a foreign power that is dominating this country to sign its death warrant The Constituent Assembly can only be real when it has got the sovereign authority of the people behind it, forged by the people, and who are in a position to convene such supreme national body whose decisions and verdicts could be respected and honoured and whose fiats and writs could be enforced It is puerile to ask the British Government in the first instance, to call a constituent assembly of another nation and afterwards have the honour and privilege of placing the Constitution framed by this supreme assembly of India on the Statute Book of the British Parliament' — *New Era,* 14th December 1939

217. Deliverance Day "Move is not anti-Hindu"[1]

Bombay, December 17 Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has issued the following statement to the Press

In order to raise still further objections to the functions on December 22, it is now being said that my move is anti-Hindu and will arouse communal passions I greatly regret that in order to discredit the Muslim League the Congress should resort to such mischievous and dangerous propaganda Let me once more point out that our relief is from the oppression of the Congress regime only and is not in an way directed against our Hindu fellow countrymen as a community

"In fact our chief objection to the attitude of the Congress is that it totally prevents the Hindu and the Muslim communities from working together in a manner honourable to both The Muslim League stands for justice and fairplay to all whether Muslim or any other community and I am glad to have received encouragement and support not only from all minorities but from non Congress Hindus also Let me therefore take this opportunity to appeal to all Indians who believe that the conditions in India necessitate popular rather than party Governments which do justice to all sections of the people rather than to an irremovable majority to come forward now and to make known their views

"The functions on December 22 are not Muslim functions directed against their Hindu fellowmen as a community but a condemnation pure and simple of the regime of the Congress caucus I therefore most cordially invite all who support this attitude to join and participate in our meetings

League Flag Unfurled

'Muslims are as anxious as anyone else in the country that India should be a free nation" declared Mr Jinnah, while unfurling the Muslim League Flag this morning before a large audience Mr Jinnah appealed to Muslims of India to stand united under the League banner The Muslims had no enmity with anybody but only they claimed the right to live in the country with honour — API

[1]Press statement *Star of India* 18 December 1939

218 Berhampore (Bengal) By-Election — Supports Badrudduja's Candidature[1]

Syed Badrudduja, has received the following letter from Mr Jinnah, Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay, dated 3rd December

> Dear Mr Badrudduja I am very glad to hear that you have been nominated by the Provincial Muslim League for the ensuing by election from the Berhampore Sadar Muslim Constituency in Bengal I have noted that the election takes place on the 4th January 1940
>
> I have no hesitation in appealing to the Muslims in general and the voters of your constituency to wholeheartedly support your candidature and vote solidly for you as the Muslim League candidate Your success will prove once more the solidarity and the unity of the Muslims and will add to the great prestige and reputation that the All India Muslim League has already acquired I trust therefore that the Bengal Muslims and in particular the Berhampore Sadar Muslim Constituency will give you every support Wishing you all success

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

[1] Letter, *Star of India*, 19 December 1939

219. Grievances Against Congress High Command and not Hindu Community[1]

Bombay, December 22 Mr Jinnah was accorded a great ovation when he arrived at one of the biggest mass rallies of Muslims ever seen in Bombay at Muhammad Ali Road which began at about 10 a m The mosques on either side of the meeting place were illuminated Besides Muslims, there were a large number of Parsis and members of the Independent Labour Party of Dr Ambedkar, who were also present Prominent among the Parsi citizens at the meeting were Sir Byramjee Jejeebhoy and Sir Dinshaw Petit

Parsi ladies were also among the audience

Presiding at the meeting, Mr I I Chundrigar, M L A , Deputy Leader, Muslim League Party in the Bombay Legislative Assembly, quoted numerous instances of Congress Ministry's actions which he held to be detrimental to Muslim interests Concluding, he supported Mr Jinnah's demand for a Royal Commission

Before the meeting dispersed at about one o'clock in the morning, Mr Jinnah in a brief speech declared that the meeting was not convened against the Hindu community For the first time in the history of the League, all the Minorities had gathered on the same platform He urged all Minorities to stand united Their grievances were against the Congress High Command and not against the Hindu community "The policy of this Fascist Grand Council", he said, "is based on falsehood and hypocrisy We must expose them " — API

[1]Public speech, *Star of India*, 23 December 1939

220 Deliverance Day A "Complete Success"[1]

Bombay, December 25. On the occasion of his 64th birthday today, Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has received numerous telegrams of felicitations from all parts of the country and abroad He spent his birthday quietly at his home Many friends called on him today to offer their congratulations personally The Bombay Provincial Muslim League has arranged many meetings tonight to celebrate 'Jinnah Day' "My hobby? I am very fond of carpets I love Persian carpets and I cannot simply resist it if I see a good carpet and however hard up I may be, I buy it" said Mr Jinnah to Pressmen who called on him today

While declining to comment on the present political developments in the country, Mr Jinnah said "The greatest day in my life was when I heard that the Federal Scheme was suspended, and a still greater moment will be when it is definitely buried "

"Deliverance Day"

He expressed satisfaction at the success which attended the Deliverance Day" celebrations "From the Press reports as well as private letter and telegrams" he added, "that I have received I am happy to find that the 'Deliverance Day' was observed throughout India with complete success in an orderly and disciplined manner and observing it truly in other spirit which was expected of the great community It has in one bound established the solidarity, unity and dignity of Muslim India Its remarkable significance cannot be overlooked, especially the fact of the other minorities and their leaders and even non-Congress Hindus having joined and supported us clearly demonstrates the attitude of justice and fair play to all for which the Muslim League stands I sincerely hope that the lesson of this great demonstration will not be lost on all those who are responsible for moulding the future destiny of India "
– API

[1] News report, *Star of India*, 26 December 1939

221. Anatolia Suffering—Message to Turkish President[1]

Matheran (Bombay), January 2 Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has sent a telegram to the President of the Turkish Republic conveying the sympathies of the Muslims of India to the Turkish people in Anatolia The following is the text of the message

> "President Inonu, Turkish Government, Ankara, Turkey Please accept deepest and sincerest sympathies of Muslims of India on Anatolia suffering We share the sorrow of the Turkish people Jinnah President Muslim League India" —API

[1] Message of sympathy *Star of India,* 2 January 1940

222 Nehru's Refusal to Treat ML as "Authoritative and Representative Organisation" of Muslims[1]

The history of yet another attempt to compose Congress-League differences is set forth in a series of letters exchanged last month between Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru Mr Jinnah has released the correspondence Mr Jinnah, while hoping for a solution, reiterates the League demand for recognition as the "authoritative and representative organisation of Muslims in India " Referring to the Congress demand for a declaration by Britain of her war aims, he says that the League cannot endorse that demand as laid down in the Working Committee's resolution on the subject Defining Congress' attitude, Pandit Nehru states that the Congress does regard the League as an influential organisation of Muslims, but not as the sole representative of the Muslims of India Finally, the Pandit states that as he and Mr Jinnah have not found some common ground for discussion, there can be no use continuing the negotiations

Bombay, January 7, 1940 Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim Leagues, states

> I regret to find that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru during his recent tour in the Punjab and elsewhere has thought fit to attack me in a manner unworthy of any responsible leader He accuses me of being bent upon the preservation of British domination over India which I can only characterise as not only unwarranted but mean The reasons for his refusing to continue his talks with me as given by him are far from correct are misleading and unfair
>
> I would not further comment upon his reckless and irresponsible pronouncements but I shall rest content with releasing the correspondence between us on the subject This will show the true reasons for his refusing to proceed further in the matter and I leave it to the public to judge the impossible attitude that is being taken up by him and the Congress

The Correspondence is given below
From Pandit Nehru to Mr Jinnah dated December 1, 1939, from Allahabad

> My dear Jinnah
>
> When we met last in Delhi it was agreed that we should meet again to discuss various aspects of the communal problem You told me that on your return to Bombay you would write to me suggesting some date for such a meeting I have been looking forward to your letter since then I hope that whenever it is convenient for you to fix a date you will kindly let me know
>
> Sir Stafford Cripps is coming to India soon, and is likely to spend two or three weeks in this country He is on his way to China I do not yet

[1] Correspondence *Statesman*, 8 January 1940

exactly know when he will reach here, but probably he will come in about a week's time During his brief stay in India he would like to meet you if that is possible I do not know his programme at all, nor do I know what cities he intends visiting But I take it that he will go to Bombay Could you kindly let me know if you are likely to be in Bombay about the third week of this month or later? This information might help him to arrange his programme He is coming by air and will land in Allahabad Yours sincerely,Jawaharlal Nehru '

From Mr Jinnah to Pandit Nehru, dated December 4, 1939, from Bombay

My dear Jawahar,
I am in receipt of your letter of the December 1, and thank you for it As at present advised I hope to be in Bombay for the next two or three weeks and if it is convenient to you I shall be very glad to see you and fix up any date that may suit you Please therefore let me know what date and time will suit you

'As regards Sir Stafford Cripps I received a letter from him and I have already replied to him care of your address as directed by him and as I have already stated I shall be here in Bombay and as he is arriving at Allahabad on the 8th, as I understand from his letter I shall be very glad to see him when he is in Bombay On hearing from him I shall fix up also the date and time that may suit him Yours sincerely Jinnah '

From Pandit Nehru to Mr Jinnah dated December 9, 1939

My dear Jinnah,
Two days ago I sent you a letter informing you that I intended going to Bombay soon and hoped to meet you there Yesterday morning I read in the newspapers your statement fixing December 22 as a day of deliverance and thanks giving as a mark of relief that the Congress Governments have at last ceased to function I have read this statement very carefully more than once and have given 24 hours thought to the matter It is not for me in this letter, to enter into any controversy about facts or impressions or conclusions You know my views about these formed, I hope in all earnestness and with all desire to find the truth It may be that I am mistaken, but I have sought more light and that light has not come

'But what has oppressed me terribly since yesterday is the realisation that our sense of values and objectives in life and politics differs so very greatly I had hoped, after our conversations that this was not so great But now the gulf appears to be wider than ever Under these circumstances I wonder what purpose will be served by our discussing with each other the problems that confront us There must be some common ground for discussion to yield fruit I think I owe it to you as well as to myself to put this difficulty before you

You were good enough to show me in Delhi a letter you had received from Bijnor I enquired into the matter and I am informed that the version of facts given to you is not correct and is wholly misleading If you would care to have an explanation of what happened I could obtain it for you from Bijnor For this purpose I would like to have a copy of the letter you showed me in Delhi Yours sincerely,Jawaharlal Nehru

From Mr Jinnah to Pandit Nehru, dated December 13, from Bombay

'Dear Jawaharlal,
I am in receipt of your letter of the December 9 I did not know where to address my reply to you as your movements were reported in the press to be uncertain The latest announcement is that you are arriving on December 14 and I am therefore sending this letter to your Bombay address I quite agree with you that there must be some common ground for discussion some common objective aimed at for that discussion to yield fruit' That is the very reason why I made it clear in our conversations at Delhi in October last to Mr Gandhi and yourself first that so long as the Congress is not prepared to treat the Muslim League as the authoritative and representative organisation of the Musalmans of India it was not possible to carry on talks regarding the Hindu Muslim settlement as that was the basis laid down by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League and second, that we cannot endorse the Congress demand for the declaration as laid down in the resolution of the Working Committee confirmed by the All India Congress Committee on October 10 1939 apart from the nebulous and impracticable character of it till we reach an agreement with regard to the minority problem The Muslim League was also not satisfied with the declaration made by the Viceroy If happily we could settle the Hindu Muslim question then we would be in a position to evolve an agreed formula for a demand of declaration by His Majesty s Government that would satisfy us Neither the first nor the second suggestion of mine was acceptable to Mr Gandhi or to yourself at Delhi but you were good enough to express your wish that you would like to meet me again and I said that I would be always glad to see you In reply to your letter of the December 1, expressing your wish to see me in Bombay I informed you that I shall be in Bombay till the third week of December and I shall be glad to see you, and I can only say that if you desire to discuss the matter further I am at your disposal

As regards your reference to the Bijnor incident I am sure that you will agree with me that it requires a thorough judicial examination and enquiry before any conclusion can be arrived at and it is hardly worth our while to deal with one instance, for in my judgment the whole working of the constitution and our charges against the Congress Government must be thoroughly examined by a Royal Commission Yours sincerely M A Jinnah

From Pandit Nehru to Mr Jinnah dated December 14, 1939, from Bombay

My dear Jinnah,
Thank you for your letter of the December 13 which was delivered to me in the forenoon today on my arrival here I sent you my last letter from Allahabad after reading and giving full thought to your statement about the celebration of a 'Day of Deliverance and thanksgiving' by Muslims This statement had distressed me greatly as it made me realise that the gulf that separated us in our approach to public problems was very great In view of this fundamental difference, I wondered what common ground there was for discussion and I put my difficulty before you That difficulty remains

'In your letter you have emphasized two other preliminary conditions before any common ground for discussion can arise The first is that the Congress must treat the Muslim League as the authoritative and representative organisation of the Musalmans of India The Congress has always considered the League as a very important and influential organisation of the Muslims and it is because of this that we have been eager to settle any differences that may exist between us But presumably

what you suggest is something more and involves some kind of repudiation by us or dissociation from other Muslims who are not in the League There are, as you know a large number of Muslims in the Congress, who have been and are our closest colleagues There are Muslim organisations like the Jamiat ul-Ulema, the All India Shia Conference, the Majlis-e Ahrar, the All India Momin Conference etc , apart from trade unions and peasant unions which have many Muslims as their members As a general rule many of these organisations and individuals have adopted the same political platform as we have done in the Congress We cannot possibly dissociate ourselves from them or disown them in any way

You have rightly pointed out on many occasions that the Congress does not represent everybody in India Of course not It does not represent those who disagree with it, whether they are Muslims or Hindus In the ultimate analysis it represents its members and sympathisers So also the Muslim League as any other organisation represents its own members and sympathisers But there is this vital difference that while the Congress constitutionally has its membership open to all who subscribe to its objective and methods the Muslim League is only open to Muslims Thus the Congress constitutionally has a national basis and it cannot give that up without putting an end to its existence There are many Hindus as you know in the Hindu Mahasabha who oppose the idea of the Congress representing the Hindus as such Then there are the Sikhs and others who claim that they should be heard when communal matters are considered

'I am afraid therefore that if your desire is that we should consider the League as the sole organisation representing the Muslims to the exclusion of all others, we are wholly unable to accede to it It would be equally at variance with facts if we made a similar claim for the Congress in spite of the vastness of the Congress organisation But I would venture to say that questions do not arise when two organisations deal with each other and consider problems of mutual interest

'Yours second point is that the Muslim League cannot endorse the Congress demand for a declaration from the British Government I regret to learn this for this means that apart from communal questions we differ entirely on purely political grounds The Congress demand is essentially for a declaration of war aims and more especially for a declaration of Indian independence and the right of the Indian people to frame their own constitution without external interference If the Muslim League does not agree to this this means that our political objectives are wholly dissimilar The Congress demand is not new It is inherent in article one of the Congress and all our policy for many years past has been based on it It is inconceivable to me how the Congress can give it up or even vary it Personally I would be entirely opposed to any attempt at variation But this is not a personal matter There is a resolution of the All India Congress Committee endorsed by a thousand meetings all over India and I am powerless to ignore it

It thus seems that politically we have no common ground and that our objectives are different That in itself makes discussion difficult and fruitless What led me to write my last letter to you also remains the prospect of a celebration of a Day of Deliverance by the Muslims as suggested by you That raises very vital and far reaching issues into which I need not go now but which must influence all of us That approach to the communal problem cannot be reconciled with an attempt to solve it I feel therefore that it will serve little purpose for us to meet at this stage and under these conditions with this background I should

like to assure you however that we are always prepared to have free and frank discussions of the communal or other problems as between the Congress and the League

I note what you say about the Bijnor incident It has been our misfortune that charges are made in a one-sided way, and they are never inquired into or disposed of You will appreciate that it is very easy to make complaints and very unsafe to rely upon them without due inquiry Yours sincerely Jawaharlal Nehru '

From Mr Jinnah to Pandit Nehru, dated December 15, 1939, Bombay

Dear Jawaharlal

I am in receipt of your letter of the December 14 1939 and I am sorry to say that you have not appreciated my position with regard to the second point I did not say that Muslim League cannot endorse the Congress demand for a declaration from the British Government What I have said was that we cannot endorse the Congress demand for the declaration as laid down in the resolution of the working committee and confirmed by the All India Congress Committee of the October 10 1939 for the reasons I have already specified in my letter If this resolution of the Congress cannot be modified in any way and as you say that personally you would be entirely opposed to any attempt at variation of it and as you make it clear that you are wholly unable to treat with the Muslim League as the authoritative and representative organisation of the Musalmans of India may I know in these circumstances what do you expect or wish me to do Yours sincerely Mr M A Jinnah '

From Pandit Nehru to Mr Jinnah, dated December 16, 1939

My dear Jinnah

Thank you for your letter of December 15 I realise the difference you have pointed out Of course the Muslim League cannot oppose the idea of any declaration What the Congress had asked for was an enunciation of war aims and a recognition of India s independence and the right of her people to frame their constitution a right that must necessarily be inherent in independence All these are basic principles which flow from our objective of independence and as the Muslim League has the same declared objective there should be no difference of opinion about them In the application of these principles many important matters will no doubt have to be considered But so far as the basic demands are concerned, they are of the very essence of Indian nationalism To give them up or to vary them materially is to knock down our case for independence

'In regard to the war also the Congress has repeatedly declared its policy during the last eleven years The present declaration is a logical outcome of that policy I have personally had some share in shaping this policy and I have attached importance to it You will appreciate that it is exceedingly difficult apart from the question of desirability, to vary such long established and fundamental policies These policies are political in their essence and I would venture to say are the only policies which flow from a demand for Indian freedom Details may be considered and discussed their application should be worked out in mutual cooperation and in particular the interests of various groups and minorities should be considered carefully and protected But to challenge the very basis of that declaration is to demonstrate that there is a great difference in political outlook and policies This as such has nothing to do with the Hindu Muslim problem It is because of this that

I feel that there is little in common in our political objectives

'May I say again that no one on our behalf so far as I know challenges or minimises the authority influence and importance of the Muslim League It is for this reason that we have been eager to discuss matters with it and to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problems that confront us Unfortunately we never seem to reach even the proper discussion of these problems as various hurdles and obstructions in the shape of conditions precedent come in our way These conditions precedent, as I have ventured to point out to you have far reaching significance I do not know why they should be allowed to obstruct all progress or prevent us from considering these problems It should not be difficult to remove these hurdles and come to grips with the subject itself But as these hurdles continue and others are added to them, I am compelled to think that the real difficulty is the difference in political outlook and objectives

'At the present moment the decision to have an all India demonstration on December 22nd has added a psychological barrier which effectively prevents mutual approach and discussion I regret this exceedingly and have earnestly wished that you would see your way to remove this barrier which is leading and can only lead to ill will I still hope that you may be able to do so I do wish to assure you that for my part I do not want to leave any stone unturned which can lead to mutual understanding and settlement But you will not have me as I do not want to have you leave integrity of mind and purpose in pursuit of anything Nothing worthwhile can be gained that way I have deep political convictions and I have laboured in accordance with them these many years I cannot leave them at any time, much less now when the world is in the throes of a terrific crisis Yours sincerely Jawaharlal Nehru — Associated Press

223 Appeals to all Indians—Abstain from Congress Independence Day Ceremonies on 26 January[1]

Rajkot, January 23 Mr M A Jinnah has issued the following statement to the Press

I find that even Congress men are realising that the Independence Day pledge[2] as amended or with the addendum is a camouflage is not genuine in its conception and is humiliating, and it must fail in its execution and its objective to achieve independence pure and simple' The Congress High Command from the latest writings of Mr Gandhi are out for a compromise with the Viceroy under paramountcy in a manner such as would once more revive the gentlemen's agreement and the alliance with the British Government in order that Musalmans and minorities and other interests may be placed at their mercy once more for them to begin their process of crushing them downright The Congress High Command directed the Ministries to resign as a bluff and they are dying to get back because the Viceroy has called the bluff

So far the trouble has been that Lord Linlithgow was perforce obliged to refuse owing to the growing strength of the Muslim League to treat the Congress as the only mouthpiece of India and therefore was unable to please the High Command as he realised that such a course would involve great risk to the British Government, especially at this juncture if the Musalmans and the minorities and other interests are to be ignored or sacrificed Mr Gandhi having once tasted the power that was given to the High Command by means of assurances that special powers would not be used by the Governors or the Governor General would want more if he is allowed to cross the t s and dot the i s in what he finds germs of a settlement in the Viceroy s recent speech at Bombay

But I wish to strike a note of caution and I hope the Viceroy and the British Government fully realise that any repetition of such a position in which the guarantees already given to the minorities are not implemented or are not honoured in practice will create the gravest crisis in India and Muslim India will resist it by all the means in their power and will not shrink from making any sacrifice The British Government will be wholly responsible for the consequences if they yield or are stampeded by threats and coercion by one party

I appeal to Musalmans all over the country in particular and also to my non Muslim countrymen not to have anything to do with Independence Day on January 26 as it is intended to deceive the people under the lure and guise of Independence Mr Gandhi s meaning of independence varies from time to time and I hope the Musalmans will not fall into this trap "—AP

Press statement, *Civil & Military Gazette* 24 January 1940

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, at its annual session in Lahore on 2 January 1930, decided to observe Sunday 26 January 1930 as *Purna Swaraj* (full independence) Day all over India In the subsequent years, 26 January came to be observed as 'Independence Day' After 1950 when India s constitution became operative, the day came to be observed as India's Republic Day See appendix XXII 35

224 Muslim Grievances in Bhavnagar State—Appeals to Maharaja for "Justice"[1]

Rajkot, January 23 Mr Jinnah and the other members of the Muslim League Deputation now on tour in Kathiawar addressed a meeting last night in Rajkot The majority of the audience was Hindu Mr Osman Memon, President of the Kathiawar Muslim League, presided Mr Memon enumerated Muslim grievances against the Congress He declared that the Press was now in the hands of the Congress and stressed the need for an independent Press of the League He urged rich Muslims to contribute to the fund for this purpose Mr Chundrigar, a member of the deputation, also made an appeal to start a League newspaper

Bhavnagar

Mr Jinnah, speaking in Urdu, dwelt on the events of last year and congratulated the Muslims on the part they had played during the Rajkot movement He also thanked them for the reception they had accorded the deputation He said that reports were constantly being received that injustice was being done to Muslims in Bhavnagar He hoped that the Maharaja of Bhavnangar would see that the grievances were redressed and justice done —API

[1] News report *Star of India*, 25 January 1940

225 "No Quarrel With any Community"[1]

Jetpur, January 24: An enthusiastic welcome was accorded to Mr Jinnah and party yesterday on their arrival at Gondal from Rajkot A large procession was taken out from the station and it passed through the main bazar which had been decorated with arches and buntings *En route* Muslim merchants garlanded the members of the deputation The procession terminated at the State guest house In the afternoon Gondal Muslims presented Mr Jinnah with an address Mr Noor Muhammad Ahmed, who was in the Chair, paid a tribute to Mr Jinnah for his services in the cause of Muslims Donations of Rs 6,000 for the Press fund were announced

Mr Jinnah replying thanked Gondal Muslims for the welcome given to the delegation Explaining the aims of the League, Mr Jinnah said "We do not wish to quarrel with any community We want to preserve and guard our inherent rights Some Hindu leaders were, however, out to crush Muslims and I must warn them that this cannot be tolerated

Continuing, he said that he knew His Highness the Maharaja of Gondal for years and he knew that Gondal Muslims were fortunate in having such a just, fair and upright Ruler Mr Jinnah had tea at the palace with the Maharaja of Gondal prior to his departure for Dhoraji —AP

[1]Public speech, *Civil & Military Gazette*, 25 January 1940

226. Appeals to Bantva Muslims—"Contribute Generously to Press Fund"[1]

Bantva, January 26 A meeting of the Muslims of Bantva was held on Wednesday night [24 January] to welcome the Muslim League deputation led by Mr Jinnah, Seth Husein Kassam Dada was in the chair An address of welcome was read by Seth Adamji Haji Pir Muhammad in which a tribute was paid to Mr Jinnah for his services to his community

Mr Jinnah explained the objects of the tour He said that if a mighty organisation like the Congress was to be faced with its great means and vast resources, the League would have also to prepare itself on the same lines as the Congress If the Muslims wanted to exist and have a future they would have to build up resources Mr Jinnah said that there were many rich Muslims in Bantva and he appealed to them to contribute generously to the Press Fund He cited in this connection the example of Lord Nuffield[2]

Mr Chundrigar and Mr Khandwani, other members of the deputation, also spoke The meeting ended at 1 00 a m and the deputation proceeded to Porbunder —AP

[1] Public speech *Civil & Military Gazette*, 27 January 1940

[2] Nuffield, William Richard Morris 1st Viscount, b 1877 British motor magnate and philanthropist started in the cycle business and by 1910 was manufacturing prototypes of Morris Oxford cars was the first British manufacturer to develop the mass production of cheap cars received a baronetcy in 1929 and was raised to the peerage in 1934 used part of his vast fortune to benefit hospitals charities and Oxford University in 1943 established the Nuffield Foundation for medical scientific and social research d 1963

227 "Strengthen the League and Equip it Best"[1]

Junagadh, January 25: Mr Jinnah and party reached Dhoraji yesterday an hour later than the fixed time Large crowds of Muslims awaited the arrival of the deputation Though a procession was formed it had to be cut off abruptly in the middle as the crowd became unruly and made a rush on Mr Jinnah's car Mr Jinnah then drove straight to his residence After dinner Mr Jinnah deliberated in private with the leading Muslims probably about the Press fund As Mr Jinnah was pressed to address the public which was gathering near his residence late at 10-15 p m , he came out in the compound of his residence and attended a meeting

Mr Noor Muhammad Ahmed of Gondal, who was proposed to the Chair, appealed to the audience to make Mr Jinnah's tour successful by giving him the required funds for the furtherance of Muslim interests Mr Chundrigar, M L A , then spoke for about an hour He explained the present situation in British India and the plight of Muslims after the introduction of autonomy Speaking about the need for a League Press, he deplored that present-day journals should be under the Congress control He said that present-day battles in India were fought with the pen and propaganda and hence the need for an independent Press for the League

Mr Jinnah delivered a short speech as it was already midnight He thanked them for their cordial welcome and appealed to them to sink their differences and rally round the League banner for if they were united they could face any power Mr Jinnah reached here from Dhoraji at 12 noon where the local Jamiat accorded a reception to him and the members of the deputations at which Kazi Akhtar, President of the Jamiat, welcomed them Mr Jinnah speaking on the occasion stressed the need for united action by Muslims at this critical juncture and exhorted the audience to strengthen the League by helping him to equip it best so that Muslims may also secure their due place with honour in a free India Mr Jinnah was glad to announce the contributions of Rs 30,000 from Dhoraji and Rs 2,500 from Junagadh, Veraval and Wanthali jointly After about an hour and a half, the delegation proceeded to Mangrol by car — AP

[1] Public speech, *Civil & Military Gazette*, 27 January 1940

228. "A Platform and a Press We must have"[1]

Porbunder, January 27 At Porbunder Mr Jinnah addressed a largely attended meeting, presided over by Haji Abubakker Zavery, Mr Jinnah, [touring the Kathiawar States], said that the starting of a Muslim League press was the only weapon to fight political battles in these days "A platform and a press we must have if we are to exist", he added

Mr Jinnah traced the events that followed the introduction of provincial autonomy and subsequent actions of the Congress to "suppress the Muslim League" Mr Jinnah characterised 'the assurances extracted from the Governors against the use of their special powers as an indication of the desire that the Governors should not intervene for the protection of Muslims and Minorities Mr Jinnah said that he had repeatedly extended the hand of friendship and co-operation to the Congress in the common task of achieving freedom, but the Congress had rejected the offer Mr Jinnah paid tribute to the Maharana of Porbunder for a just and fair rule which had kept his Muslim subjects contented

Mr Jinnah drove with the Maharana of Porbunder — AP

[1] Public speech *Star of India* 29 January 1940

229 Warns Britain—"No Settlement Can be Forced on Muslims"[1]

Ahmedabad Regarding the British Government's attitude, as disclosed by Sir Hugh O'Neill[2] in the House of Commons, towards his demand for a Royal Commission to inquire into the treatment of minorities by Congress Governments,[3] Mr Jinnah in a statement says

We are informed that London "scouts"[4] our just demand to appoint an impartial judicial tribunal, namely a Royal Commission to inquire into our charges of a very serious character about the tyranny and oppression practised over Musalmans in Congress-governed provinces Sir Hugh O'Neill is reported to have said that he could not believe that the interests of either party to the dispute or of the peoples of India as a whole would be served by a formal inquiry into the matter Underline the word "formal" What does this mean? This unreasonable reply has imposed an additional task upon us We shall try to remove his wrong belief when he says that it is not in the interests of the people to do justice He is entirely mistaken when he says that such an inquiry would embitter Hindus and Muslims It is a charge against the Congress High Command and the Congress Ministries which must be investigated in order to stop a recurrence or repetition of it

"Ignorance"

Mr Jinnah added My attention has also been drawn to an article

[1] Press statement *Civil & Military Gazette* 30 January 1940

[2] B 1883 edn Eton and Oxford Barrister at Law Inner Temple 1909 joined Army and served in France 1915 17 Major 1918 Member Northern Ireland Parliament 1921 29 Speaker of House of Commons of Northern Ireland 1921 29 Chairman of Conservative Party Members Committee 1935 39, Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for India and Burma September 1939 May 1940 Father of the House of Commons 1951 52 created Baron 1953 d — ?

[3] Following report appeared in *Statesman* 26 January 1940

'**Mr Jinnah's Charges—Inquiry would embitter Communal Feeling—London, January 25** In the House of Commons today asked whether it was proposed to hold an inquiry into the allegations made by Mr Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League with regard to the treatment of minorities by Congress Governments Sir Hugh O Neill Under Secretary of State for India said that he could not believe that the interests of either party to the dispute or of the peoples of India as a whole would be served by a formal inquiry into the matter Any such inquiry would necessarily have to proceed on the evidence taken all over India and would last many months during the course of which the communal feeling which had already been displayed might be embittered — Reuter

[4] means to reject an idea with scorn

in the London *Times*. This paper is generally well-informed, but when it says that the All India Muslim League is not an authoritative and representative organisation of the Muslims of India it is misled completely, showing ignorance of the actual position in India today.[1] Of course the League is not the only Muslim organisation

[1] The key sentences in *The Times'* editorial entitled 'Towards Settlement in India' in its issue of 20 January 1940 on which Jinnah had commented were as follows:

> The demand of sections of the Congress Party that the British Government should stand aside and allow them the sole voice in framing the destinies of India—for that is the meaning of their claim that the National Congress is the only representative Indian party—is altogether inadmissible. At the same time the attitude of the All India Muslim League and more particularly of its president, Mr. Jinnah, seems also to be open to criticism. In the first place the League, although the number of its members is impressive, no more represents Muslim India than the Congress Party represents India as a whole. There are many Muslim bodies which do not follow Mr. Jinnah's lead, and it may be added that by no means all the members of the League are content with his leadership. In the second place some of his recent utterances have given the impression that the British policy of defending the lawful interests of minorities has encouraged him and his followers to think that members of the Muslim League are entitled to veto any and every constitutional advance simply because they are a minority.
>
> A purely negative attitude of that kind is really just as great an obstacle to political progress on democratic lines as are the totalitarian claims of the more advanced members of the Congress Party.

However, the Delhi correspondent of *The Times* reported nine days later:

'Indian Minorities and Congress—British Policy (From our own correspondent)

Delhi, January 29. The publication in India of an injudicious selection of extracts from the leading article which appeared in *The Times* on January 20 has created some controversy, and objection to some parts of the article has been taken both by Congress and Muslim League spokesmen. The Press as a whole published a version of the leader supplied by an agency, but this was supplemented later by the publication in one newspaper of a special extract dealing with the Muslim League and its president, Mr. Jinnah. Much political capital has been made of this particular extract in the Nationalist Press.

The Times declared that the Muslim League did not represent all Muslims any more than Congress represented India as a whole, but Mr. Jinnah asserts that *The Times* is ignorant of the current situation if it says that the League is not an authoritative and representative organization of Muslims. He admits that the League does not represent cent per cent of the Muslims in the country—which was what *The Times* said. Mr. Jinnah adds that *The Times* is making a great mistake if it is under the impression that any settlement can be forced on the Muslims under the aegis of the British without their approval and consent. But, as the published extracts show, no such policy was proposed by *The Times*.

British policy in the present controversy has been based on the theory that minorities, and particularly Muslims, should be satisfied with that form of Constitution under which they expect to live. Such satisfaction can come only from some form of negotiated agreement between Congress and the Muslim League, and impartial observers contend that both parties must readjust their policies if such agreement is to be reached. No settlement of this issue can be imposed by the British, who can only use their good offices in bringing it about.' *The Times*, 30 January 1940.

in the country nor does it represent cent per cent of the Muslims in the country, which it is impossible for any organisation to do in any country But I venture to state without fear of contradiction today that it represents the Muslim nation more truly and effectively than His Majesty's present Government represents the British nation

"The London *Times* is making a great mistake if it is under the impression that any settlement could be forced on Muslims under the aegis of the British Government without their approval and consent The Muslims are not prepared to leave their fate and future destiny in the hands of anybody They alone are the final judges of what is best for them They must be treated by all parties who play their part in shaping the future of India as a responsible and honourable people"

Reply to Mr Gandhi

Referring to the latest article of Mr Gandhi in *Harijan*,[1] Mr Jinnah said "Suddenly Mr Gandhi finds that my truthful and honest statement in reply to his letter recently published has dashed to the ground all hope of Hindu-Muslim unity This was not the first time that I have made the position clear Why then begin to doubt now whether I represent the Muslim mind at all? I know it is not easy to convince Mr Gandhi of the reality of the situation He feels that the picture I presented to him, if realised, would undo the efforts the Congress has been making for over half a century The efforts of the Congress for the first 30 years have already been undone and Mr Gandhi is mainly responsible for that

"It is the policy and programme Mr Gandhi has been pursuing blindly for two decades that is the cause of the present state of affairs He is still under a delusion when he says that this is only a temporary phase in the history of the Muslim League and that the Muslims could never cut themselves away from their Hindu and Christian brethren It is not a question of the Muslims cutting away from their Hindu and Christian brethren It is a problem of making our Hindu and Christian brethren understand that we are entitled to our proper place in the Indian sun"

27 January 1940, Gandhi's note entitled Unity v justice dated 23 January 1940, in which he wrote in conclusion Both Muslims and Christians are converts from Hinduism or are descendants of converts They do not cease to belong to their provinces because of change of faith Englishmen who become converts to Islam do not change their nationality I hope Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah does not represent the considered opinion even of his colleagues Reproduced in Director, Publications Division Government of India *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol LXXI 1 December 1939 — 15 April 1940 New Delhi 1978, p 133

230 Kathiawar Tour— "Most Enthusiastic Welcome"[1]

The deputation of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League, under the leadership of Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah, concluded their week's triumphant tour of Kathiawar on January 27 The President of the All India Muslim League issued the following statement at Rajkot prior to his departure for Ahmedabad *en route* to Bombay

> 'We have concluded our tour of Kathiawar and I must thank Musalmans from the leaders to the masses for their most enthusiastic welcome and the wonderful enthusiasm and hospitality that was extended to us throughout our extensive tour Thousands all along the road welcomed us and I am happy to have seen real sincere and loyal support from the Musalmans of Kathiawar to the League I am glad to announce that within such a short time the total amount given to the Muslim League Press Propaganda Fund is nearly Rs 1 50 000 which includes Rs 20 000 given by Sir Adamji Haji Dawood whose home is in Jetpur My message to the Musalmans of Kathiawar is that they must now harness and direct this wonderful enthusiasm and awakening that I noticed for the real progress and welfare of the Musalmans

The whirlwind tour, which included Ahmedabad, Rajkot Mangrol, Junagadh, Porbundar and a large number of smaller towns and villages, bids fair to become of historical importance It has created unparalleled enthusiasm among the Muslims of the area for the Muslim League cause Even at small villages gifts including a gold necklace a silver crown, a silver sword and a silver League flag were presented to Mr Jinnah, while his visit to Paneli Mr Jinnah s ancestral village, evoked pleasant memories He was immensely pleased to see his parental hut and chatted freely with the villagers One old villager recalled his accompanying Mr Jinnah's wedding party to Hariana when Mr Jinnah was very young, almost a child After spending a happy hour with the villagers, Mr Jinnah and party next broke journey at Jetpur

Important Speeches

Addressing a meeting of Ahmedabad Muslims at Shaukat Maidan at which over 40 000 were present, Mr Jinnah thanked the Muslims of Ahmedabad for the great welcome accorded to him and the League deputation He said the Muslims had now awakened and begun to understand that they must establish their rights in India and live in the country with respect and freedom "We bear enmity towards none, nor do we wish to harm anyone," declared Mr Jinnah, " but we shall never be the slaves of others We wish for the independence of the country more than any other community We want independence not only for our community, but for all communities as well, and we are prepared to [make] all sacrifices "

[1] Press statement *Eastern Times* 2 February 1940

231 "1935 Act Must Go"—Alternative Schemes Before ML[1]

New Delhi, February 2 With reference to the frequently asked question of the definite constitutional demands of the Muslim League, Mr M A Jinnah, in an interview today, stated that the answer to that question had been indicated before particularly in the resolution passed by the Muslim League Working Committee immediately after the outbreak of the war

The first and fundamental point on which the League insisted, he said, was that the Government of India Act, 1935, must go lock, stock and barrel and the whole constitutional problem should be considered *de novo* The Muslim League, emphasised Mr Jinnah, was even now prepared for such re-examination and had made it plain that such re-examination should take place so soon as circumstances might permit or, at the latest, immediately after the war The League demanded that a declaration agreeing to such re-examination should be made by the British Government and as soon as the declaration was made the League would be prepared to place before the Government their detailed scheme of constitutional adjustments provided that a suitable machinery which would command their confidence was set up for that purpose

Fundamental Principles

Certain fundamental principles on which, in the opinion of Muslims, the future Indian constitution should be based, have been defined by a joint meeting held here of the members of the Foreign Committee of the All India Muslim League and of the authors of the alternative constitutional schemes submitted to the League Sir Abdoola Haroon presided All the nine schemes so far prepared were discussed and analysed in the light of the Indian conditions and in relation to the international situation and the latest position in the country following the frequent expression of different opinions 'At this juncture', says a resolution adopted by the meeting, 'the meeting feels it desirable and necessary on its part to make a respectful recommendation to the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League to state its mind in unequivocal language with regard to the future of the Indian Muslim nation and prepare the latter also for launching a struggle to achieve the following fundamental rights about which the Muslim nation of India is absolutely definite and clear in its mind

1 The Muslims of India who constitute 90 millions of people are a separate nation entitled to the same right of self determination which has been conceded in respect of other nations

[1] Press interview *Civil & Military Gazette*, 3 February 1940

> '2 The Muslims of India shall in no case agree to be reduced to the position of a minority on the basis of extraneous and foreign considerations or for the sake of any political convenience or expediency
>
> 3 That in order to make the Muslim right of self determination really effective the Muslims shall have a separate national home in the shape of an autonomous state
>
> '4 That the Muslims living in the rest of India shall be treated as the nationals of the aforesaid Muslim state and their rights and privileges shall be fully safeguarded
>
> 5 That any scheme of Indian reforms interfering with these basic principle shall be stoutly resisted by the Indian Muslim nation till it has achieved the aforesaid objective

The resolution will be placed before the meeting of the All India Muslim League Working Committee, which begins its session tomorrow The joint meeting has appointed a sub-committee of nine to sit from day-to-day to draft a detailed constitutional scheme incorporating the fundamental rights declared in the resolution and also any acceptable features of the different schemes already before the meeting

The nine schemes are those prepared by the Nawab of Mamdot, Dr Abdul Latif, Mr Rizwan Ullah, Dr Afzal Hussain Kadri, Khan Bahadur Kifayat Ullah, Mr Asadulla of Calcutta and also the Pakistan scheme and the Khilafat scheme of the Muslim Students' Federation

232 Report of ML WC Proceedings "Wholly Distorted"[1]

Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has issued the following to the Press

> My attention has been drawn to the report of the proceedings of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League published in one of the local papers (not the *Statesman*) I regret to have to say that so far as it refers to the discussions of the Working Committee and what took place in the course of those discussions it is wholly untrue and is a product of pure imagination It is a pity that a paper of any standing should give publicity to such a mischievous and wholly distorted version of the proceedings of the Working Committee of the League The Working Committee was absolutely unanimous on all the resolutions that were passed on Saturday [3 February] —AP

[1] Press interview *Statesman* 5 February 1940

233 Stress on Safeguarding Minority Rights[1]

New Delhi, February 6 At 10-55 a m Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, entered the Viceroy's House to interview H E the Viceroy The interview lasted about an hour and a half The following communique has been issued

> In response to an invitation from His Excellency Mr Jinnah today came to see the Viceroy The conversation which lasted for over an hour ranged over the whole position Mr Jinnah urged on His Excellency the great importance attached by the Muslim and other minorities to the safeguarding of their position in any settlement on discussions that might take place His Excellency assured Mr Jinnah that His Majesty's Government were fully alive to the necessity for safeguarding the legitimate interests of the minorities and that he need be under no apprehension that the importance of those interests would be lost sight of

[1] Communique *Civil & Military Gazette* 7 February 1940

234 Viceroy's Reply "Unsatisfactory"—ML Seeking Assurances[1]

An assurance that His Majesty's Government were 'not under any misapprehension as to the importance of the contentment of the Muslim community to the stability and success of any constitutional developments in India,' is contained in a letter which His Excellency the Viceroy wrote to Mr M A Jinnah on December 23 in reply to the Muslim League President's letter of November 5 submitting a number of points for His Excellency's consideration Mr Jinnah has released for publication the following correspondence that had passed between him and the Viceroy with regard to the assurances asked for on behalf of the All India Muslim League

Letter from Mr Jinnah to Lord Linlithgow, dated New Delhi, November 5, 1939

Dear Lord Linlithgow

I wish to thank you for giving me the interview on November 4 as you had promised in your letter of October 28 wherein you stated that you will be glad at some suitable moment to endeavour further to elucidate any points that there may be in doubt as desired by the resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League of October 22

In my interview with you on November 4 the subject was fully discussed and now as desired by Your Excellency I am herewith submitting to you the following points for your consideration and early reply (1) That so soon as circumstances may permit or immediately after the war the entire problem of India's future constitution apart from the Government of India Act 1935 shall be examined and reconsidered *de novo* (2) that no declaration shall either in principle or otherwise be made or any constitution be enacted by His Majesty's Government or Parliament without the approval and the consent of the two major communities of India, viz the Musalmans and the Hindus (3) that His Majesty's Government should try and meet all reasonable national demands of the Arabs in Palestine (4) that Indian troops will not be used outside India against any Muslim power or country

I have already in my interview fully explained the reasons and the grounds in support of these points over and above of what is indicated in the statement of September 18 and the resolution of October 22 of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League copies of which have already been sent to Your Excellency

There is one more point which was mentioned in the statement of the Working Committee of September 18 viz the question of securing justice and fair play to the Musalmans in the Congress governed provinces where even their elementary rights were being ruthlessly trampled upon, but as the Congress Ministries have gone out of office I do not desire to say anything regarding this matter at present

Yours sincerely
M A Jinnah

[1] Correspondence *Statesman*, 7 February 1940

Letter from Lord Linlithgow to Mr Jinnah dated New Delhi, November 7

Dear Mr Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter of November 5 I fully appreciate the importance of the points which you raise and I will not fail to let you have as early a reply as practicable

Yours sincerely,
Linlithgow '

Letter from Mr Jinnah to Lord Linlithgow, dated Bombay, November 18

' Dear Lord Linlithgow

Thank you for your letter of November 7 1939 Since the receipt of your letter I have been pressed with inquiries from different parts of the country as to how and where we stand Would you therefore mind if I were to publish my letter to Your Excellency dated November 5 and your letter under reply

Yours sincerely,
M A Jinnah

Letter from Lord Linlithgow to Mr Jinnah, dated Viceroy's Camp (Jajjah Abbasian), November 26

Dear Mr Jinnah

Thank you for your letter of November 18 I quite understand your anxiety to publish your letter to me of November 5 and my acknowledgement of it I should welcome it if you could postpone publication for say another ten days as I am anxious that the interval between publication by you and my reply (which naturally must take some little time to prepare as I have to consult His Majesty's Government) should be as short as possible But if you feel that it is essential for you to publish without waiting so long I can raise no objection though I would ask you to be kind enough to let me know in advance the date you contemplate

Yours sincerely
Linlithgow

Telegram from Mr Jinnah, Bombay, to Lord Linlithgow, New Delhi, dated November 29

Hope my letter eighteenth has reached Your Excellency Am waiting for reply as soon as possible

Telegram from the Viceroy dated November 29 to Mr Jinnah, Bombay

Many thanks for your telegram of today I hope you will by now have received my letter of November 27 posted from Bahawalpur

Assurance to Community

Letter from Lord Linlithgow to Mr Jinnah, dated Calcutta, December 23

Dear Mr Jinnah,

I am now in a position to reply to your letter of November 5 in which you submitted certain points for my consideration You will I am sure appreciate that more than one of your questions if considered in the light of all the implications involved in it, would raise issues affecting other communities in India and that this correspondence between us would not be an appropriate medium for making pronouncements on them But I hope that my answers, limited though their scope may be by this consideration will nonetheless serve to remove your difficulties

2 My answer to your first question is that the declaration I made with the approval of His Majesty s Government on October 18 last does not exclude examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based

3 With reference to your second point I can assure you that His Majesty s Government are not under any misapprehension as to the importance of the contentment of the Muslim community to the stability and success of any constitutional developments in India You need therefore have no fear that the weight which your community s position in India necessarily gives to their views will be underrated

4 In framing their policy for Palestine His Majesty's Government have endeavoured to meet all reasonable Arab demands and they continue to be fully alive to the importance of that issue

5 Finally you asked for an assurance that Indian troops will not be used outside India against any Muslim power or country This question is fortunately hypothetical since His Majesty is not at war with any Muslim power You will appreciate however that it is impossible to give a guarantee in terms so wide as those of your letter which would have the effect of limiting India s right to use its own army in its own defence in circumstances which cannot now be foreseen in the present situation however as you are aware every precaution has been taken by His Majesty's Government at the instance of the Government of India to ensure that Muslim feeling in India on this matter is fully respected

Yours sincerely
Linlithgow

Letter from Mr Jinnah to Lord Linlithgow, dated New Delhi, February 6

Dear Lord Linlithgow

I am herewith sending a copy of the Working Committee s resolution passed on February 3 regarding the correspondence that has passed between Your Excellency and myself for your consideration

Yours sincerely
M A Jinnah '

Resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, dated February 3

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League considered the correspondence that has passed between Mr Jinnah the President and His Excellency the Viceroy ending with his final reply dated December 23, 1939

The Committee is of the opinion that the reply of His Excellency is not satisfactory as certain important points still require further clarification and elucidation The Committee therefore, empowers the President to place the views of the Working Committee before His Excellency and request him to reconsider the matter regarding the assurances asked for in the resolutions of the Working Committee dated September 18 and October 22 1939 and thereby remove all doubts and apprehensions from the mind of Muslim India — Associated Press

235 India's Future Constitution—"We Must Be Sole Judge of What is Best"[1]

New Delhi, February 19 "When the British Government and other parties are seriously and earnestly ready to tackle the question of the future constitution of India and are willing to show readiness to set up a suitable and practical machinery for that purpose, we shall not delay to give our views as to the nature and personnel of such a machinery We are ready and prepared to put forward our concrete proposals instead of indulging in abstractions" said Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, in the course of an interview to the *Daily Mail* of London Mr Jinnah said

> Mr Gandhi continues to ignore realities He demands independence — there is no objection He demands self determination — again there is no objection But how does he seek to fulfil all these unexceptionable ideals? Despite what he says he asks the British Government to bring them about He proposes that a representative assembly of Indians be summoned to evolve a constitution which will include the fullest satisfaction of legitimate minorities
>
> Who is to produce this assembly? And when it has reached its conclusions assisted by the highest and most impartial tribunal human ingenuity can conceive who is to implement its findings? There exists at the moment no other sanction in Mr Gandhi's mind than the British power Likewise does Mr Gandhi imagine that the legitimate minorities are to rely on his word or a party's word as guarantor of the fullest satisfaction of the legitimate minorities Experience of Congress rule in the provinces does not impel the Mussalmans to rely on that Moreover it is unthinkable that the social contract which must be the basis of an agreed constitution can be the subject of judicial decision by even the highest impartial tribunal It is equally possible that the resultant judgment would leave the majority aggrieved rather than the minority That would be in itself a hopeless beginning
>
> Mr Gandhi asks in fact that the British Government at the behest of the Congress should impose an independence and a process of self determination of party design upon the rest of the country If he wants to be logical he should ask for the immediate withdrawal of that humiliating British bayonet so that the people of India could settle their own manner of self determination in complete independence That he does not do because he is well aware of what would result if the Congress caucus tried to impose its present ideas in these circumstances
>
> The Muslim League has been falsely accused in some quarters of adopting a negative and obstructive attitude This I believe is due to false propaganda carried on in England and is entirely unwarranted The Muslim League has in fact made a positive demand that the whole problem of India's future constitution should be taken up as soon as the circumstances permit or at the latest immediately after the war When the British Government and other parties are seriously and earnestly ready to tackle the question of the future constitution of India and are

[1] Press interview *Civil & Military Gazette*, 20 February 1940

willing to show readiness to set up a suitable and practical machinery for that purpose we shall not delay to give our views as to the nature and personnel of such a machinery

We are ready and prepared to put forward our concrete proposals instead of indulging in abstractions So far no such desire has been indicated either by the Viceroy or His Majesty s Government, but both are busy in persuading Mr Gandhi to descend from ideals to realities But I must say that one thing is now certain that Muslim India will never agree to submit its future destiny and fate or its rights in the governance of this country or in the making of any future constitution to the hands of a tribunal of Mr Gandhi s conception or any other variety nor are they prepared to accept the final arbitrament of Great Britain We must and shall be the sole and final judges of what is best for us "—AP

236 "In any Constitution Muslims Claim their Proper Place"[1]

London, February 20 'Not since the days of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan has Muslim India found a more vigorous champion Mr Jinnah seeks to weld the Muslims into a single political unit and make their voice a dominating factor in Indian politics,' writes the special correspondent to the *News Chronicle*, in an interview with Mr Jinnah, which was featured today

Mr Jinnah said that the Muslim League irrevocably opposed any Constitution which resulted in the majority community rule under the guise of democracy The last twenty-seven months of Congress rule has shown that it was authoritarian On being asked what the League's demands were *vis-a-vis* the Congress, Mr Jinnah replied that the Congress is only one party among others "We, the Muslims, claim our right to our share in the Government of India and in any Constitution the Muslims will claim their proper place and will not submit to any scheme it disapproves '

[1] Press interview newspaper clipping Quaid i Azam Papers, File 100 p 15 Date and title of newspaper not given However the article on 20 February 1940 did appear in the *News Chronicle* under the title of What the Moslems Want

237. "When I am Convinced of Muslims' Readiness I will give them Marching Orders"[1]

Mr Jinnah paid a tribute to the late Maulana Shaukat Ali who served the Muslim community for the best part of his life The one great thing about Maulana Shaukat Ali which impressed Mr Jinnah was that he never swerved by a hair's breadth from the path which he thought, was right He was true, faithful and loyal to Islam No temptation could make him budge an inch from the path he chose for himself His methods might have been right or wrong, but once he believed that that was the road to glory of Islam, he walked on that road without fear or hesitation When the Muslim League was revived in April 1936, Maulana Shaukat Ali made up his mind to serve the Muslims through the League organisation and he stuck to it till the end In him Mr Jinnah had a loyal colleague since April 1936 He was no longer in their midst, but Mr Jinnah was not depressed because the struggle had just begun In any case it would go on, although it might be a long one He wanted every man and woman to grasp the realities of the situation they were faced with and not to be carried away by catchwords and slogans

Referring to Maulana Zafar Ali Khan s exhortation to Muslims to free India, Mr Jinnah said that it looked very beautiful when they said that the Musalman was born to free India The crux of the problem was that first they had to get their own freedom Referring to the talk of a struggle, Mr Jinnah asked what arms and ammunitions his people had? What was their strength? He would be a bad general who would lead them to slaughter He came across everyday with all classes of people and found a striking contrast between the outlook of the Muslims and the Hindus Whereas the Muslim intelligentsia had superficial ideas and was easily carried away by catchwords and slogans, he found his Hindu friends, men and women, even uneducated among them, with whom he came into contact miles ahead of the Muslims He did not wish ill to the Hindus He was glad that they were better equipped He had no malice against them He thought that Muslims were far behind the Hindus in several respects They were numerically inferior to Hindus although he did not recognise that numerical strength of a community was an index of its strength

He summed up the position of the Muslims as follows They were financially bankrupt economically zero and educationally at the bottom of the ladder With all earnestness he, therefore, asked them that if they wished to get their proper place they should equip and qualify themselves They had to study and understand the complexities of the problems with which they were faced It would

[1] Jamil ud Din Ahmad *Speeches and Writings of Mr Jinnah* op cit pp 138 40 Speech delivered on 22 February 1940 on the occasion of the unveiling of the portrait of late Maulana Shaukat Ali at the Anglo Arabic College Delhi

be no use indulging in tall talk like saying that Muslims had ruled over this country for centuries in the past and had a right to rule even now What was required was industry, sustained effort and a sense of duty and responsibility That was the way to lay the foundation of a nation

Referring to the political problem with which Muslims were faced, Mr Jinnah, without going into details, summed up the position thus Britain wants to rule over India, Mahatma Gandhi wants to rule over Muslim India We are modest people and say that we won't allow either of them to rule over us, combined or separately The world has realised the British Government with their shrewdness have already recognised that the Muslim League is the only authoritative and representative organisation of Muslim India, but light has not dawned within the territories of Segaon yet and Mr Gandhi is still groping in the dark

Reverting again to the meagre resources of the League Mr Jinnah said that his place on Aurangzeb Road, as a private residence, might be considered enviable, but where was the secretariat or the army? His entire equipment was confined to an attache case, a typewriter and a personal assistant He was against underrating their difficulties, although he made it clear that he did not mean that he had a defeatist mentality or that he had not the fullest faith in his people With all the difficulties with which they were faced, he still believed that the Muslims were more politically minded than any other community Political sagacity was steeped in their blood and remnants of past Islam were pulsating in them The League was now an institution, had given them a platform, a flag and a programme and a policy He wanted them to strengthen their organisation When he felt that the decisions they would take would be taken not by some only but by the Muslims as a whole, he would be willing to give marching orders He did not insist on unanimity, because that was not possible in any nation He, however, insisted on the solid and conscious support of a majority of his people If that was forthcoming he would be willing even to face bullets He wanted to feel that there was a reasonable chance of defeating his enemies before he could march ahead

Further, illustrating his insistence on preparedness for a struggle, Mr Jinnah said that England was not able to defy Hitler till September Austria and Czechoslovakia had to be sacrificed Mr Chamberlain had to go to Munich to plead with Hitler They now knew that Mr Chamberlain signed the Munich Pact because he found England was not sufficiently prepared for a war in September 1938 Mr Jinnah said "May I ask was not Britain a mighty power at that time, had not Britain a mighty fleet and an army? Why did she then wait? Because they in England were not fully ready In the

same way, when I am convinced of the Muslims' readiness for a struggle, I will give them marching orders, and those who betray us at that time will deserve to be shot down. Even Mahatma Gandhi with his mighty organisation, unlimited resources and the backing of the press, is today hesitating to launch a civil disobedience movement because he is not prepared and is getting ready. My advice to the Muslims 'let us also get ready'."

238 Muslims Won't Allow Themselves "to be ruled over" by anyone[1]

New Delhi, February 22 Mr Gandhi was hesitating to launch civil disobedience because he knew that the country was not prepared for it, declared Mr M A Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, in a speech at the Arabic College where he unveiled a portrait of the late Maulana Shaukat Ali today [2]

Mr Jinnah said that the position today was that on the one hand Great Britain wanted to rule over India, while on the other hand Mr Gandhi wanted to rule over the country Muslims would not allow themselves to be ruled over in this country by both together or by either of them He called the attention of Muslims to the progress made by Hindus who he said, were better educated and better financially than Muslims He urged Muslims to organize themselves, take decisions and stand by those decisions Muslims today, he continued were more politically conscious than any other community Their aim was to win freedom not for Muslims alone but also for Hindus and others

Unveiling the portrait, Mr Jinnah eulogized the late Maulana Shaukat Ali's life and activities and said that he had served the Muslim community and the country throughout his life Sir Syed Raza Ali and Maulana Zafar Ali also addressed the gathering — Associated Press

[1] News report *Statesman* 24 February 1940

[2] For a detailed report of this speech see preceding pages 460 62

239 "Musalmans Were not a Minority but a Nation"[1]

New Delhi, February 26 The Council of the All India Muslim League at a meeting yesterday unanimously elected Mr M A Jinnah as President for the forthcoming session of the League at Lahore All the provincial Leagues had unanimously suggested his name The meeting confirmed the resolutions on the war and the Indian constitution question passed by the Working Committee on September 18, October 22 and February 3 and 4

In the course of the discussion on the resolutions Mr Jinnah, who was in the chair, made a survey of the position since the outbreak of war reiterated the Muslim League's demands and re emphasized the determination of the League to let neither the British nor Mahatma Gandhi rule over Muslims Mr Zafar Ali, Sir Raza Ali, Mr Barkat Ali, Mr Hossain Imam, the Raja of Pirpur and Sir Sher Muhammad Khan also spoke Sir Raza Ali s observations raised a controversy He said that the feeling among educated young Muslims was that the League should reach a settlement with the Congress The Raja of Pirpur and Mr Jinnah thought it was wrong to attribute to youth views which in their opinion were Sir Raza Ali's own Sir Raza Ali warmly defended his statement and said he was only acting as a messenger

The meeting also passed a resolution moved by Mr Naim-ul-Haq (Bihar) expressing dissatisfaction with the Viceroy s speech at the Orient Club, Bombay, and placing on record bitter resentment at Sir Hugh O Neill's statement declining to appoint the Royal Commission demanded by Mr Jinnah Mr Jinnah in asking the meeting to confirm the Working Committee's resolutions made a statement reviewing the position since the outbreak of war till the last meeting of the Working Committee and said "I have already communicated to His Excellency the Viceroy the resolutions of the Working Committee and have intimated to His Excellency the viewpoint of the League There the matter stands at present and we are now awaiting what His Excellency proposed to do next "

The League had put forward a five-fold demand before the Viceroy proceeded Mr Jinnah First, the League had demanded a clear statement on behalf of the British Government that the present Act of 1935 would go lock, stock and barrel and the entire scheme of constitutional reform would be examined *de novo* in the light of experience gained from the working of the constitution during the last two years and in the light of experience which might be gained in future This demand said Mr Jinnah, had been acceded to by the Viceroy who had assured them that the whole scheme of the Act

[1] Speech *Civil & Military Gazette* 27 February 1940

of 1935 would be examined afresh as also the policy and plan underlying it

The second demand on which the League insisted was that Musalmans would not agree to any declaration without their comment and approval being obtained for it, nor was any interim settlement to be made under the threat or at the behest of any other party, however strong it was, without the previous approval of the Musalmans In this matter also the Viceroy had assured them that His Majesty's Government were fully alive to the importance of Musalmans and any settlement which ignored them would be unthinkable

Unsatisfactory

Mr Jinnah said that this statement was unsatisfactory This left them within the region of consultation and counsel, while Musalmans demanded that they themselves should be the sole judge of their destiny

The third demand was that Indian, particularly Muslim, troops should not be used against any Muslim country In this respect, said Mr Jinnah, His Excellency had misunderstood the League The League never asked the Government that Indian troops should not be used in the defence of India What it had asked was that Indian troops should not be used against a Muslim country outside India The fourth demand was for the settlement of the Arab question and Mr Jinnah urged on behalf of the League that the so-called endeavours to reach a settlement would not do and the British Government must reach a settlement to the satisfaction of the Arabs forthwith

The last demand of the League related to the Muslim grievances in the Congress-governed provinces It was true that the Governor-General could not intervene when the Congress Ministries did not exist The question, however, had two aspects First, the League made it abundantly clear that the Musalmans had been oppressed in the Congress-governed provinces and members of the League were made the special targets The Congress 'High Command' had characterised these statements as false but was willing to set up a judicial committee That proposal was absurd On the other hand, said Mr Jinnah, I had offered to accept a Royal Commission consisting of two people from outside India It was then said that the Congress was not willing to have outsiders as arbitrators in their domestic affairs, as if Sir Maurice Gwyer was born in Wardha Mr Jinnah declared that he repeated the demand again The second aspect of the question was whether the 'High Command' caucus Ministries were again to be put into office The 'Deliverance Day' demonstrations had amply shown how every section of the people outside the Congress was opposed to Congress rule

Referring to the Congress claim to be a protector of the minorities Mr Jinnah quoted a letter from Mr Gandhi to a prominent citizen of Sukkur in which he said 'The reincorporation of Sind in the Bombay Presidency may or may not be a good proposition on other grounds but certainly it is not for the purpose of greater protection of life and property Every Indian, be he Hindu or any other, must learn the art of protecting himself It is the condition of real democracy The State has a duty, but no State can protect those who will not share with it the duty of protecting themselves ' Mr Jinnah also quoted the statement of Mr Gandhi in the latest issue of *Harijan* in which Mr Gandhi admitted that the proper organisation to enter into settlement was the Hindu Mahasabha so far as the Hindus were concerned Mr Jinnah asked whom did Mr Gandhi represent and replied "Not certainly the Musalmans"

A Nation

Musalmans were not a minority but a nation, Mr Jinnah asserted "People ask me what is our goal If you do not understand even now, then I say you will never understand what our goal is Great Britain wants to rule India Mr Gandhi wants to rule India and the Musalmans We say that we will not let either the British or Mr Gandhi to rule the Musalmans We want to be free '

Maulana Zafar Ali said that Hindus had refused to recognise Musalmans as a nation He asked what was the attitude of the British Government Were they willing to recognise the Musalmans as a separate nation? In regard to the Muslim demand for a Royal Commission, the Maulana suggested that in the event of the Government refusing to accede to their demand the League must compel the Bengal and Punjab Ministries to resign

Sir Raza Ali said that the feeling among educated young Musalmans was that the League should reach a settlement with the Congress The difficulty was the refusal of the Congress to recognise the League as the only body representative of Musalmans The feeling expressed to him was that that question could be discussed last and was liable to be settled if other outstanding questions were settled The Raja of Pirpur said that Sir Raza Ali did not correctly represent the younger generation who were with the League Nawab Ismail Khan asked what were the views of Sir Raza Ali Mr Jinnah felt that the views expressed might be the views of Sir Raza Ali put in the mouths of the younger generation Sir Raza Ali protested and said that he acted only as a messenger He made clear that he never suggested that a settlement should be reached by anyone other than Mr Jinnah Mr Barkat Ali, Mr Hossain Imam and Sir Sher Muhammad Khan also participated in the discussion

The Council agreed to give the sub-committee appointed by the Working Committee full powers to examine the application for an affiliation received from the Punjab and announce its decision on or before March 13

Forward Policy

The Council agreed to the affiliation of the Assam and Orissa Muslim Leagues and adopted a resolution on the forward policy of the Government in Waziristan The resolution, which was moved by Maulana Zafar Ali runs as follows The Council views with alarm the recent decision of the British Government which created the impression that it intends to annex Waziristan, the homeland of the independent Pathan tribes, with whom war on a miniature scale is being at present waged on what is known as the Ahmedzai salient across the Kohat-Bannu line

While the Council condemns the action of the border tribes in carrying raids into British area, it has no hesitation in once more declaring that these raids are inspired by the fear that the British Government is bent upon depriving the border tribes of their freedom which they love more than their lives in view of the international situation in Europe and the danger of its spreading to Near and Middle East The Council calls upon the British Government to reconsider their forward policy and take immediate steps to pacify the border tribes and assure them that the British Government is not inimical to Islam and is anxious to restore peace and order by friendly co-operation with the border tribes

Sir Sher Muhammad Khan was opposed to the forward policy, but felt that the mover had not known the facts correctly Sir Sher Muhammad's reading was that Government had no intention of annexing Waziristan He asked the Council to realise what havoc these raids were causing in the Frontier Province both amongst the Hindus and the Musalmans The main object of raiders was to obtain money He suggested that before passing the resolution, they should invite opinion of the provincial Muslim League as to whether the Government action was justified Several speakers supported the resolution Mr Jinnah in putting the resolution to vote said that they would obtain fullest elucidation and clarification of the Government's intention during the Budget debates in the Central Assembly

The Council therefore adjourned *sine die* —AP

240. Congress Resolution for a Constituent Assembly—"A Beautiful Essay Devoid of Statesmanship"[1]

Delhi, March 1 Surprise is felt here at the severity of tone of the Congress Working Committee's resolution on the Constitutional controversy which has been prepared at Patna for presentation at the annual session at Ramgarh The hand of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is traced in the composition of the document which, so far as the Indian attitude towards the war is concerned, is completely at variance with the unanimous opinion of all elements in this country, including congress men, who are emphatically opposed to Nazism

It is noted here that while civil disobedience is described as the next step, proposals for initiating it are hedged with qualifications made necessary by blatant dissensions within Congress itself The resolution is calculated to increase further hostility between the Muslims and Congress, as it indicates that the Working Committee still insists on a Constituent Assembly which the Muslims reject Mr Jinnah, President of the Muslim League describes the resolution as a beautiful essay devoid of statesmanship

The resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee (state Reuter) asserts that India's goal should be complete independence and declares that Indian freedom cannot exist within the orbit of British imperialism ' The people of India alone, it says, can properly shape their own Constitution [2]

[1] News report, *The Times* 2 March 1940

[2] See appendix XXII 38 for the Congress Working Committee resolution referred to above

241. "Musalmans are a Nation"—No "Settlement Without" their "Approval"[1]

Addressing the students of the Muslim University, Aligarh, Mr Jinnah made a general survey of the situation in the country and particularly dealt with three questions — firstly the position of the Musalmans, whether they were a mere minority or a nation by themselves, secondly, the question of Hindu-Muslim settlement, and thirdly, the proposal of the Constituent Assembly

Mr Jinnah said that ever since the Minto Morley reforms most people have assumed that Muslims were a minority and as such needed safeguards for the protection of their rights but when we used this term we meant it in an entirely different sense What we meant was that the Muslims were a political entity and that must be preserved at all costs The separate electorate was only an indication of this inner feeling of the Musalmans It was in this spirit that the Lucknow Pact was signed, the basic principle of which was that two separate distinct entities were entering into a mutual settlement But unfortunately the Hindus understood one thing from this pact and we understood another They thought that the Muslims were a mere minority who should be governed and ruled by the Hindu majority The Muslims were constantly bamboozled into a false sense of security and the term minority came to be regarded as historical, constitutional and legal The Muslims were by no means like the minorities in European countries When the present Constitution was being framed the Muslims insisted upon the separation of Sind and the introduction of reforms on an equal footing in the N-W F Province, but the Hindus including the Congress opposed it tooth and nail We were of the view that we must have real power at least in certain areas where we were in majority On one occasion when this question was being discussed, the late Maulana Muhammad Ali, disgusted with the unreasonable opposition of the Congress, got excited and said, 'I insist upon it as it is my corridor from Karachi to Calcutta' One thing is now obvious that we are by no means a minority but a solid and distinct Nation by ourselves with a destiny of our own (Applause)

I have declared on numerous occasions that we Musalmans are a Nation but when in my letter to Mr Gandhi recently I made this statement, he said that all his hopes of Hindu-Muslim unity had been dashed The question is, what are the hopes of Mr Gandhi and

[1] Speech delivered at the Muslim University Union Aligarh 6 March 1940 Jamil ud Din Ahmad *Speeches and Writings of Mr Jinnah*, op cit pp 145 51 Jinnah s signatures appear dated 7 March 1940 on the visitors book currently kept in Maulana Azad Library of Aligarh Muslim University

what does he mean by Hindu-Muslim unity? Mr Gandhi's hope is to subjugate and vassalise the Muslims under a Hindu raj. I have resisted it with all the power at my command and, therefore, I am condemned as the worst Musalman in this country! If this had not been done and Mr Gandhi had been allowed to have his own way there would have been greater disaster than there is today when we are frankly fighting for some clear and definite issues. Many people ask me why Hindu-Muslim settlement had not been reached. I would say that upon Mr Gandhi's conditions no settlement is possible. There can be no settlement except on equal terms and on a footing of perfect equality. (Cheers.) I have got as much right to share in the governance of this country as any Hindu. We have never shown any attitude which may be regarded as inimical to Hindu-Muslim settlement. The Congress on coming into power in several provinces got intoxicated and began to dream of establishing absolute Hindu supremacy over the country. It is this attitude of the Congress caucus which is preventing the Hindu-Muslim settlement and holding up the progress of the country. The Congress High Command by their attitude are doing the greatest disservice to the Hindus themselves.

Two years ago at Simla I said that the democratic parliamentary system of government was unsuited to India. I was condemned everywhere in the Congress press. I was told that I was guilty of disservice to Islam because Islam believes in democracy. So far as I have understood Islam, it does not advocate a democracy which would allow the majority of non-Muslims to decide the fate of the Muslims. We cannot accept a system of government in which the non-Muslims merely by numerical majority would rule and dominate us. The question was put to me, if I did not want democracy what then did I want — Fascism, Nazism or Totalitarianism? I say, what have these votaries, these champions of democracy done? They have kept sixty millions of people as untouchables, they have set up a system which is nothing but a 'Grand Fascist Council'. Their dictator is not even a four-anna member of the Congress. They set up dummy Ministries which were not responsible to the legislatures or the electorate but to a caucus of Mr Gandhi's choosing. Then, generally speaking, democracy has different patterns even in different countries of the West. Therefore, naturally I have reached the conclusion that in India where conditions are entirely different from those of the Western countries, the British party system of government and the so-called democracy are absolutely unsuitable.

What is the present position? You will remember that when Mr Gandhi went to see the Viceroy on the outbreak of war, he broke down and tears rolled down from his eyes when he visualised the possible destruction of Westminster Abbey and the Houses of Parliament, and he said, 'What was the use of Indian freedom if

England and France were defeated?' He says so because he knows that he cannot have his freedom if Great Britain were to leave India. But by the time he reached Segaon, he changed his mind and then came the demand for the declaration of the freedom of India and the summoning of a Constituent Assembly on the basis of adult franchise to frame the constitution of India with certain safeguards for the accepted and legitimate minorities. Having played hide-and-seek in the matter of Hindu-Muslim settlement, Mr Gandhi jumped at this new idea of the Constituent Assembly, which he claims is the panacea of all the ills. Supposing the minorities were not satisfied, what would happen? They say that this would be referred to the highest tribunal. I ask, is it a question to be decided by a judicial tribunal? It is a question of social contract, of framing the constitution for millions of people which could not be adjudicated upon by any judicial tribunal. Even granting that it was done, who will implement and enforce the verdict of the tribunal? It is nothing but a blind to cover their real intentions.

Then there are other objections: historically and politically it is an absurd proposal. To ask a foreign power to call a Constituent Assembly and enforce the constitution framed by this Assembly and then to leave the country is the height of absurdity. A Constituent Assembly comes into being when a people have seized sovereign power. Later on Mr Gandhi shifted ground and said that he would be satisfied with an equivalent of it. Who is to decide what this equivalent would be? Mr Rajagopalacharya says, 'Fresh elections should be held to the Provincial legislatures, and the members so elected should form the Constituent Assembly.' Mr Patel goes one better and he says that the present members of the Provincial Assemblies should be allowed to constitute themselves as a Constituent Assembly. But Moonje and Savarkar would not have it as they have no voice in the present Assemblies. Are these gentlemen serious about anything? So far as I have been able to understand, they only want to be a nuisance to the British Government and to blackmail it. It is not that they want the British Government to go but only to cajole and coerce it to give them something which would enable them to dominate the Muslims under British protection.

Now, what is the position of the Muslim League? In the first instance we find ourselves between the devil and the deep sea. The British are not in a hurry to hand over the Government either to the Hindus or to the Muslims. They are playing their own game. It is no use asking for declarations from the British Government and to go on crying 'give us freedom, give us freedom'. They will never give. There will always be some loophole in any declaration that the British Government may make. We, on the other hand, make a positive demand that this whole Act of 1935 should go lock, stock

and barrel and the whole problem of the Constitution of India should be examined *de novo* in the light of experience gained from the working of the wretched Provincial Autonomy, and the developments that may take place hereafter We have got certain explanations The Viceroy says that his declaration does not exclude the re-examination of the whole policy and plan upon which the constitution is based The whole thing is now open but, in the meantime, the British Government is too busy persuading Mr Gandhi and the Congress to descend from idealism to reality So far as we are concerned, we are quite ready to make a realistic approach to the problem But we have real apprehensions What we fear is that the British Government may again open the door to Mr Gandhi to pursue his plan of subjugating and annihilating the Muslims and other minorities I say with all the emphasis at my command that if the British Government attempts or might attempt to have a settlement with the Congress which is detrimental to the Musalmans we will not allow it to stand We are demanding of the British Government that no constitution and no interim settlement be made without the consent and approval of the Musalmans But if our fears materialise, all concerned should know that the Musalmans will resist with every means in their power and reduce the settlement to nullity (Cheers)

Concluding, Mr Jinnah said that it was no use depending upon anybody We must depend upon ourselves I am willing to be friendly with all but I depend upon my own inherent strength Good work has been done so far by the Muslim League but we are only just on the fringe of it You should know that a veritable war is going on even in India I appeal to you to put your shoulders together and work with the Muslim League Stand firm as one solid block of steel, go on organising our people, training them, disciplining them They are with us Do not worry about handicaps, organise the Muslims bring them all together, train them drill them and make of them the most wonderful political army that India has ever seen and we will soon reach the goal of our freedom (Prolonged applause)

242 "Two Nations in India"[1]
By M A Jinnah

The Constitutional Maladies from which India at present suffers may best be described as symptoms of a disease inherent in the body politic Without daignosing the disease, no understanding of the symptoms is possible and no remedy can suggest itself Let us, therefore, first diagnose the disease, then consider the symptoms and finally arrive at the remedy What is the political future of

[1]Article *Time and Tide* (London) 9 March 1940 The editor *Time and Tide* published this article under the title The Constitutional Future of India with the following introductory remarks

Mr M A Jinnah is like Mr Gandhi a Gujarati a leading citizen and lawyer of Bombay He was formerly for many years a Member of the National Congress and a greatly valued mediator between his own community and the Hindu community He is now the President and the chief driving force of the Muslim League the chief antagonist of the Congress He has the reputation even with his enemies not only of being an able lawyer and a hard hitting opponent but of personal incorruptibility as well as courage Many Congress men keep a soft place for him in their hearts they remember that he was once a leader in their ranks They feel about him much as Pym felt about Strafford though with more kindliness in the regret

The second article in this series will be published in next week s issue of *Time and Tide* The writer Mr Rajagopalachari who was until last October Premier of Madras will state the viewpoint of Congress

Time and Tide published in its successive issues the following articles respectively on 16 and 30 March and 6 and 13 April 1940 Congress and the War by C Rajagopalacharia The India States by Sir Mirza Ismail The Depressed Classess by Rao Bahadur M C Rajah and 'The Outlook Now A Summary by Edward Thompson

Jinnah s above article was reproduced in two instalments in the successive issues of 1 March and 1 April 1940 of the *Aligarh Muslim University Gazette* with the following remarks of the magazine s editor

'**Perplexities of Indian Situation—Mr Jinnah's Analysis** The following article by Mr M A Jinnah President of the All India Muslim League which appeared in the *Time and Tide* of London has not received sufficient publicity in India while adverse criticism thereon are appearing in the Hindu Press This unfortunate situation is the direct result of the absence of a first rate Muslim newspaper in India We however reproduce the article below for the benefit of our readers —Ed M U G '

[It may seem odd that the *Aligarh Muslim University Gazette* should reproduce in its issue of 1 March the article published in the *Time and Tide* of 9 March 1940 However academic journals for a variety of reasons are generally published after their schedule dates of issue given on the magazine titles]

***John Pym** (1584 1643) Leading English Parliamentarian during the events leading to the civil war (1642 51) He took a prominent part in the impeachment of Strafford (1640) **Thomas Wentworth Strafford** (1593 1641) English statesman Chief Adviser to Charles I he was a leading proponent of the King s absolutist rule He was impeached by Parliament and executed

India? The declared aim of the British Government is that India should enjoy Dominion Status in accordance with the Statute of Westminster in the shortest practicable time In order that this end should be brought about, the British Government, very naturally would like to see in India the form of democratic constitution it knows best and thinks best, under which the Government of the country is entrusted to one or other political Party in accordance with the turn of the elections

Such however, is the ignorance about Indian conditions among even the members of the British Parliament that, in spite of all the experience of the past, it is even yet not realized that this form of Government is totally unsuited to India Democratic systems based on the concept of a homogeneous nation such as England are very definitely not applicable to heterogeneous countries such as India and this simple fact is the root cause of all of India's constitutional ills Even as Under-Secretary of State for India, the late Lt-Col Muirhead failed to appreciate this fact, for, deploring the present communal tension, he expressed the opinion that the tendency on the part of both those in power and those in opposition was to consider that what the position now was would be the position always He deplored the failure of Indians to appreciate an essential feature of democratic government — namely the majority and the minority are never permanent and he, therefore, felt that the minorities opposition to Federation on the assumption that from the outset power would be in the hands of an irremovable majority was untenable But he forgot that the whole concept of democracy postulates a single people, however much divided economically and he might well have started his study of Indian problems by consulting the report of the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms (sessions 1933-34, Vol 1 Para 1)

> India is inhabited by many races often as distinct from one another in origin tradition and manner of life as are the nations of Europe Two thirds of its inhabitants profess Hinduism in one form or another as their religion over 77 millions are followers of Islam and the difference between the two is not only of religion in the stricter sense but also of law and culture They may be said indeed to represent two distinct and separate civilizations Hinduism is distinguished by the phenomenon of its caste which is the basis of its religious and social system and save in a very restricted field remains unaffected by contact with the philosophies of the West the religion of Islam on the other hand is based upon the conception of the equality of man

Perhaps no truer description of India has been compressed into a paragraph and without this background no understanding of Indian problems is possible The British people must realize that Hinduism and Islam 'represent two distinct and separate civilizations and moreover are 'as distinct from one another in origin, tradition and manner of life as are the nations of Europe'

They are in fact two different nations, and if this fact is accepted by no less an authority than the Joint Select Committee, the Muslim people have cause to question the wisdom of the British Government in forcing on India the Western system of democracy without the qualifications and limitations to which the system must be subject to make it at all suitable for Indian conditions. If, therefore, it is accepted that there is in India a major and a minor nation, it follows that a parliamentary system based on the majority principle must inevitably mean the rule of the major nation. Experience has proved that, whatever the economic and political programme of any political Party, the Hindu, as a general rule, will vote for his caste-fellow, the Muslim for his co-religionist.

The British people, being Christians, sometimes forget the religious wars of their own history and today consider religion as a private and personal matter between man and God. This can never be the case in Hinduism and Islam, for both these religions are definite social codes which govern not so much man's relation with his God, as man's relation with his neighbour. They govern not only his law and culture, but every aspect of his social life, and such religions, essentially exclusive, completely preclude that merging of identity and unity of thought on which Western democracy is based, and inevitably bring about vertical rather than the horizontal divisions democracy envisages.

Western democracy is totally unsuited for India and its imposition on India is the disease in the body politic. Let us now consider the inevitable symptoms.

Led by an astute Hindu politician of the first rank, Mahatma Gandhi, the Congress (which is mainly a Hindu body) had long foreseen that in the Western form of democracy lay the fulfilment of their hopes of permanent all-India dominance. All their efforts and energies had, therefore, been bent towards securing for India a completely democratic form of Government, and they realized that the new constitution would bring their goal immeasurably nearer if it could be worked on the lines chalked out by their leader and the Working Committee. Therefore, while crying that the new constitution was thoroughly unsatisfactory and totally unacceptable, the Congress decided to contest the elections held before its inauguration and, as was inevitable, secured complete majorities in the six Hindu provinces of India. The Congress, however, was as completely defeated in the five Muslim provinces, and even in the Hindu provinces failed to capture any appreciable number of seats in non-Hindu constituencies, particularly Muslim electorates.

This, undoubtedly, was an unsatisfactory situation for a self-styled 'national' Party, and the exposure of its communal character seemed imminent. Rushing to Wardha for guidance, the

Working Committee took stock What was the position? In five provinces they had been defeated, and while they held a complete majority in six, the Oppositions, weak in numbers though they were, were led by the small but solid blocks of Muslim League members This situation had two very unsatisfactory aspects First it brought out the completely Hindu composition of the Congress and secondly, it would be difficult to ignore and override Muslim-led Oppositions as long as the Governors of provinces were in possession of special powers granted to safeguard minority interests

Realizing at once that such circumstances would considerably hinder their plans, the Congress played its trump card It refused to accept office To the consternation of the Muslims and other minorities overnight, the Viceroy and the Governors became suppliant What would the Congress have them do? What assurances did the Congress need? The answer was ready, 'Give us the undertaking that you will not exercise your special powers, and we will accept office' Hastily, the constitutional guardians of minority and other rights jettisoned their trust, and amidst much mutual appreciation of each other's 'statesmanship' the Congress and the British Government came into political alliance

But there was still that troublesome first point The whole game would be up if purely Hindu Governments took office, and in at least three of the six provinces not a single Muslim had been returned on the Congress ticket, and not more than one or two in the others But what of it? surely there must be at least one amongst the Muslim members who would be unable to resist the bait of a Ministership They would offer the Ministership provided he signed the Congress pledge But would the Governor agree to this 'camouflage'? What did his Instrument of Instructions advise? 'In making appointments to his Council of Ministers our Governor shall use his best endeavour to select his Ministers in the following manner, that is to say, in consultation with the person who in his judgment is likely to command a stable majority in the legislature, to appoint those persons (including, so far as practicable, members of important minority communities) who will best be in a position collectively to command the confidence of the legislature But in so acting he shall bear constantly in mind the need of fostering a sense of joint responsibility among his Ministers '

Anxiously the Working Committee analysed the implications The instructions seemed to be in two parts In the first the Governor was instructed to use 'his best endeavours to select' as Ministers 'persons (including, as far as practicable, members of important minority communities) ' The spirit underlying these words was clear It was to secure for important minorities a Minister who commanded their confidence, and since there was no difference in

the political programmes of the Congress and Muslim League Parties in the legislatures, there was no reason why it was not 'practicable' for a Muslim League member to be appointed a Minister But what about the last line — But in so acting he shall bear in mind the need for fostering a sense of joint responsibility among his Ministers'? This, fortunately, could be turned to suit their purpose if the Governor was prepared to allow this second part, advisory and subsidiary to the main instruction, to overrule the first

They had but to claim that joint responsibility was impossible unless the Muslim Minister was prepared to abide by the decisions of the Working Committee, and their point was won Meekly the Governors acquiesced, and in order to allow the Congress to deceive the public by making it appear that it was 'national' and looking after the interests of the minorities by including a 'representative of them in the Council of Ministers, accepted as Muslim Ministers individuals who by no stretch of imagination could be regarded as 'representatives' of the Muslim community and who by signing the Congress pledge were responsible to the Working Committee alone

Surprised by such easy victories the Congress became intoxicated with power The Working Committee arrogated to itself the position of a parallel Central Government to whom the Provincial Governments were responsible Regional dictators were appointed, and the Ministers were entirely subject to their orders generally, and no provincial legislation could be enacted without their approval They then proceeded to stifle even the little opposition that existed Having dealt with the British, they now dealt with the Muslims An India-wide attack on the Muslims was launched In the five Muslim provinces every attempt was made to defeat the Muslim-led coalition Ministries, and by offering local political leaders Ministerships and other inducements Congress Ministries came into power in at least two more provinces the N-W F P and Assam

In the six Hindu provinces a *Kulturkampf* [1] was inaugurated Attempts were made to have *Bande Mataram*, the Congress Party song, recognized as the national anthem, the Party flag, and the real national language, Urdu, supplanted by Hindi Everywhere oppression commenced and complaints poured in such force into the Muslim League's central office that the Pirpur Committee, whose report is available was appointed to investigate these

[1]A German phrase literally meaning cultural struggle Historically it refers to the conflict in the nineteenth century Germany between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities especially as regards the control of schools

grievances such overwhelming evidence was collected that the Muslims, despairing of the Viceroy and the Governors ever taking action to protect them, have lately been forced to ask for a Royal Commission to investigate their grievances

Such was the position on the eve of the resignation of the Congress Ministries, a position over which the British people might well ponder Is it their desire that India should become a totalitarian Hindu State, with the Central and all the Provincial Governments responsible, not to their legislatures or to the electorate, but to a caucus unknown to the constitution, the Working Committee of the Congress? They may rest assured that such will be the inevitable result if the Congress demand for the right of framing India's constitution through a Constituent Assembly is conceded

Let us consider briefly the implications of this nebulous and impracticable Constituent Assembly To commence with, the question arises, why is this demand made at this particular time? The answer is obvious The war is to the Working Committee a heaven-sent means of increasing its rule from over eight provinces to over the whole of India, State and province If the British Government are stampeded and fall into the trap under the stress of the critical situation created by the war, India will face a crisis the result of which no man could prophesy, and I feel certain that Muslim India will never submit to such a position and will be forced to resist it with every means in their power And of what type of constitutionalists will the Constituent Assembly consist? There are in India roughly 400 million souls who, through no fault of their own, are hopelessly illiterate and, consequently, priest and caste-ridden They have no real conception of how they are being governed even today, and it is proposed that to the elected representatives of such, should India's future constitution be entrusted Is it too much to say that since the vast majority of the elected representatives will be illiterate Hindus, the Constituent Assembly will be under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress leaders, and the constitution that will emerge will be as the Working Committee directs?

Thus, through the Constituent Assembly, will the Working Committee attain its ends British control and commerce will disappear, the Indian States will be abolished, minority opposition will be stifled and a great Hindu nation will emerge, governed by its beloved leader, Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress Working Committee

We have now considered the disease and the symptoms What is the remedy?

(1) The British people must realize that unqualified Western democracy is totally unsuited for India and attempts to impose it must cease

(2) In India, it must be accepted that party' Government is not suitable and all Governments, Central or Provincial must be Governments that represent all sections of the people

In this connection the All India Muslim League has laid down the following broad principles

(1) That the British Government should review and revise the entire problem of India's future constitution de novo in the light of the experience gained by the working of the present provincial constitution and developments that have taken place since 1939 or which may take place hereafter

(2) While the Muslim League stands for a Free India it is irrevocably opposed to any Federal objective which must necessarily result in a majority community rule under the guise of Democracy and a Parliamentary system of government

(3) No declaration regarding the question of constitutional advance for India should be made without the consent and approval of the All India Muslim League, nor any constitution be framed and finally adopted by His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament without such consent and approval

To conclude, a constitution must be evolved that recognizes that there are in India two nations, who both must share the governance of their common motherland In evolving such a constitution the Muslims are ready to co-operate with the British Government, the Congress or any Party so that the present enmities may cease and India may take its place amongst the great countries of the world

243. Message to Calcutta Muslims—Support ML Candidates in ensuing Corporation Election[1]

New Delhi, March 12 Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has sent the following message to the Muslim citizens and voters of Calcutta

> "In the ensuing Corporation Election at Calcutta I wish every success to all the candidates who have been put up by the Muslim League I appeal to every Muslim member of the Electorate not only to vote for the Muslim League candidates but to work for them and give them their complete and wholehearted support
>
> "Election like the present one is only a phase of the greater fight in which the Muslim League is engaged and every victory, big or small means a step forward towards the final goal M A Jinnah President All India Muslim League New Delhi March 12 1940"

[1] Message *Star of India* 18 March 1940

244 Appeals to Khaksars "Most Earnestly to Keep Peace"[1]

New Delhi, March 20 Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, in a statement to the Associated Press says

> I am deeply grieved to hear the tragic account of the incident in Lahore last evening regarding the clash between the Police and the Khaksars resulting in terrible loss of life and injury on both the sides I hope the Khaksars will carry out the instructions issued by their leader, Mr Inayatullah Mashriqi published in the newspapers of this morning As one who has always been so kindly treated by the Khaksars I appeal to them most earnestly to keep peace and not precipitate matters by defying law and order It is difficult to say anything till I am in possession of full facts of the situation "

Mr Jinnah added that according to his information there would be no change in their programme of holding the session of the All India Muslim League at Lahore "I am leaving by the special train at 7 30 this evening as already arranged ' —API

[1]Statement *Star of India,* 20 March 1940

245 "Lahore Session a Landmark"—"We Have to deal with very Grave Issues"[1]

"The Lahore session is going to be a landmark in the future history of Muslim India " This remark by Mr M A Jinnah, the President elect of the 27th annual session of the All India Muslim League, soon after his arrival in Lahore on Thursday morning, gives an indication of the important nature of the decisions that the delegates to the Lahore session will be called upon to make The lead, of course, will come from Mr Jinnah, who continues to enjoy the confidence of the premier Muslim organisation in India and who has recently been styled the *Qaid-i-Azam* [2] (the great leader)

The Punjab surroundings and the martial traditions of the province, however, are likely to play a significant part and these are expected to be reflected in the main resolution for the session concerning the attitude of Muslim India towards the war Significance is being attached to the interview that Mr Jinnah had with the Viceroy in Delhi a few days ago It remains to be seen how far Mr Jinnah's doubts and misgivings have been clarified Emphasising the importance of the session, Mr Jinnah, in an interview to Press representative, said 'We have to deal with very

[1] News report *Civil & Military Gazette* 21 March 1940

[2] This is perhaps the first occasion when this appellation in respect of Jinnah appeared in the English media However instances of its use in the Urdu media from as early as 1936 have been cited in Sharif al Mujahid *Quaid i Azam Jinnah Studies in Interpretation,* Quaid i Azam Academy Karachi 1981, pp 419 36 and in essay by Aqeel uz Zafar Khan entitled Origin of the Prefix *Dawn* 6 December 1991 Maulana Abul Kalam Azad gives his version of it as follows

> I may mention here that it was Gandhiji who first gave currency to the title Quaid i Azam or great leader as applied to Mr Jinnah Gandhiji had in his camp a foolish but well intentioned woman called Amtus Salam She had seen in some Urdu papers a reference to Jinnah as Quaid i Azam When Gandhiji was writing to Jinnah asking for an interview she told him that the Urdu papers called Jinnah Quaid i Azam and he should use the same form of address Without pausing to consider the implications of his action Gandhiji addressed Jinnah as Quaid i Azam This letter was soon after published in the press When Indian Muslims saw that Gandhiji also addressed Jinnah as Quaid i Azam they felt that he must really be so

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad *India Wins Freedom ibid* p 93

Gandhi in his letter dated 16 January 1940 to Jinnah writes

> Dear Quaid i Azam I hate to write Mr before any Indian name It is so unnatural Hence I have been writing of you as Janab Jinnah Sahib according to the usage taught to me by the late Hakim Sahib But Abul Kalam tells me that in the League circles you are always called Quaid i Azam And you will see from the enclosed how the finishing touch was given by a telegram I received from Gulburga I hope you will accept my assurance that what I have done has been done in good faith and out of regard for you If however you would have me address you otherwise I shall respect your wishes

The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol LXXI op cit p 117

grave issues and I feel confident that, with the co-operation of all, we shall be able to face the various problems in front of us successfully "

Mr Jinnah, who addressed a number of gatherings at stations *en route* to Lahore from Delhi, emphasised the need for discipline among Muslims He addressed audiences, which disturbed his sleep practically all night, in these words "We must be a peaceful, orderly and disciplined people and I trust that you will help me in every way to make the session successful" Referring to the Khaksar-police clash he said 'The unfortunate tragic events of last three days, resulting in loss of life and injury, must not lead you to lose your balance We must deal with the situation calmly and dispassionately and I feel confident that we shall find a solution "

Mr Jinnah's presidential address at the open session today (Friday) will be extempore and, to meet the needs of his audience he is expected to deliver it in two languages — English and Urdu — one after the other Though he spent a practically sleepless night, Mr Jinnah, when he emerged from the special train at Lahore, looked fresh and responded to the great ovation he was given with a smile The train, which also brought hundreds of visitors and delegates, had been decorated with green flags bearing the emblem of the League — the Crescent Even the engine had been garlanded and provided with flags mounted on staffs

Reception

At the ceremonial platform where the train stopped, distinguished Muslims were present to receive the President These included the Premier, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan his Ministers, Malik Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana and Mian Abdul Haye, Nawab Sir Muhammad Shah Nawaz of Mamdot, Chairman of the Reception Committee, and a number of prominent Muslim leaders from all over India

After being garlanded by the Nawab of Mamdot and the Premier, Mr Jinnah was greeted by the large crowd which had obtained access to the platform in spite of the police and 'National Guard' volunteers It was with difficulty that Mr Jinnah reached the decorated car waiting outside the station to take him to the Nawab of Mamdot's house where he is staying Outside the station, the crowd was several thousand strong and there were a number of bands and volunteers to give the League President a befitting reception One hundred and one crackers were fired to mark his arrival Lahore Muslims who had decorated the streets with buntings and arches were greatly disappointed when they found that the decision abandoning the procession had not been revoked Only the bands and the volunteers marched through some of the streets to the *pandal*

246 Khaksar Incident—"ML Won't Fail to Rise to the Occasion"[1]

While a large police force was engaged in arresting eight Khaksars by means of tear-gas on their refusal to surrender their spades, Mr M A Jinnah, the President of the All India Muslim League, was performing the flag-hoisting ceremony at the League *pandal* Mr Jinnah had made the Khaksar tragedy the beginning of his speech

"Before I say anything" said Mr Jinnah, "I want to tell you what is uppermost in my mind I have just returned from the Mayo Hospital I am sure we all grieve over the unfortunate tragedy which has resulted in a large number of lives being lost and injured I think everyman and every woman must sympathise with the families and the dependents of those who have died and those who have been injured [2]

"The session of the Muslim League is going to open under the eye of this most unfortunate situation that has been created in Lahore Let me put to you what is the acid test of a great nation and of a great people The greater the difficulties the more we should keep ourselves calm and cool

"The Muslim League, I am sure," added Mr Jinnah, 'Will not fail to rise to the occasion, irrespective of the parties concerned to handle this question in a manner which is just and fair You must realise that ours is the only organization of the Muslims of India We must, therefore, stand as one man with one voice under this flag which you have honoured me to unfurl "

[1]Public speech *Civil & Military Gazette* 22 March 1940

[2]According to a report in *Star of India,* 20 March 1940 about 150 200 Khaksars mainly from North West Frontier Province gathered in Lahore city on 19 March 1940 They planned to hold a procession in military formation in defiance of Government orders under the Defence of India Rules It resulted in an armed clash in which about 24 Khaksars and 2 policemen were killed Thirty nine persons who had received injuries had been admitted in Mayo hospital

Later the District Magistrate Lahore promulgated curfew in the city from 7 p m to 5 a m from Tuesday 19 March 1940 Another order issued by him prohibited for a period of two months any gathering or assembly of five or more persons within the limits of Lahore City The *Anjuman i Khaksaran* was declared unlawful and its official premises known as *Idara i Aliya* at village Ichhra in Lahore was seized under Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act 1908 Notices for the arrest of Allama Mashraqi and other Khaksar leaders were also issued The Muslim League held its session at Lahore 22 24 March 1940 under these circumstances There was speculation that the session might be postponed However Jinnah neither postponed the session nor changed the venue

He concluded by saying that "I have full confidence in my people and we shall face every difficulty in a manner which will be worthy of this great Muslim nation I, therefore, earnestly appeal to you, let us not have any kind of doubt or suspicion with regard to the decision of the Muslim League and let us take a right decision and stand by it "

In the evening, the council of the All India Muslim League was held at the *Pandal* when routine business was transacted Earlier in the day the Punjab Premier, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, had a talk with Mr Jinnah at the residence of the Nawab of Mamdot It is understood that they discussed the general situation in the country and also the recent Khaksar trouble in Lahore

247 "Musalmans are a Nation—They Must have Homeland, Territory and State"[1]

'Ladies and Gentlemen! We are meeting today in our session after fifteen months. The last session of the All India Muslim League took place at Patna in December 1938. Since then many developments have taken place. I shall first shortly tell you, what the All India Muslim League had to face after the Patna session of 1938. You remember that one of the tasks which was imposed on us and which is far from completed yet was to organise Muslim League all over India. We have made enormous progress during the last fifteen months in this direction. I am glad to inform you that we have established provincial league in every province. The next point is that in every by-election to the Legislative Assemblies we had to fight with powerful opponents. I congratulate the Musalmans for having shown enormous grit and spirit throughout our trials. There was not a single by-election in which our opponents won against Muslim League candidates. In the last election to the U P Council, that is the Upper Chamber, the Muslim League's success was cent per cent. I do not want to weary you with details of what we have been able to do in the way of forging ahead in the direction of organising the Muslim League. But I may tell you that it is going up by leaps and bounds.

Next, you may remember that we appointed a committee of ladies at the Patna session. It is of very great importance to us because I believe that it is absolutely essential for us to give every opportunity to our women to participate in our struggle of life and death. Women can do a great deal within their homes even under purdah. We appointed this committee with a view to enable them to participate in the work of the League. The objects of this central committee were (1) to organise provincial and district women's sub committees under the provincial and district Muslim League, (2) to enlist a larger number of women to the membership of the Muslim League, (3) to carry on an intensive propaganda amongst Muslim women throughout India in order to create in them a sense of a greater political consciousness—because if political consciousness is awakened amongst our women, remember your children will not have much to worry about, (4) advise and guide them in all such matters as mainly rest on them for the uplift of Muslim society. This central committee, I am glad to say, started its work seriously and earnestly. It has done a great deal of useful work. I have no doubt that when we come to deal with their report of work done we shall really feel grateful to them for all the services that they have rendered to the Muslim League.

We had many difficulties to face from January 1939 right up to the declaration of war. We had to face the *Vidya Mandir* in Nagpur. We had to face the Wardha Scheme all over India. We had to face ill treatment and oppression of Muslims in the Congress governed provinces. We had to face the treatment meted out to Muslims in some of the Indian States such as Jaipur and Bhavnagar. We had to face a vital issue that arose in that little state of Rajkot. Rajkot was the acid test made by the Congress which would have affected one third of India. Thus the Muslim League

[1] S Shamsul Hasan, Assistant Secretary, All India Muslim League, *Presidential Addresses of Quaid e Azam M A Jinnah delivered at the Sessions of the All India Muslim League*, Lahore Session [22 March 1940, delivered extempore] *Ibid*, pp 61-87

had all along to face various issues from January 1939 up to the time of declaration of war Before the war was declared the greatest danger to the Muslims of India was the possible inauguration of the federal scheme in the central Government We know what machinations were going on But the Muslim League was stoutly resisting them in every direction

"We felt that we could never accept the dangerous scheme of the central federal Government embodied in the Government of India Act 1935 I am sure that we have made no small contribution towards persuading the British Government to abandon the scheme of central federal government In creating that mind in the British Government the Muslim League I have no doubt played no small part You know that the British people are very obdurate people They are also very conservative, and although they are very clever they are slow in understanding After the war was declared the Viceroy naturally wanted help from the Muslim League It was only then that he realised that the Muslim League was a power For it will be remembered that up to the time of the declaration of w ir the Viceroy never thought of me but of Gandhi and Gandhi alone I have been the leader of an important party in the Legislature for a considerable time, larger than the one I have the honour to lead at present, the present Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature Yet the Viceroy never thought of me

'Therefore when I got this invitation from the Viceroy along with Mr Gandhi I wondered within myself why I was so suddenly promoted and then I concluded that the answer was the All India Muslim League whose President I happen to be I believe that that was the worst shock that the Congress High Command received because it challenged their sole authority to speak on behalf of Indi i And it is quite clear from the attitude of Mr Gandhi and the High Command that they have not yet recovered from that shock My point is that, I want you to realise the value the importance the significance of organising ourselves I will not say anything more on the subject But a great deal yet remains to be done I am sure from what I can see and hear that the Muslim India is now conscious is now awake and the Muslim League has by now grown into such a strong institution that it cannot be destroyed by anybody whoever he may happen to be Men may come and men may go but the League will live for ever

Now, coming to the period after the declaration of war our position was that we were between the devil and the deep sea But I do not think that the devil or the deep sea is going to get away with it Anyhow our position is this We stand unequivocally for the freedom of India But it must be freedom of All India and not freedom of one section or worse still, of the Congress caucus and slavery of Musalmans and other minorities Situated in India as we are, we naturally have our past experiences and particularly the experiences of the past two and a half years of provincial constitution in the Congress governed provinces We have learnt many lessons We are now, therefore very apprehensive and can trust nobody I think it is a wise rule for everyone not to trust anybody too much Sometimes we are led to trust people but when we find in actual experience that our trust has been betrayed, surely that ought to be sufficient lesson for any man not to continue his trust in those who have betrayed us

Ladies and gentlemen! We never thought the Congress High Command would have acted in the manner in which they actually did in the Congress-governed provinces I never dreamt that they would ever come down so low as that I never could believe that there would be a

gentleman's agreement between the Congress and the Government to such an extent that although we cried hoarse, week in and week out the governors were supine and the Governor General was helpless We reminded them of their special responsibilities to us and to other minorities and the solemn pledges they had given to us But all that had become dead letter Fortunately, Providence came to our help and that gentleman's agreement was broken to pieces and the Congress, thank Heavens, went out of office I think they are regretting their resignations very much Their bluff was called off So far so good I therefore appeal to you in all seriousness that I can command, to organise yourselves in such a way that you may depend upon none except your own inherent strength That is your only safeguard and the best safeguard Depend upon yourselves That does not mean that we should have ill will or malice towards others In order to safeguard your rights and interests you must create that strength in yourself that you may be able to defend yourselves That is all that I want to urge

Now, what is our position with regard to future constitution? It is that as soon as circumstances permit or immediately after the war at the latest the whole problem of India's future constitution must be examined *de novo* and the Act of 1935 must go once for all We do not believe in asking the British Government to make declarations These declarations are really of no use You cannot possibly succeed in getting the British Government out of this country by asking them to make declarations However the Congress asked the Viceroy to make a declaration The Viceroy said I have made the declaration The Congress said No no we want another kind of declaration You must declare now and at once that India is free and independent with the right to frame its own constitution by a Constituent Assembly to be elected on the basis of adult franchise or as low a franchise as possible This Assembly will of course satisfy the minorities' legitimate interests Mr Gandhi says that if the minorities are not satisfied then he is willing that some tribunal of the highest character and most impartial should decide the dispute

Now apart from the impracticable character of this proposal and quite apart from the fact that it is historically and constitutionally absurd to ask ruling power to abdicate in favour of a Constituent Assembly apart from all that suppose we do not agree as to the franchise according to which the Central Assembly is to be elected or suppose we the solid body of Muslim representatives do not agree with the non Muslim majority in the Constituent Assembly what will happen? It is said that we have no right to disagree with regard to anything that this assembly may do in framing a national constitution of this huge sub continent except those matters which may be germane to the safeguards for the minorities So we are given the privilege to disagree only with regard to what may be called strictly safeguards of the rights and interests of minorities We are also given the privilege to send our own representatives by separate electorates Now this proposal is based on the assumption that as soon as this constitution comes into operation the British hand will disappear Otherwise there will be no meaning in it

'Of course Mr Gandhi says that the constitution will decide whether the British will disappear and if so to what extent In other words his proposal comes to this First give me the declaration that we are a free and independent nation then I will decide what I should give you back Does Mr Gandhi really want the complete independence of India when he talks like this But whether the British disappear or not, it follows that extensive powers must be transferred to the people In the event of there being a disagreement between the majority of the Constituent Assembly and the Musalmans in the first instance who will appoint the tribunal?

And suppose an agreed tribunal is possible and the award is made and the decision given who will, may I know be there to see that this award is implemented or carried out in accordance with the terms of that award? And who will see that it is honoured in practice because we are told the British will have parted with their power mainly or completely? Then what will be the sanction behind the award which will enforce it We come back to the same answer, the Hindu majority would do it with the help of the British bayonet or the Gandhi s *Ahimsa* Can we trust them any more?

Besides, Ladies and Gentlemen can you imagine that a question of this character of social contract upon which the future constitution of India would be based affecting 90 millions of Musalmans, can be decided by means of a judicial tribunal? Still that is the proposal of the Congress Before I deal with what Mr Gandhi said a few days ago I shall deal with the pronouncements of some of the other Congress leaders— each one speaking with a different voice Mr Rajagopalacharia the ex Prime Minister of Madras says that the only panacea for Hindu Muslim unity is the joint electorates That is his prescription as one of the great doctors of the Congress organisation (Laughter) Babu Rajendra Prasad on the other hand only a few days ago says Oh what more do the Musalmans want? I will read to you his words He says referring to the minority question 'If Britain would concede our right of self determination surely all these differences would disappear' How will our difference disappear? He does not explain or elighten us about

But so long as Britain remained and held power the differences would continue to exist The Congress has made it clear that the future constitution would be framed not by the Congress alone but by representatives of all political parties and religious groups The Congress has gone further and declared that the minorities can have their representatives elected for this purpose by separate electorates though the Congress regards separate electorates as an evil It will be representatives of all the peoples of this country irrespective of their religion and political affiliations who will be deciding the future constitution of India and not this or that party What better guarantees can the minorities have? So according to Babu Rajendra Prasad the moment we enter the Assembly we shall shed all our political affiliations and religions and everything else This is what Babu Rajendra Prasad said as late as 18 March 40 And this is now what Mr Gandhi said on the 20th of March 40 He says

'To me Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Harijans, are all alike I cannot be frivolous —but I think he is frivolous— I cannot be frivolous when I talk of Quaid i Azam Jinnah He is my brother The only difference is this that brother Gandhi has three votes and I have only one vote (Laughter) 'I would be happy indeed if he could keep me in his pocket' I do not know really what to say to this latest offer of his

There was a time when I could say that there was no Muslim whose confidence I did not enjoy It is my misfortune that it is not so today Why has he lost the confidence of the Muslims today? May I ask Ladies and Gentlemen? I do not read all that appears in the Urdu Press but perhaps I get a lot of abuse there I am not sorry for it I still believe that without Hindu-Muslim settlement there can be no Swaraj' Mr Gandhi has been saying this now for the last 20 years You will perhaps ask in that case why do I talk of a fight I do so because it is to be a fight for a Constituent Assembly

He is fighting the British But may I point out to Mr Gandhi and the

Congress that you are fighting for a Constituent Assembly which the Muslims say we cannot accept which, the Muslims say means three to one, about which the Musalmans say that they will never be able in that way by the counting of heads to come to any agreement which will be real agreement from the hearts which will enable us to work as friends and therefore this idea of a Constituent Assembly is objectionable apart from other objections But he is fighting for the Constituent Assembly not fighting the Musalmans at all!

I do so because it is to be a fight for a Constituent Assembly If Muslims 'who come to the Constituent Assembly —mark the words, who come to the Constituent Assembly through Muslim votes'—he is forcing us to come to that Assembly— 'declare that there is nothing common between Hindus and Muslims then alone I would give up all hope but even then I would agree with them because they read the Quran and I have also studied something of that holy book (Laughter)

So he wants the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of ascertaining the views of the Musalmans and if they do not agree then he will give up all hopes, but even then he will agree with us (Laughter) Will I ask you Ladies and Gentlemen is this the way to show any real genuine desire if there existed any, to come to a settlement with the Musalmans? (Voices of No No) Why does not Mr Gandhi agree and I have suggested to him more than once and I repeat it again from this platform why does not Mr Gandhi honestly now acknowledge that the Congress is a Hindu Congress that he does not represent anybody except the solid body of Hindu people? Why should not Mr Gandhi be proud to say I am a Hindu Congress has solid Hindu backing? I am not ashamed of saying that I am a Musalman (Hear hear and applause) I am right and I hope and I think even a blind man must have been convinced by now that the Muslim League has the solid backing of the Musalmans of India (Hear hear)

'Why then all this camouflage? Why all these machinations? Why all these methods to coerce the British to overthrow the Musalmans? Why this declaration of non cooperation? Why this threat of civil disobedience? And why fight for a Constituent Assembly for the sake of ascertaining whether the Musalmans agree or they do not agree? (Hear hear) Why not come as a Hindu leader proudly representing your people and let me meet you proudly representing the Musalmans (Hear hear and applause) This is all that I have to say so far as the Congress is concerned

So far as the British Government is concerned, our negotiations are not concluded yet you know We had asked for assurances on several points at any rate we have made some advance with regard to one point and that is this You remember our demand was that the entire problem of future constitution of India should be examined *de novo* apart from the Government of India Act of 1935 To that the Viceroy s reply, with the authority of His Majesty s government, was—I had better quote that— I will not put it in my own words This is the reply that was sent to us on 23rd December

> My answer to your first question is that the declaration I made with the approval of His Majesty s Government on October the 13th last does not exclude —mark the words— does not exclude examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based' (Hear, hear)

As regards other matters, we are still negotiating and the most important points are (1) that no declaration should be made by His Majesty's Government with regard to the future constitution of India without our approval and consent (Hear hear and applause) and that no settlement of any question should be made with any party behind our back, (Hear hear), unless our approval and consent is given to it Well Ladies and Gentlemen whether the British Government in their wisdom agree to give us that assurance or not, but I trust that they will still see that it is a fair and just demand when we say that we cannot leave the future fate and the destiny of 90 million of people in the hands of any other judge We and we alone wish to be the final arbiter Surely that is a just demand We do not want that the British government should thrust upon the Musalmans a constitution which they do not approve of and to which they do not agree Therefore the British Government will be well advised to give that assurance and give the Musalmans complete peace and confidence in this matter and win their friendship But whether they do that or not after all as I told you before we must depend on our own inherent strength and I make it plain from this Platform that if any declaration is made if any interim settlement is made without our approval and without our consent the Musalmans of India will resist it (Hear hear and applause) And no mistake should be made on that score

Then the next point was with regard to Palestine We are told that endeavours earnest endeavours are being made to meet the reasonable national demands of the Arabs Well we cannot be satisfied by earnest endeavours sincere endeavours best endeavours (Laughter) We want that the British Government should in fact and actually meet the demands of the Arabs in Palestine (Hear, hear) Then the next point was with regard to the sending of the troops Here there is some misunderstanding But anyhow we have made our position clear that we never intended and in fact language does not justify it if there is any misapprehension or apprehension that the Indian troops should not be used to the fullest in the defence of our own country What we wanted [was] the British government to give us assurance of was [sic] that the Indian troops should not be sent against any Muslim country or any Muslim power (Hear, hear) Let us hope that we may yet be able to get the British Government to clarify the position further This then is the position with regard to the British Government The last meeting of the Working Committee had asked the Viceroy to reconsider his letter of the 23rd of December having regard to what has been explained to him in pursuance of the resolution of the Working Committee dated the 3rd of February and we are informed that the matter is receiving his careful consideration

Ladies and Gentlemen! That is where we stand after the War and up to the 3rd of February As far as our internal position is concerned, we have also been examining it and you know there are several schemes which have been sent by various well informed constitutionalists and others who take interest with problem of India's future constitution and we have also appointed a sub-committee to examine the details of the schemes that have come in so far But one thing is quite clear, it has always been taken for granted mistakenly that the Musalmans are a minority and of course we have got used to it for such a long time that these settled notions sometimes are very difficult to remove The Musalmans are not a minority The Musalmans are a nation by any definition The British and particularly the congress proceed on the basis, well you are a minority after all what do you want'? What else do the minorities want, just as Babu Rajendra Prasad said But surely the Musalmans are not a minority We find that even according to the British map of India we occupy large parts of this country where the Musalmans

are in a majority—such as Bengal, Punjab N W F P Sind and Baluchistan

Now the question is what is the best solution of this problem between the Hindus and the Musalmans? We have been considering, and as I have already said, a committee has been appointed to consider the various proposals But whatever the final scheme of constitution, I will present to you my views and I will just read to you in confirmation of what I am going to put before you a letter from Lala Lajpat Rai to Mr C R Dass It was written I believe about 12 or 15 years ago and that letter has been produced in a book by one Indra Prakash recently published and that is how this letter has come to light This is what Lala Lajpat Rai a very astute politician and a staunch Hindu Mahasabhite said But before I read his letter it is plain from that you cannot get away from being a Hindu if you are a Hindu (Laughter) The word nationalist has now become the play of conjurers in politics This is what he says

> There is one point more which has been troubling me very much of late and one which I want you to think carefully and that is the question of Hindu Mohammedan unity I have devoted most of my time during the last six months to the study of Muslim history and Muslim law and I am inclined to think it is neither possible nor practicable Assuming and admitting the sincerity of Mohammedan leaders in the non cooperation movement, I think their religion provides an effective bar to anything of the kind You remember the conversation I reported to you in Calcutta which I had with Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr Kitchlew There is no finer Mohammedan in Hindustan than Hakim Ajmal Khan but can any Muslim leader override the Quran? I can only hope that my reading of Islamic law is incorrect I think his reading is quite incorrect (Laughter) And nothing would relieve me more than to be convinced that it is so But if it is right then it comes to this that although we can unite against the British lines we cannot do so to rule Hindustan on democratic lines

Ladies and Gentlemen! When Lala Lajpat Rai said that we cannot rule this country on democratic lines it was all right but when I had the temerity to speak the same truth about 18 months ago there was a shower of attacks and criticism But Lala Lajpat Rai said 15 years ago that we cannot do so *viz* rule Hindustan on democratic lines What is the remedy? The remedy according to Congress is to keep us in the minority and under the majority rule Lala Lajpat Rai proceeds further

> What is then the remedy? I am not afraid of the seven crores of Musalmans But I think the seven crores in Hindustan plus the armed hordes of Afghanistan Central Asia Arabia Mesopotamia and Turkey will be irresistible' (Laughter) I do honestly and sincerely believe in the necessity of desirability of Hindu Muslim unity I am also fully prepared to trust the Muslim leaders But what about the injunctions of the Quran and Hadis? The leaders cannot override them Are we then doomed? I hope not I hope your learned mind and wise head will find some way out of this difficulty

Now Ladies and Gentlemen that is merely a letter written by one great Hindu leader to another great Hindu leader fifteen years ago Now, I should like to put before you my views on the subject as it strikes me taking everything into consideration at the present moment The British government and Parliament, and more so the British nation have been for many decades past brought up and nurtured with settled notions about India s future based on developments in their own country which

has built up the British constitution functioning now through the Houses of Parliament and the system of Cabinet Their concept of party government functioning on political planes has become the ideal with them as the best form of government for every country and the one sided and powerful propaganda which naturally appeals to the British has led them into a serious blunder in producing a constitution envisaged in the Government of India Act of 1935 We find that the most leading statesmen of Great Britain saturated with these notions have in their pronouncements seriously asserted and expressed a hope that the passage of time will harmonise the inconsistent elements in India

"A leading journal like the London *Times* commenting on the Government of India Act of 1935 wrote that undoubtedly the difference between the Hindus and Muslims is not of religion in the strict sense of the word but also of law and culture that they may be said indeed to represent two entirely distinct and separate civilisations However in the course of time the superstitions will die out and India will be moulded into a single nation (So according to the London *Times* the only difficulties are superstitions) These fundamental and deep rooted differences spiritual economic, cultural social and political have been euphemised as mere superstitions But surely it is a flagrant disregard of the past history of the sub continent of India as well as the fundamental Islamic conception of society *vis a vis* that of Hinduism to characterise them as mere superstitions Notwithstanding thousand years of close contact, nationalities which are as divergent today as ever cannot at any time be expected to transform themselves into one nation merely by means of subjecting them to a democratic constitution and holding them forcibly together by unnatural and artificial methods of British Parliamentary statutes

What the unitary government of India for 150 years had failed to achieve cannot be realised by the imposition of a central federal government It is inconceivable that the fiat or the writ of a government so constituted can ever command a willing and loyal obedience throughout the sub continent by various nationalities except by means of armed force behind it The problem in India is not of an intercommunal character but manifestly of an international one and it must be treated as such So long as this basic and fundamental truth is not realised any constitution that may be built will result in disaster and will prove destructive and harmful not only to the Musalmans but to the British and Hindus also If the British Government are really in earnest and sincere to secure peace and happiness of the people of this sub continent the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing India into autonomous national states There is no reason why these states should be antagonistic to each other On the other hand the rivalry and the natural desire and efforts on the part of one to dominate the social order and establish political supremacy over the other in the government of the country will disappear It will lead more towards natural goodwill by international pacts between them and they can live in complete harmony with their neighbours This will lead further to a friendly settlement all the more easily with regard to minorities by reciprocal arrangements and adjustments between Muslim India and Hindu India which will far more adequately and effectively safeguard the rights and interests of Muslim and various other minorities

It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism They are not religions in the strict sense of the word but are in fact, different and distinct social

orders and it is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality, and this misconception of one Indian nation has gone far beyond the limits and is the cause of most of our troubles and will lead India to destruction if we fail to revise our notions in time The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs and literature They neither intermarry, nor interdine together and indeed, they belong to two different civilisations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions Their aspects on life and of life are different It is quite clear that Hindus and Musalmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history They have different epics, their heroes are different and different episodes Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other and, likewise their victories and defeats overlap To yoke together two such nations under a single state one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state

History has presented to us many examples such as the Union of Great Britain and Ireland Czechoslovakia and Poland History has also shown to us many geographical tracts much smaller than the sub continent of India which otherwise might have been called one country but which have been divided into as many states as there are nations inhabiting them Balkan Peninsula comprises as many as 7 or 8 sovereign states Likewise the Portuguese and the Spanish stand divided in the Iberian Peninsula Whereas under the plea of unity of India and one nation which does not exist it is sought to pursue here the line of one central government when we know that the history of the last 12 hundred years has failed to achieve unity and has witnessed during these ages India always divided into Hindu India and Muslim India The present artificial unity of India dates back only to the British conquest and is maintained by the British bayonet but the termination of the British regime which is implicit in the recent declaration of His Majesty s Government will be the herald of the entire breakup with worse disaster than has ever taken place during the last one thousand years under Muslims Surely that is not the legacy which Britain would bequeath to India after 150 years of her rule nor would Hindu and Muslim India risk such a sure catastrophe

Muslim India cannot accept any constitution which must necessarily result in a Hindu majority government Hindus and Muslims brought together under a democratic system forced upon the minorities can only mean Hindu Raj Democracy of the kind with which the Congress High Command is enamoured would mean the complete destruction of what is most precious in Islam We have had ample experience of the working of the provincial constitutions during the last two and a half years and any repetition of such a government must lead to civil war and raising of private armies as recommended by Mr Gandhi to Hindus of Sukkur when he said that they must defend

[1]This has reference to two articles of Gandhi dated 1 and 29 January 1940 published in *Harijan* 6 January and 3 February 1940 relating to Hindu Muslim riots during the last quarter of 1939 in Sukkur over possession of Manzilgah mosque *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol LXXI op cit pp 71 74 and 159 60 His earlier article dated 28 November 1939 on the subject appeared in *Harijan* 2 December 1939 *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol LXX op cit pp 391 92

themselves violently or non violently, blow for blow, and if they could not they must emigrate [1]

'Musalmans are not a minority as it is commonly known and understood One has only got to look round Even today according to the British map of India, out of 11 provinces, four provinces, where the Muslims dominate more or less are functioning not withstanding the decision of the Hindu Congress High Command to non co operate and prepare for civil disobedience Musalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation and they must have their homeland, their territory and their state We wish to live in peace and harmony with our neighbours as a free and independent people We wish our people to develop to the fullest our spiritual cultural, economic social and political life in a way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people Honesty demands and vital interest of millions of our people impose a sacred duty upon us to find an honourable and peaceful solution which would be just and fair to all But at the same time we cannot be moved or diverted from our purpose and objective by threat or intimidations We must be prepared to face all difficulties and consequences make all the sacrifices that may be required of us to achieve the goal we have set in front of us

Ladies and Gentlemen that is the task before us I fear I have gone beyond my time-limit There are many things that I should like to tell you but I have already published a little pamphlet[1] containing most of the things that I have said and I have been saying and I think you can easily get the publication both in English and in Urdu from the League Office It might give you a clear idea of our aims It contains very important resolutions of the Muslim League and various other statements Anyhow I have placed before you the task that lies ahead of us Do you realise how big and stupendous it is? Do you realise that you cannot get freedom or independence by mere arguments?

'I should appeal to the intelligentsia The intelligentsia in all countries in the world have been the pioneers of any movements for freedom What does the Muslim intelligentsia propose to do? I may tell you that unless you get this into your blood unless you are prepared to take off your coats and are willing to sacrifice all that you can and work selflessly earnestly and sincerely for your people you will never realise your aim Friends I therefore want you to make up your mind definitely and then think of devices and organise your people strengthen your organisation and consolidate the Musalman all over India I think that the masses are wide awake They only want your guidance and your lead Come forward as servants of Islam organise the people economically, socially educationally and politically and I am sure that you will be a power that will be accepted by everybody " (Cheers)

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League *The War II Problem of India's Future Constitution What Muslim India and its Leader Mr M A Jinnah Think,* National Printing and Publishing House, Daryagang, Delhi n d An eighty one page booklet containing relevant Muslim League resolutions Jinnah s speeches and statements and his correspondence with Nehru Gandhi and Viceroy Linlithgow, August 1939—Feburary 1940

248. "Idea of United India a Dream—We have Definitely made up our Minds"[1]

"I am for a compromise and an honourable settlement between the Hindus and Muslims and the minorities, but the sooner the idea of any organisation, however great, representing all India is given up the better," said Mr M A Jinnah in an interview on Monday [25 March] evening after explaining the significance of the All India Muslim League's decisions at the Lahore session [2]

Referring to the main resolutions passed by the League, Mr Jinnah said that, though no man could lay down a scheduled programme, "but I know that Muslim India will not shirk any sacrifice as we have definitely made up our minds for the realisation of the goal that we have set in front of us

The declaration of our goal which we have definitely laid down of the division of India", he said, is in my opinion undoubtedly a landmark in the future history of the Musalmans of India I am asked what are the means by which we will realise this goal Firstly

[1] Press interview, *Civil & Military Gazette* 26 March 1940

While Viceroy Linlithgow described the Partition demand of Lahore as no more than a bargaining counter against Congress (Linlithgow to HM the King 13 June 1940 India Office Library Linlithgow Collection MSS Eur F 125/1) the Indian National Congress seems to have ignored it until April May 1942 when the Congress Working Committee eventually considered it necessary to choose the lesser evil and acknowledge the Muslim League's claim for separation See All India Congress Committee proceedings Allahabad 29 April 2 May 1942 in A M Zaidi and S G Zaidi (eds) *The Encyclopaedia of Indian National Congress A Fight to the Finish,* Vol XII 1939 1946 Indian Institute of Applied Political Research New Delhi 1981 p 381 Gandhi commented on it as follows I do not believe that Muslims when it comes to a matter of actual decision will ever want vivisection Their good sense will prevent them Their self interest will deter them Their religion will forbid the obvious suicide which the partition would mean The two nation' theory is an untruth The vast majority of Muslims of India are converts to Islam or are descendants of converts They did not become a separate nation as soon as they became converts Hindus and Muslims of India are not two nations Those whom God has made one man will never be able to divide Gandhi's article entitled A Baffling Situation *Harijan* 6 April 1940 *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* Vol LXXI op cit pp 387 90

In Britain *The Times* (25 March 1940) reported only briefly the Lahore proceedings (from its correspondent based in Delhi) in relation to Jinnah's presidential address listened to according to the estimate cited in *The Times* above by more than 100 000 Muslims *The Times* further reproduced Jinnah's summary reply that I will give my life to achieve it to a questioner who asked what course he would pursue if he did not succeed in his policy of division ' *Manchester Guardian* (30 April 1940) in a belated editorial comment described Jinnah's demand for Moslem independence in some ways most dangerous The Lahore happenings found no mention in Parliamentary proceedings in London either at the time or in immediate future

by reasoning with and persuading our Hindu friends and the British Government We believe that our cause is right and we do not despair of convincing them I really do not see why our Hindu friends or the British Government should put difficulties in the way of our proposal

'I thoroughly believe that the idea of one united India is a dream Given goodwill and a friendly understanding, Muslim India and Hindu India can live as most friendly neighbours free from clashes and friction in their respective spheres and peacefully develop the government of their States to their own satisfaction respectively But the struggle will and must be continued and no man can say when we are at the threshold of it and as to how it will proceed And no man can lay down a scheduled programme because it will depend upon so many factors that may develop and the nature of obstacles that may be created We will have to deal with the situation from time to time as it may develop But I know that Muslim India will not shirk any sacrifice as we have definitely made up our minds for the realisation of the goal that we have set in front of us

Not Passing Phase

'This is not a passing phase and it is a mistake to think that the methods of a Constituent Assembly will make any change in the solid opinion of the Musalmans

'Another thing that has emerged from the session of the All India Muslim League is that in face of the unfortunate occurrence on March 19, resulting in the loss of a large number of Muslims, which shook the Musalmans of India and particularly of the Punjab and Lahore the Subjects Committee after many many hours of deliberations came to a unanimous decision and a still more remarkable fact is that the entire body of delegates in the open session and the vast public accepted the resolution moved from the chair also unanimously This has shown beyond doubt that the Musalmans are capable of standing and going through an ordeal and trial worthy of any great political organisation In my opinion, therefore, this session was far more successful than it would have been otherwise from that point of view The other no doubt would have been probably a greater spectacular, political demonstration free from the shadow of this tragedy and the gloom that was cast But for that there would have been no opportunity to go through the trial and examination of the acid test to which the Muslim League and the Punjab public were put "

249. Iqbal "a Dynamic Personality"[1]

"If I live to see the ideal of a Muslim State being achieved in India, and I were then offered to make a choice between the works of Iqbal and the rulership of the Muslim State, I would prefer the former" This view was expressed by Mr M A Jinnah presiding over the second session of the 'Iqbal Day' held in the University Hall, Lahore, on Monday [25 March] Mr A K Fazlul Huq presided over the first sitting on Sunday On both occasions a big audience of all communities was present

Continuing, Mr Jinnah said that in April 1936, he thought of transforming the Muslim League, which was then only an academical institution, into a parliament of the Muslims of India From that time to the end of his life, he continued, Iqbal stood like a rock by him Iqbal, Mr Jinnah said, was not only a great poet who had a permanent place in the history of the world's best literature, he was a dynamic personality who, during his lifetime, made the greatest contribution towards rousing and developing of Muslim national consciousness He compared Iqbal with great literary figures of England like Milton and Shelley

Sir Abdul Qadir, in the course of his speech, said that Iqbal's secretary told him an incident which was very significant On April 20, 1938, being the last day of the poet's earthly existence, a cutting from an English paper of Natal was received by Iqbal It contained an account of the proceedings of a meeting of the Muslims of Natal who offered prayers for the long life of Iqbal, Jinnah and Kemal Ataturk When this account was read over to the poet, he said 'I have now finished my life's work Mr Jinnah had yet to fulfil his life's mission Let the Muslims, therefore, pray for his long life '

Mr Hira Nand, a professor of the Sanatan Dharma College, Lahore, in the course of his speech, said that Iqbal was the poet of humanity In the *Bang-i-Dara* the poet expressed noblest sentiments about Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, Shri Ram and Swami Ram Tirath Professor Munir-ud-Din, in the course of his paper on 'Re-orientation of religious values in Iqbal' said 'During

[1]Public speech, *Civil & Military Gazette* 26 March 1940 Jinnah also sent the following message to the Aligarh Magazine Special Number on Iqbal see Muhammad Sultan Islam (ed) *The Aligarh Magazine Special Number, 1939-40,* Vol 118 No 1 Muslim University Press n d p 193

> I wish your efforts to bring out a Special Number of Aligarh Magazine devoted to the life and teachings of the late Dr Sir Muhammad Iqbal every success I need hardly say that he was one of the greatest interpreters of the spirit of Islam and any effort which will make our people understand his life and teachings is most essential specially at this moment and I am glad that your Aligarh Magazine has undertaken to make this contribution towards the Muslim National Movement M A Jinnah

the last 500 years Iqbal was the first to appreciate fully the need of *Ijtihad* — innovation in the static world of Islam Iqbal revived the whole metaphysical background of Islam His notes on 'destiny' and 'freedom of action' are of particular value Iqbal's re-orientation of religious values is particularly valuable on account of his rediscovery of fresh levels of human consciousness These levels of consciousness are super-intellectual modes of approach to reality and vary from simple intuition to the degree of *Miraj* — perfection which the Prophet achieved '

Many other poets and scholars read poems and papers on Iqbal

250. "Woman is Man's Equal, Friend and Comrade"[1]

The 'weaker sex' is more powerful than both sword and pen, was the view expressed by Mr M A Jinnah while addressing the students of Jinnah Islamia College for Women[2] in Lahore on Monday [March 25] He said

"I have always maintained that no nation can ever be worthy of its existence that cannot take with them their women No struggle can ever succeed without women ever participating side by side with men There are two powers in the world One is represented by the sword and the other by the pen There is a great competition and rivalry between the two There is a third power stronger than both That is the woman It is woman and woman alone who can teach man how and when to use the sword or pen when the occasion arises The Muslim League is not quite oblivious of the vital importance of taking their women with them so that they also participate in national struggle

At Patna we appointed an All India Women's Central Committee During the last 15 months I have been watching their efforts difficulties and obstacles Notwithstanding all that great progress has been made by the Committee You young ladies are more fortunate than your mothers You are being emancipated I don t mean that you should copy the West But I do mean that man must be made to understand and made to feel that woman is his equal and that woman is his friend and comrade and they together can build up homes families and the nations

[1] Public speech *Civil & Military Gazette* 26 March 1940

[2] A similar report about the event appeared in *Hindustan Times*, 27 March 1940 according to which this College located at Nawankot (Lahore) was named after Jinnah that very day

251 Partition Resolution—"Speak With One Voice—that of Islam"[1]

(By Our Political Correspondent) The main resolution defining their goal as division of the country into independent sovereign States constituting Muslim India and Hindu India was unanimously carried and that relating to the Khaksar trouble was put from the Chair and adopted without a dissenting voice before the 27th session of the All India Muslim League concluded shortly before midnight in Lahore on Sunday [24 March] The session, which concluded amidst scenes of unprecedented enthusiasm and resounding shouts of Allah-o-Akbar and Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad, was a triumph for Mr Jinnah's leadership and proof of the sanity of the League under his guidance in dealing with delicate questions

The three-day session commenced under the heavy shadow of the Khaksar disturbance, but the use of hard words with reference to it was carefully avoided throughout the proceedings in distinct contrast to the League's methods of approach to other problems The resolution relating to the Khaksar question was put to the session from the Chair by Mr Jinnah The wording of the resolution was cautious, attempting to avoid embarrassment to the Punjab Government and at the same time satisfying all sections of opinion among the delegates While it expressed sorrow at the unfortunate and tragic occurrence, the resolution called upon the Government to appoint an independent and impartial committee of inquiry and authorise the Working Committee to take such action as they might consider proper on the publication of its report The resolution also urged upon the various Governments to remove the ban declaring the Khaksars organisation an unlawful body as soon as possible

Onus on Khaksars

Thus the League has taken on a position which in substance confirms the attitude taken by the Punjab Government The latter have already announced that an inquiry will be held into the incident by two High Court Judges As regards the part which urges the removal of the ban declaring the Khaksar organisation an unlawful body, the words 'as soon as possible' in the resolution are significant and place the onus on the Khaksars themselves It depends on them now to create favourable circumstances by abandoning their unlawful activities so that the Government may consider the possibility of rescinding the order

[1] News report, *Civil & Military Gazette*, 26 March 1940

The action of the League concerning the Khaksar question is already having a salutary effect. If the order of the *Naib Salar-i-Azam* [deputy commander-in-chief] to the Khaksars to suspend their unlawful activities secured on the intervention of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung, himself a Khaksar from Hyderabad (Deccan), are obeyed, peace may soon be restored in Lahore. The orders, which were conveyed to two parties of Khaksar demonstrators on Sunday [24 March], were obeyed. In the meantime Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung is carrying on negotiations for a final settlement.

The resolution relating to the Khaksars was discussed in the Subjects Committee from 9 p.m. on Saturday till 2 a.m. when the final draft was approved. At the commencement of the meeting Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Punjab Premier, is understood to have made a lengthy speech relating to the circumstances under which the Punjab Government were forced to take action against all quasi military organisations in the province and how the defiance of the order by the Khaksars and their unprovoked attack on the police resulted in the unfortunate incident. A discussion followed in which several points of view were expressed. There was difference of opinion on the way the practically identical view of the Subjects Committee should be given expression to.

'Expel Sikander'

When the open session met at 8.50 p.m. on Sunday [24 March], the atmosphere in the *pandal* was surcharged with excitement in expectation of the Khaksar resolution being taken up. From the very start the proceedings were interrupted with shouts of 'Khaksars Zindabad' and *Sikander Ko League Se Nikal Do* (expel Sikander from the League).

After discussion on the main resolution was concluded and carried unanimously, Mr Jinnah rose to move the resolution relating to the Khaksar trouble. It said:

> 'This session of the All India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the unfortunate and tragic occurrence on March 18, 1940 owing to a clash between the Khaksars and the police, resulting in the loss of a large number of lives and injuries to many more, and sincerely sympathises with those who have suffered and with their families and dependants. This session calls upon the Government to forthwith appoint an independent and impartial committee of inquiry, the personnel of which would command perfect confidence of the people with instructions to them to make a full and complete investigation and inquiry in the whole affair and make their report as soon as possible.
>
> This session authorises the Working Committee to take such action in the matter as they may consider proper immediately after the publication of the report of the Committee. This session urges upon the various Governments that the order declaring the Khaksar organisation unlawful should be removed as soon as possible.'

The resolution, Mr Jinnah pointed out, was the result of discussion in the Subjects Committee for five hours The Subjects Committee had adopted the resolution unanimously and it was now for the delegates to deal with it as they liked The resolution represented their considered opinion and they wanted him to convey to the delegates that the resolution might be put from the Chair

Many Reasons

Mr Jinnah added "There are many reasons for this course to be adopted The first reason is that it will not be desirable to have people coming and making speeches after speeches It is very difficult to restrain passions and some may say something which might be considered harmful to our interest Another reason is that the matter is *sub judice*' The resolution, he said, asked for a full and complete investigation and inquiry and it would not be in the fitness of things that on the one hand they asked for an inquiry and on the other they pronounced their judgment He reminded the delegates that there was a clause in the resolution which authorised the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League to take such action as they thought proper immediately after the publication of the report of the inquiry committee Mr Jinnah then ascertained the views of the delegates and they approved of the suggestion that the resolution should not be discussed and therefore moved from the Chair

Continuing, Mr Jinnah said that, with their authority, he moved the resolution from the Chair He assured the delegates and the friends of the Khaksar organisation that the Working Committee would not rest until they had secured justice He also assured them that, whether it was the Punjab Government or the Government of India or the Punjab Ministry or even the Punjab Premier, they would not rest until they had secured full justice Mr Jinnah then requested every Muslim in the Punjab and in other parts of India and the Khaksars particularly to put their heads together and see that at the time of the inquiry they placed their material before the investigating authority They should also put their heads together regardless of expense to see that all material and evidence was placed before the inquiry committee That was the most important thing at the present moment

Earlier discussion was resumed on the main resolution regarding the constitutional goal for the League The resolution, which was moved on Saturday [23 March], was debated on Sunday morning [24 March] and again in the evening before it was finally passed The morning session on Sunday [24 March] 11 30 a m with Nawab Sir Muhammad Shah Nawaz of Mamdot in the Chair Mr M A Jinnah arrived in the *pandal* half an hour later, accompanied by his sister, Miss Jinnah The attendance which was poor at the opening of the session, improved after Mr Jinnah's arrival

Khan Bahadur Nawab Ismail Khan (Bihar) who was the first speaker to resume discussion on the main resolution, said that he supported the resolution in the Subjects Committee though he belonged to a Muslim minority province He was conscious that they would never realise the dream of independence, which the majority provinces would get if the proposed scheme was translated into a practical proposition He believed that as long as they remained on the right path neither the majority community nor the minority community could be killed He was thankful for the assurance of help that had been extended to Muslim minorities in seven provinces of India by the majority provinces However, he said that if they were true Muslims they would learn to live [stand] on their own legs They had trust in God and were sure that an equitable distribution of rights would be effected in their provinces

Islamic Traditions

He concluded by pointing out the social and religious differences between the Muslims and the majority community and asserted that in accordance with Islamic traditions, Muslims would get freedom and live independently The voice that was being raised from the platform of the League was the voice of Muslim India and not that which was raised by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Qazi Muhammad Isa (Baluchistan) said that the historic resolution that they were going to pass was possible on account of the attitude of the Muslim minority provinces They were thankful to them and assured them that they would not forget them in case they were in any trouble The treatment that was meted out to them by the Hindu majority would be reciprocated in Muslim majority provinces to the Hindu minority

Mr Abdul Hamid (Madras) said that for so many decades the Muslims had co-operated with the Hindus for the freedom of the country and had made yeoman sacrifices They had never been behind anyone in the fight for the freedom of the country believing that when India was free the entire people would be free But they had been disillusioned The working of provincial autonomy had shown that what was supposed to be the freedom of India was really the freedom of the Hindus The Congress he said, had designs to keep the Muslims under perpetual bondage In accordance with their religious and historic traditions, the Muslims could not accept that position They had always been a free nation except for the last 150 years in India Referring to the assurances by majority provinces, he said that in the constitutional battle there was the question of heads and numbers The question in minority provinces was that of their rights and position both constitutionally and politically He hoped that when the constitution was drafted their opinion would be given due consideration and regard

Mr Chundrigar (Bombay) said that the purpose of the resolution was to scrap federation and autonomy and present a new basis for the constitutional dispensation If the Congress plan was accepted he feared that their culture and civilisation would be destroyed If however, there was a solid Muslim kingdom in the country, it would have a sobering effect on the Hindus and their designs against the Muslims would be defeated He opposed the Constituent Assembly proposal on the ground that in that assembly they would have only the right to vote on the question of safeguards and not on the actual constitution for India He said that the Congress intentions were not good He congratulated the League on the bold stand they had taken and paid a compliment to the Muslim minority provinces which he said had played a more important part in organising the League

Atrocities

Syed Abdul Raoof (C P) referred to Congress atrocities on Muslims in the two and a half years of their rule In spite of that he said, the Muslims in those provinces had not been subdued and their spirits remained undamped He asked the majority provinces not to worry about them, their safeguard was their faith in Allah They would never ask for help and would always try to stand on their own legs

Dr Muhammad Alam (Punjab), who recently left the Congress and joined the Muslim League, said that the scheme to divide India into zones was originally suggested by Bhai Parmanand when he had not joined the Hindu Mahasabha and belonged to the Gadar Party He said that Mr Jinnah had been called a political fanatic by some newspapers He wished that the Muslims had two such fanatics, one to deal with the British and the other to deal with the Hindus

He characterised the resolution as a declaration of war against the British and the Hindus It also carried the message of peace They were telling the British that if the Hindus could not get freedom for India, the nine crores of Muslims would get it The Congress, he feared, really did not want freedom for the country at all What they were after was Hindu Raj under the patronage of the British If their demand for a Constituent Assembly was accepted, he was sure that they would agree to Dominion status or even to a lesser status The Muslims did not want anything of the sort, they wanted unadulterated freedom for the whole country Continuing Dr Alam said that it had been wrongly said in the press that he had changed his political coat As a matter of fact, it was the Congress which had changed its position The Congress had drifted from their original position He further said that if their demand for freedom was accepted by the British they would have no quarrel with them The

Congress also, he said, should accept the stand taken by the League for the freedom of the country and make peace with them If the Congress did not change their attitude, the Muslim nation would still fight for the freedom of the country The Muslims had no faith in the Congress and that was the reason they were leaving it one by one

Mr Jinnah's Assurances

Continuing Dr Alam referred to the talk that he had with Mr Jinnah in Delhi before joining the League He asked Mr Jinnah if he would maintain his attitude against direct action even after giving the League the lead that was being given in the resolution The reply was that the resolution carried them far If they had to fight the British for it Mr Jinnah said, "Alam, I will give my life for it" Dr Alam said that he next questioned Mr Jinnah if he would be prepared to go to jail in fighting for the goal which he had set before him, Mr Jinnah according to Dr Alam said, "Alam before you, you will follow me" After these assurances, Dr Alam said that he told Mr Jinnah that he (Mr Jinnah) was his leader Dr Alam further said that the Muslims were a nation and that it was natural that they should have a homeland The safeguards for the minorities in Hindu provinces must be mandatory For Hindus, he concluded they wanted the same freedom as for themselves

At this stage the session adjourned till the evening when the discussion was resumed by Syed Zakir Ali (Agra) He compared the Muslims in minority provinces to the advance guard of the Muslim army He hoped that the resolution did not depend on the consent and approval of the Hindus and the British If that were so then it was not worth the paper on which it was written However, he believed that, that was not the case because the martial classes of the Punjab and the Frontier Pathans were at the back of it

Women's Part

Begum Muhammad Ali, wearing a black veil, said that in order to win freedom they must strengthen the Muslim League She said that Muslim women also wanted to play their due part in the struggle for freedom Without their help she believed the men could not do anything After Maulana Abdul Hamid (U P) had spoken Mr Jinnah put the resolution to the delegates and it was declared carried unanimously

Another resolution passed by the session on Sunday [24 March] related to the Palestine question It was allowed to be moved in the open session without the approval of the Subjects Committee because of its uncontroversial nature and because it was in consonance with the pronouncements made by the League It was moved by Mr Muhammad Rahman Siddiqi and supported by Sir Raza Ali It said

The All India Muslim League views with grave concern the inordinate delay on the part of the British Government in coming to a settlement with the Arabs in Palestine and places on record its considered opinion in clear and unequivocal language that no arrangement of a piecemeal character will be made in Palestine which are contrary in spirit and opposed to the pledges given to the Muslim world and particularly to the Muslims in India to secure their active assistance in the war of 1914 18 Further the League warns the British Government against the danger of taking advantage of the presence of large British forces in the Holy Land to overawe the Arabs and force them into submission

After the resolution regarding the Khaksars had been passed the election of office-bearers took place On the proposal of Sir Raza Ali, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali was elected honorary secretary and the Raja of Mahmudabad honorary treasurer The election of two joint secretaries was left to the League Council The session then approved of the following amendment in the constitution of the League

'The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League shall control direct and regulate all the activities of the various provincial Leagues strictly in consonance with the aims objects and rules of the All India Muslim League The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League shall be empowered

a) To take disciplinary action against individual members of the Council of the All India Muslim League who violate the decisions of the League or act in contravention of its aims and objects subject to a right of appeal to the Council of the All India Muslim League

b) To suspend, dissolve or disaffiliate any provincial League which fails in its duties infringes or ignores the decisions or direction of the All India Muslim League or hinders the progress of the League in any manner whatsoever subject to a right of appeal to the Council of the All India Muslim League

Negotiations

Before the session concluded, Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung addressed the session for about an hour on 'Islam' Referring to the Khaksars, he said that he had met the *Naib Salar-i-Azam* in Jail and he had issued instructions to the Khaksars not to hold demonstrations as negotiations were going on with the authorities

Mr Jinnah, in his concluding remarks, thanked the Reception Committee for their excellent arrangements and for helping him to conduct the deliberations He said that he was very perturbed when he heard of the firing on the Khaksars His life had been shortened by 10 years when he heard of the tragic happening in Lahore He was advised by some people not to hold the session in Lahore, but he had faith in the people of the Punjab and he decided not to postpone the session When he reached Lahore, he told reporters that the Lahore session of the Muslim League was going to be a landmark in the history of the Muslims of India He had no doubt

that but for this tragedy on the eve of the session, it would have proved a greater success. There would have been a magnificent procession, when they would have had an opportunity to demonstrate their enthusiasm. Their enemies had also attempted to mar the session but all their attempts had failed and the session had concluded most successfully.

He was happy that the deliberations of the session were conducted in a cool and calm atmosphere. It was an acid test for the Muslims. "When our blood was boiling and when 30 Muslims were shot dead, it was very difficult to keep calm. But you have demonstrated to the world that the Muslims are capable of bearing sorrows. You have also shown to the world that you can conduct your business in a gathering of lakhs. It is the finest certificate that can be given to any nation. The prestige of the League was in the hands of the Muslims of the Punjab. I, therefore, congratulate the Punjab Muslims from the bottom of my heart. It gives me courage to serve you all the more."

A Landmark

Continuing, Mr. Jinnah said that the Lahore session had really proved to be a landmark in the history of Muslim India because they had defined their goal. He assured the gathering that they would fight for that goal. They had taken the decision in right earnest. Finally, he appealed to the Muslims of the Punjab to organise the League in the province and carry its message from village to village and house to house. He exhorted workers, peasants, intelligentsia, landlords and capitalists to speak with one voice—that of Islam.

The session concluded with deafening shouts of 'Allah-o-Akbar' and 'Mohammad Ali Jinnah Zindabad'.

During Sunday [24 March], Mr. Jinnah was the guest of honour at a luncheon by Khan Bahadur Syed Maratib Ali at his residence on Davis Road and an 'At Home' by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Punjab Premier, at his residence on the Upper Mall. Those present at the Premier's party included His Excellency Sir Henry Craik, Sir Douglas Young, Mr. Fazlul Huq, Mr. Justice and Kanwarani Dalip Singh, Mr. Justice and Mrs. Monroe, Mr. Justice and Mrs. Ram Lal, Mr. Justice Skemp, Mr. Justice Sale, Sir Shahab-ud-Din, Malik Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana, Mian Abdul Haye, Mr. and Mrs. Skine, Major and Mrs. Mackessack, the Nawab of Chhattari, Sir Syed Sultan Ahmad, Sir Nazim-ud-Din, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Sir Muhammad Shah Nawaz of Mamdot, Col. and Mrs. Carson, Major-General and Mrs. Saunders, Sir Abdul Qadir and Lady Qadir, Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon, Mr. Sayed Hossain Imam, Mr. and Mrs. Ram Chandra, Mr. and Mrs. Askwith, Nawab Muzaffar Khan, Mr. Alan Mitchell, Mr. J. D. Penny and Begum Shah Nawaz.

252 "Anxious to meet Gandhi to Discuss Details of Two Indias"[1]

New Delhi, March 29 The President of the Muslim League, Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah, announced here today that he is inviting Mr Gandhi to a private conference to discuss the partition of India into Muslim and Hindu States

Mr Jinnah declared in an interview that it was useless to criticise Britain for being slow to grant India Independence if the leaders of the different movements did not present logical and practical plan for its realization "I am anxious to meet Mr Gandhi soon to discuss the details of two Indias—Muslim and Hindu — which are as unlike as Germany and France,—even more so, because they are different people with different religious and social orders I am willing to forget personal differences and go to Wardha myself to meet Mr Gandhi in his own camp " Mr Jinnah continued 'I think the time has come for Mr Gandhi and I to get together and talk brass tacks I feel I can speak on behalf of Muslim India and he on behalf of the Hindus, but not all India, as he pretends to represent '

Asked whether he wanted complete independence for India like Mr Gandhi, Mr Jinnah replied "I would be satisfied with Dominion status for Muslim India within the British Commonwealth of Nations ' Mr Gandhi, like me, knows that India is not ready for complete independence It is a continent of 400 000 000 persons If the British bayonets disappeared suddenly, then the Central Government would collapse You might as well dream of a united North and South America " Mr Jinnah pointed out that Burma had been part of India, but had been permitted to separate from it 'The same should follow for Muslim India," he said—British United Press

[1] Press interview *Manchester Guardian*, 30 March 1940

Muslim League Documents

On the eve of independence in August 1947 the records of the All India Muslim League housed in a rented building at Faizbazar Daryaganj where the office of the All India Muslim League was located were barely saved amidst communal riots in Delhi Sensing danger Syed Shamsul Hasan, office secretary (1919-47) of the All India Muslim League (AIML), packed the records in forty five steel trunks with a view to shifting them to Karachi

Syed Shamsul Hasan came to Karachi to witness Independence Day celebrations when he called on Jinnah who instructed him to rush back to Delhi and bring the records to Karachi Back in Delhi Shamsul Hasan was arrested under section 304 of the Indian Penal Code He was however released three weeks later on the intercession by Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad with the Indian Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru It took him several months to transfer the records to Karachi In Karachi, they were housed at the Pakistan Muslim League office located in an allotted premises facing Merewether Tower on Bunder Road The building is currently in occupation of the National Insurance Corporation of Pakistan During the 1948 58 decade access to the records was limited to printed matter only

In the wake of the Martial Law in October 1958 when all political activity and parties were banned the records of the Muslim League were also sealed It was through the intervention of Dr Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi historian and then Vice Chancellor of Karachi University that in 1966 the Muslim League records were salvaged, although a large quantity of them withered through neglect or having been exposed to weather Whatever remained was given over to a newly created cell in Karachi University known as the Freedom Movement Archives for repair restoration identification and classification This job is still in progress

The original records in bound volumes are given over to the Quaid i Azam Academy where they are photocopied and then transferred under a special agreement to the National Archives, Islamabad for preservation and use by scholars Photocopies of the records are kept at the Quaid i Azam Academy and the Freedom Movement Archives of the University of Karachi During the past two decades over seventy thousand documents have been repaired restored and classified in nearly six hundred bound volumes and their photocopies made originals shifted to Islamabad Work on the rest of the documents is continuing at Karachi The Quaid i Azam Academy has also undertaken to edit and publish a selection from them volume I covering the period 1900 1908 has already been published For further details see Syed Shamsul Hasan *Plain Mr Jinnah* Royal Book Company Karachi 1976 Introduction pp 1 67 Sharif al Mujahid (ed) *Muslim League Documents 1900 1947* Vol I 1900 1908 Quaid i Azam Academy, Karachi 1990 Preface pp xxiii xxxvi and Mahmudul Hasan Siddiqi (ed) *Archives of Freedom Movement, Muslim League Records and Private Collections A Handbook of Archives and Material on Pakistan Freedom Struggle*, University of Karachi 1988

The Congress-League Scheme of Reform, 1916 (commonly known as the Lucknow Pact)[1]

The following recommendations of the joint-conference of the Congress and the League were adopted and the League at its Annual Sessions passed the undermentioned resolution

Resolution - The All India Muslim League, while adopting the Scheme of Reforms prepared by the Reform Committee of the League and approved by its Council, submits it in conjunction with the Indian National Congress to the Government for its introduction after the war as the first necessary step towards the establishment of complete Self Government in India

Recommendations

Reform Scheme

I Provincial Legislative Councils

1 Provincial Legislative Council shall consist of four fifths elected and of one fifth nominated members

2 Their strength shall be not less than 125 members in the major provinces and from 50 to 75 in the minor provinces

3 The members of Councils should be elected directly by the people on as broad a franchise as possible

4 Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election and the Mohammadans should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils in the following proportions

Punjab	—One half of the elected Indian Members
United Provinces	—30 P C
Bengal	—40 P C
Bihar	—25 P C
Central Provinces	—15 P C
Madras	—15 P C
Bombay	—One third

Provided that no Mohammedan shall participate in any of the other elections the Imperial or Provincial Legislative Councils save and except those by electorates representing special interests

Provided further that no bill nor any clause thereof nor a resolution introduced by a non official member affecting one or the other community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned shall be proceeded with if three fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council Imperial or Provincial oppose the bill or any clause thereof or the resolution

5 The head of the Provincial Government should not be the President of the Legislative Council but the Council should have right of electing its President

[1] All India Muslim League *The Summary of the Report of the Honorary Secretary* [S Wazir Hasan] *of the All India Muslim League for 1916*, Victoria Press Mashkganj Lucknow n d pp 5 16

6 The right of asking supplementary questions should not be restricted to the member putting the original question, but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member

7 (a)Except customs post telegraph mint salt opium Railways, army and navy, and tributes from Indian States, all other sources of revenue should be Provincial

(b)There should be no divided heads of revenue The Government of India should be provided with fixed contributions being liable to revision when extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies render such revision necessary

(c)The Provincial Council should have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal administration of the province including the power to raise loans to impose and alter taxation and to vote on the Budget All items of expenditure and all proposals concerning ways and means for raising the necessary revenue should be embodied to Bills and submitted to the Provincial Council for adoption

(d)Resolution on all matters within the purview of the Provincial Government should be allowed for discussion in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself

(e)A resolution passed by the Provincial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Executive Government unless vetoed by the Governor in Council provided however that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year it must be given effect to

(f) A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance if supported by not less then one eighth of the members present

8 A special meeting of the Provincial Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members

9 A Bill other than a Money Bill may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Government should not be required therefor

10 All Bills passed by Provincial Legislatures shall have to receive the assent of the Governor before they become law, but may be vetoed by the Governor General

11 The term of office of the members shall be five years

II Provincial governments

1 The head of every Provincial Government shall be a governor who shall not ordinarily belong to the Indian Civil Service or any of the permanent services

2 There shall be in every Province an Executive Council which with the Governor shall constitute the Executive government of the Province

3 Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Councils

4 Not less than one half of the members of the Executive Council shall consist of Indians to be elected by the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council

5 The term of office of the members shall be five years

III Imperial Legislative Council

1 The strength of Imperial Legislative Council shall be 150

2 Four fifths of the members shall be elected

3 The franchise for the Imperial Legislative Council should be widened as far as possible on the lines of the electorates for Mohammedans for the Provincial Legislative Councils, and the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils should also form an electorate for the return of members to the Imperial Legislative Council

4 One third of the Indian elected members should be Mohammedans elected by separate Mohammedan electorates in the several Provinces, in the proportion as nearly as may be, in which they are represented on the Provincial Legislative Councils by separate Mohammedan electorates

Vide proviso to section 1, clause 4

5 The President of the Council shall be elected by the Council itself

6 The right of asking supplementary questions shall not be restricted to the member putting the original question but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member

7 A special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one eighth of the members

8 A Bill, other than a Money Bill may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself and the consent of the Executive Government should not be required therefor

9 All Bills passed by the Council shall have to receive the assent of the Governor General before they become law

10 All financial proposals relating to sources of income and items of expenditure shall be embodied in Bills Every such Bill and the Budget as a whole shall be submitted for the vote of the Imperial Legislative Council

11 The term of office of members shall be five years

12 The matters mentioned herein below shall be exclusive under the control of the Imperial Legislative Councils

(a) Matters in regard to which uniform legislation for the whole of India is desirable

(b) Provincial legislation insofar as it may affect inter-provincial fiscal relations

(c) Questions affecting purely Imperial Revenue, excepting tribute form Indian States

(d) Questions affecting purely Imperial expenditure except that no resolution of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Governor General in Council in respect of military charges for the defence of the country

(e) The right of revising Indian tariffs and customs-duties of imposing, altering or removing any tax or cess modifying the existing system of currency and banking and granting any aids or bounties to any or all deserving and nascent industries of the country

(f) Resolutions on all matters relating to the administration of the country as a whole

13 A Resolution passed by the Legislative Council should be binding on the Executive government, unless vetoed by the Governor-General in Council provided however that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to

14 A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present

15 When the Crown chooses to exercise its power of veto in regard to a Bill passed by a Provincial Legislative Council or by the Imperial Legislative Council it should be exercised within twelve months from the date on which it is passed and the Bill shall cease to have effect as from the date on which the fact of such veto is made known to the Legislative Council concerned

16 The Imperial Legislative Council shall have no power to interfere with the Government of India s direction of the military affairs and the foreign and political relations of India including the declaration of war the making of peace and the entering into treatise

IV The Government of India

1 The Governor General of India will be the head of the government of India

2 He will have an Executive Council half of whom shall be Indians

3 The Indian members should be elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council

4 Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Council of the Governor General

5 The power of making all appointments in the Imperial Civil services shall vest in the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme due regard being paid to existing interests subject to any law that may be made by the Imperial Legislative Council

6 The Government of India shall not ordinarily interfere in the local affairs of a province, and powers not specifically given to a Provincial Government shall be deemed to be vested in the former The authority of the Government of India will ordinarily be limited to general supervision and superintendence over the Provincial Government

7 In legislative and administrative matters the Government of India as constituted under this scheme shall as far as possible, be independent of the Secretary of State

8 A system of independent audit of the accounts of the Government of India should be instituted

V The Secretary of State in Council

1 The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished

2 The salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British Estimates

3 The Secretary of State should, as far as possible occupy the same position in relation to the Government of India as the Secretary of State for the Colonies does in relation to the Government of the self governing Dominions

4 The Secretary of State for India should be assisted by two Permanent Under Secretaries one of whom should always be an Indian

VI India and the Empire

1 In any Council or other body which may be constituted or convened for the settlement or control of Imperial affairs, India shall be adequately represented in like manner with the Dominions and with equal rights

2 Indians should be placed on a footing of equality in respect of status and rights of citizenship with other subjects of His Majesty the King throughout the Empire

VII Military and other matters

1 Commission in the army The military and naval services of His Majesty both in their commissioned and non commissioned ranks should be thrown open to Indians and adequate provision should be made for their selection training and instruction in India

2 Volunteering Indians should be allowed to enlist as volunteers

3 Separation of judicial and executive functions Executive Officers in India shall have no judicial powers entrusted to them and the judiciary in every province shall be placed under the highest Court of that province

The Report of the Reform Committee containing the above Scheme of Reforms was first formally presented to the Council of the All India Muslim League held on 28th November 1916 and eventually before the Annual Sessions of the League held at Lucknow on 31 December 1916 The Session of the League adopted the report and the recomendations of the Reform Committee in entirety

Congress Resolutions on Hindu-Muslim Unity, 1927[1]

1

Resolutions adopted by the Congress Working Committee

The following resolutions were passed by the Working Committee at its meeting held at New Delhi on January 23 30 February 5 13 17 and March 4 and 21 1927

Hindu-Muslim Unity

The Committee resolved that with reference to resolution of the Gauhati Congress Hindu Muslim Unity and also to other matters a meeting of the All India Congress Committee be convened about the first week of March

Hindu-Muslim Unity

Resolved further that the meeting of the All India Congress Committee be held in Delhi on Saturday the 19th and Sunday the 20th of March 1927, for considering the report that would be presented by the Committee in accordance with resolution of the Congress at Gauhati on Hindu Muslim unity for the purpose of devising measures for the removal of the present deplorable differences between Hindus and Muslims and also for the purpose of considering further proposals for the carrying out of the Congress programme in the country and in the legislatures

Joint Electorates

The Working Committee considered the report of the informal Conference of Muslim representatives from all parts of India and the proceedings of the meetings of the Hindu members of the Congress party during last week

Resolved that the Committee cordially appreciates the decision arrived at by the Muslim Conference to accept the institution of joint electorates all over the country with reciprocal concessions in favour of minorities and appoints the following Sub Committee to discuss details with representatives of the Muslim Conference and of the Hindu Community

Mrs Sarojini Naidu
Syt S Srinivasa Iyengar
Pandit Motilal Nehru
Maulana Muhammad Ali

The Committee trusts that upon this basis a satisfactory settlement of the differences between Hindus and Musalmans will speedily be effected

AICC Meeting

The Working Committee resolves that a meeting of the All India Congress Committee be convened at Bombay in May

[1] A M Zaidi and S G Zaidi (eds) *The Encyclopaedia of the Indian National Congress India Demands Independence* Vol IX 1925 1929 Indian Institute of Applied Political Research New Delhi 1980 pp 275 78 283 90 and 306 15

Convention for Constitution

The Working Committee approves of the President's proposal to convene a Convention Parliament consisting of the elected members of all the legislatures for the purpose of settling a constitution for India, and resolves that the same be placed before the AICC at its next meeting

Hindu-Muslim Unity

The Hindu Muslim question was then taken up The suggestions regarding joint electorates etc which were made by the Musalman leaders meeting at Delhi on March 20 were considered and the following report and resolutions were eventually adopted by the Committee for being placed before the AICC

Report

At the forty-first session of the Indian National Congress held at Gauhati the following resolution was unanimously passed

> This Congress calls upon the Working Committee to take immediate steps in consultation with Hindu and Mussalman leaders to devise measures for the removal of the present deplorable differences between Hindus and Musalmans and submit their report to the All India Congress Committee not later than March 31 1927
>
> 'And this Congress authorises the All India Congress Committee to issue necessary instruction in that behalf to all Congress men in the country and take such other steps as it may deem fit after a consideration of the said report

In pursuance of this resolution the Working Committee at its informal meeting held in Calcutta on January 1 resolved that the President be authorised to convene a conference of Hindu and Mohammedan members of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State in Delhi at the earliest opportunity to consider ways and means of promoting Hindu Muslim Unity The President of the Congress before convening such a conference put himself in communication with leading members of the Assembly and the Council of State in Delhi as well as other important Congress leaders

The President found it more feasible to carry on separate consultation and discussions with the Hindu and Mohammedan members of the Central Legislature as a preliminary to a joint consultation and to that end he invited Muslim members of the Central Legislature and a few Hindu friends to a social gathering which was responded to very largely by them and there was a full and frank presentation of the points at issue on behalf of the Mohammedans by Mr Jinnah and other members of the Assembly and members of the Council of State based on the resolutions of the Muslim League held at Delhi in December 1926

The President of the Congress subsequently attended a gathering of members of the Assembly and other friends who represented the Hindu Sabha point of view and learnt from them the point of view put forward by them After these preliminary steps the Working Committee resolved to convene a meeting of the All India Congress Committee referred to in the Congress resolution on March 20 1927 for the purpose of considering the report that the Working Committee expected to present It was however, found that in consequence of the holding of the budget sessions in most of the Provincial Councils many members of the All India Congress Committee were unable to be in Delhi and as the discussions with the Hindu and Mohammedan leaders continued without any definite conclusions being reached so as to enable the Working Committee to consider the matter and place their proposals before the All India Congress Committee the meeting had to be postponed until the Working Committee could do so

In the meantime, there were important informal conferences held of the Hindu members of the Congress Party in the Indian legislature whose conclusions were communicated to the Working Committee in view of similar conferences held among Mohammedans and the Committee of the Muslim League

On March 20 however certain important Muslim leaders met and after long and anxious deliberations decided to put forward specific proposals on the Hindu Muslim problem for the acceptance of the Hindus and of the country and communicated their desire through Mr Jinnah that the Congress should consider and agree to the said proposals

The Working Committee which met a day after those proposals were made resolved that the Committee cordially appreciates the decision arrived at by the Muslim Conference to accept the institution of joint electorates all over the country with reciprocal concessions in favour of minorities, and appoints the following Sub Committee to discuss details with representatives of the Muslim Conference and of the Hindu community

Mrs Sarojini Naidu
Pandit Motilal Nehru
Syt Srinivasa Iyengar and
Maulana Muhammad Ali

The Committee trusts that upon this basis a satisfactory settlement of the differences between Hindus and Musalmans will speedily be effected

The Sub Committee appointed by the resolution subsequently met and had various discussions and it was decided that the AICC should be convened to meet in May in Bombay, and that the Working Committee should meet and formulate its conclusions after discussing details with representatives of both communities The Working Committee has since received communications from several conference on this matter Among these are the resolutions of the Hindu Maharashtra Congress Committee which have appeared in the Press

Many members of the Working Committee had also the benefit of full and frank discussions in an informal conference with important Mohammedan leaders here in Bombay yesterday and opinion was generally in favour of the acceptance of the Muslim proposals After considering all the materials placed before them and Mohammedan as well as other communities the Working Committee resolves to submit the following

Resolutions

The Working Committee having considered the proposals made by representative Muslim leaders who met in Delhi on March 20 last as well as the opinion of the Hindu Mahasabha and other Hindu organisations and the opinions of other leaders and representatives of both comunities, is of opinion

1 That in any future scheme of constitution so far as representation in the various legislature is concerned joint electorates in all the provinces and in the Central Legislature be constituted

2 That with a view to giving full assurances to the two great communities that their legitimate interests will be safeguarded in the Legislatures such representation of the communities should for the present and if desired be secured by the reservation of seats in joint electorates on the basis of population in every province and in the Central Legislature

   Provided that reciprocal concessions in favour of minorities including the Sikhs in the Punjab may be made by mutual agreement so as to give them representation in excess of the proportion of the number of seats to which they would be entitled on the population basis in any province or provinces,

and the proportions so agreed upon for the provinces shall be maintained in the representation of the two communities in the Central Legislature from the provinces

3 a The proposal made by the Muslim leaders that reforms should be introduced in the N W F Province and British Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces is in the opinion of the Committee a fair and reasonable one

b The proposal that Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency and constituted into a separate province is one which has already been adopted by the constitution of the Congress on the principle of the redistitution of provinces on a linguistic basis and the Committee is of opinion that the proposal may be given effect to

4 That in the future constitution liberty of conscience shall be guaranteed and no legislature central or provincial shall have power to make any laws interfering with liberty of conscience

Liberty of Conscience means liberty of belief and worship, freedom of religious observances and association and freedom to carry on religious education and propaganda with due regard to the feelings of others and without interfering with similar rights of others

5 No Bill Resolution Motion or Amendment regarding inter communal matters shall be moved discussed or passed in any legislature central or provincial if a 3/4ths majority of the members of either community affected thereby in that legislature oppose the introduction, discussion or passing of such Bill Resolution Motion or Amendment

'Inter Communal Matters' means matters agreed upon as such by a joint Standing Committee of both communities of the Hindu and Muslim members of the legislature concerned appointed at the commencement of every session of the legislature

Draft Resolutions for AICC

The AICC approves and adopts the Report of the Working Committee on the Hindu Muslim question and the recommendations contained therein and calls upon all Congress organisations to take necessary steps to have the said recommendations carried out

At this stage a deputation on behalf of Hindu residents of Sind headed by Seth Naraindas waited upon the Committee to plead against the secession of Sind as contemplated in the proposals regarding Hindu-Muslim Unity After hearing the deputations the President explained how the separation of Sind improved the position of Hindu residents thereof Thereupon the deputation left

Constitution for India

The question of framing a constitution for India was taken up and after full discussion the following draft resolution was adopted for being placed before the AICC

The AICC calls upon the Working Committee to frame a constitution for India in cosultation with the elected members of the central and provincial legislatures and other leaders of political parties, and place the same before a special meeting of the AICC with a view to its adoption by the Congress at its next session

2

Resolutions Adopted by Indian National Congress

The following resolutions were passed by the Indian National Congress at its 42nd session held at Madras on December 26 27 and 28 1927

Independence

This Congress declares the goal of the Indian people to be complete national independence

Hindu-Muslim Unity Political Rights

This Congress Resolves

1 That in any future scheme of constitution so far as representation in the various legislatures is concerned joint electorates in all the provinces and in the Central Legislature be constituted

2 That with a view to give full assurances to the two great communities that their legitimate interests will be safeguarded in the Legislatures such representation of the communities should be secured for the present and if desired by the reservation of seats in joint electorates on the basis of population in every province and in the Central Legislature,

Provided that reciprocal concessions in favour of minorities may be made by mutual agreement so as to give them representation in excess of the proportion of the number of seats to which they would be entitled on the population basis in any province or provinces and the proportions so agreed upon for the provinces shall be maintained in the representation of the two communities in the Central Legislature from the provinces

In the decision of the reservation of seats for the Punjab the question of the representation of Sikhs as an important minority will be given full consideration

3 a That the proposal made by the Muslim leaders that reforms should be introduced in the N W F Province and British Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces, is in the opinion of the Congress a fair and reasonable one and should be given effect to care being taken that simultaneously with other measures of administrative reform an adequate system of judicial administration shall be introduced in the said provinces

b (i) That with regard to the proposal that Sind should be constituted into a separate province this Congress is of opinion that the time has come for the redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis—a principle that has been adopted in the Constitution of the Congress

(ii) This Congress is also of opinion that such readjustment of provinces be immediately taken in hand and that any province which demands such reconstitution on linguistic basis be dealt with accordingly

(iii) This Congress is further of opinion that a beginning may be made by constituting Andhra Utkal Sind and Karnataka into separate provinces

4 That, in the future Constitution liberty of conscience shall be guaranteed and no legislature, central or provincial shall have power to make any laws interfering with liberty of conscience

Liberty of Conscience means liberty of belief and worship freedom of religious observances and association and freedom to carry on religious education [and] propaganda with due regard to the feelings of others and without interfering with similar rights of others

5 That no Bill, Resolution Motion or Amendment regarding inter communal matters shall be moved discussed or passed in any legislature central or provincial if a three fourths majority of the members of either community affected thereby in that legislature oppose the introduction discussion or passing of such Bill Resolution Motion or Amendment

'Inter communal matters' means matters agreed upon as such by a Joint Standing Committee of both communities—of the Hindu and Muslim members of the legislature concerned appointed at the commencement of every session of the legislature

Religious and other Rights

This Congress resolves that

1 Without prejudice to the rights that the Hindus and Musalmans claim the one to play music and conduct processions wherever they please and the other to slaughter cows for sacrifice or food wherever they please the Musalmans appeal to the Musalmans to spare Hindu feelings as much as possible in the matter of the cow and the Hindus appeal to the Hindus to spare Musalman feelings as much as possible in the matter of music before mosques

2 This Congress further resolves that every individual or group is at liberty to convert another by argument or persuasion but no individual or group shall attempt to do so or prevent its being done by force fraud or other unfair means such as the offering of material inducement Persons under eighteen years of age should not be converted unless it be along with their parents or guardians If any person under eighteen years of age is found stranded without his parents or guardian by persons of another faith he should be promptly handed over to persons of his own faith There must be no secrecy as to the person place time and manner about any conversion or reconversion nor should there be any demonstration of jubilation in support of any conversion or reconversion

Wherever any complaint is made in respect of any conversion that it was effected in secrecy or by force fraud or other unfair means or whenever any person under eighteen years of age is converted the matter shall be enquired into and decided by arbitrators who shall be appointed by the Working Committee either by name or under general regulations

Indian States

This Congress is emphatically of opinion that in the interests of both the rulers and the people of Indian States they should establish representative institutions and responsible government in their states at an early date

Boycott of British Goods

This Congress, while reaffirming the resolution of the All India Congress Committee on the Boycott of British goods, resolves that with a view to make such boycott effective Provincial Congress Committees be called upon to organise a boycott of selected British Goods having regard to the conditions of each province

Swaraj Constitution

Having regard to the general desire of all political parties in the country to unite together in settling a Swaraj Constitution, and having considered the various drafts submitted to it and the various suggestions received in reply to the Working Committee s circular, this Congress authorises the Working Committee which shall have power to co-opt to confer with similar Committees to be appointed by other organisations—political, labour commercial and communal—in the country and to draft a Swaraj Constitution for India on the basis of a Declaration of Rights and to place the same for consideration and approval before a Special Convention to be convened in Delhi not later than March next consisting of the All India Congress Committee and the leaders and representatives of the other organisations mentioned above and the elected members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures

Next Congress

This Congress resolves that its next session be held in Calcutta

History of the Origin of Jinnah's Fourteen Points, 1929[1]

Recent History

The All India Muslim League defined in three successive sessions in the years 1924, 1925 and 1926, the position of Musalmans in respect of any forthcoming changes in the constitution of the country as follows

The All India Muslim League is of opinion that the present constitution of India must be amended and urges that for this purpose the Government should undertake the revision of the Government of India Act 1919, and without any delay appoint a Royal Commission to formulate, after due enquiry and investigation, a scheme so as to place the Indian constitution on a sound and permanent basis with provisions for automatic progress to establish full responsible Government in India and thereby secure stability in the Government and the willing co-operation of the people, provided however that for any scheme of the future constitution of India the All India Muslim League reaffirms and unequivocally declares that the following basic and fundamental principles must be secured and guaranteed, viz

1. All Legislatures of the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even to an equality

2. The representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present provided that it shall be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorate

3. Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab Bengal and N W F Province

4. Full religious liberty i e liberty of belief worship observances propaganda association and education shall be guaranteed to all communities

5. No bill or resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any legislature or in any other elected body if three fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such bill or resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community or in the alternative such other method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases

These proposals were criticised by the Hindu leaders who insisted that we should postulate in our scheme joint electorates with adequate safeguards for rights and interests of Musalmans Accordingly, certain leading representative Mahommedans met at Delhi on 20th March, 1927 and put forward what have come to be known as the Delhi Muslim Proposals which were as follows

[1] M A Jinnah *History of the Origin of Fourteen Points* Bahram Printing Press Readymoney Building Clare Road Byculla, Bombay n d

Delhi Muslim Proposals

Whether in the forthcoming revision of the Indian constitution elections to Legislative bodies should be through joint or separate electorates has been the subject of anxious discussion among Hindu and Musalman leaders in Delhi The Hindu members of the Congress Party and the Nationalist Party having already decided in favour of only a joint electorate with the reservation of seats to Mohammedans, either on the basis of the Lucknow Pact or the existing population of each province the Mohammedans met in informal conference today under the Presidentship of Mr Jinnah who had issued invitations to representative Mohammedans in all parts of India

After a protracted discussion the conference agreed to the institution of joint electorates under certain conditions It was unanimously resolved that the Mohammedans should accept a settlement on the basis of the following proposals so far as representation in the various legislatures in any future scheme of constitution is concerned

1 Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency and constituted into a separate province

2 Reforms should be introduced in the North West Frontier Province and in Baluchistan on the same footing as in any other province in India

If this is agreed to Mohammedans are prepared to accept a joint electorate in all provinces so constituted and are further willing to make to Hindu minorities in Sind Baluchistan and the North West Frontier Provinces the same concessions that Hindu majorities in other provinces are prepared to make to Mohammedan minorities

In the Punjab and Bengal the proportion of representation should be in accordance with population In the Central Legislature Mohammedan representation not to be less than a third and that also by a mixed electorate

These proposals are subject to ratification by the Mohammedan organizations concerned but it was hoped by those present at the conference that the Hindus would accept and the Mohammedans would ratify them The question of the Services and other questions with regard to safeguards concerning any bill or resolution which might affect the religion, or the customs or the usages of either community or affecting intercommunal interests were also discussed by the meeting but postponed for further consideration and will be taken up if on the main proposition there can be unanimity of opinion

The following attended the Conference which came to the above conclusions Mr Jinnah Maharaja of Mahmudabad Sir Muhammad Shafi Mr Muhammad Ali Dr Ansari Mr Muhammad Yakub, Nawab Muhammad Ismail Syed Alay Nabi Lieut Sardar Muhammad Nawaz Khan Mr Suhrawardy Mr Shah Nawaz Raja Ghanzanfar Ali Khan Mr Farooki Mr Abdul Rahman Sir Abdul Qauyum, Shah Muhammad Zabair, Syed Ahmad Shah (Imam of Juma mosque Delhi) Maulvi Syed Murtaza Mr Muhammad Shafee Daoodi, Mr Abdul Aziz Mr Abdul Matin Choudhry Mirza Abdul Qadir Syed Abdul Jabbar (Ajmer) Mr Ehtashamuddin Syed Abdul Rahim Mr Anwar ul Azim Dr Hyder Mr Ariff Mr Iajaz Hussain and Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan

Indian National Congress Response

These proposals were substantially accepted by the All India Congress Committee meeting in May, 1927 in Bombay and were later embodied in the resolution adopted by the open session of the Indian National Congress at Madras in December, 1927[1] The responses thus made by the Congress to the Muslim proposals were considered by the session of the All India Muslim League at Calcutta in December 1927 and the following resolution was passed by the League

> The All India Muslim League authorises its Council to appoint a sub committee to confer with the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress and such other organizations as they think proper for the purpose of drafting a constitution for India in which the interests of the Muslim community will be safeguarded having regard to the following proposals which the League approves and adopts and subsequently take part in the National Convention which is going to take place in Delhi in March next as suggested by the Congress
>
> 1 That Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency and constituted into a separate province
>
> 2 That reforms should be introduced in the N W F Province and in Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces
>
> 3 That in the present circumstances the representation of Muslims in the different Legislatures of the country through separate Muslim electorates is inevitable and that Muslims will not accept any scheme involving the surrender of this valued right unless and until Sind is actually made a separate province and Reforms aforesaid are actually introduced in the N W F and Baluchistan Provinces and that when these requirements are fully satisfied, Muslims will be prepared to abandon separate electorates in favour of joint electorates with reservation of seats fixed on the basis of the population of the different communities subject to what is related hereinafter
>
> 4 In Sind Baluchistan and the N W F Province, the Muslim majority should make the same concession in regard to the proportion of seats reserved to the Hindu minority that Hindu majorities in other provinces would make to Muslim minorities over and above the proportion of population of the provinces which shall be the minimum basis
>
> 5 In the Central Legislature, the Muslim representation shall not be less than one third
>
> The League further resolves (a) that in the future constitution of India, liberty of conscience shall be guaranteed and no legislature, Central or Provincial, shall have power to make any laws interfering with the liberty of conscience 'Liberty of conscience' means liberty of belief and worship, freedom of religious observance and association and freedom to carry on religious education and propaganda with due regard to the feelings of others and without interfering with the similar rights of others (b) that no bill, resolution motion or amendment regarding inter-communal matters shall be moved discussed or passed in any legislature Central or Provincial,

[1] For Congress version of developments relating to extensive negotiations community wise and *inter se* over Hindu Muslim question in regard to Delhi Proposals and the text of Congress resolutions see appendix III

if a three-fourths majority of the members of the community affected thereby in that legislature oppose the introduction discussion or passing of such bill, the resolution motion or amendment 'Intercommunal matters means matters agreed upon as such by the joint standing committee of both communities of the Hindu and Muslim members of the Legislatures concerned appointed at the commencement of every session of that Legislature

Later Developments

The idea to draw up an agreed constitution led to the summoning of the All Parties Conference at Delhi on 11th February, 1928 This Conference continued its labours till 11th March but no agreement could be arrived at The All India Muslim League had appointed a Committee to represent the League at the All Parties Conference but as no agreement was reached, the Council of the All India Muslim League met in Delhi and passed the following resolution

> The Council of the All India Muslim League is of opinion that the draft proposals adopted at the All Parties Conference called by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress are not in conformity with the resolutions of the All India Muslim League passed at its sessions in Calcutta in 1927 The Council further regrets that the Hindu Mahasabha has practically rejected the Muslim League proposals

> The Council hereby appoints a Committee consisting of the following gentlemen for the purpose of conferring with the representatives of other organizations in accordance with resolution No 4 of the League referred to above The Council is of opinion that the Committee should press the representatives of various organizations to accept the proposals embodied in the aforesaid resolutions of the League Sessions of 1927 held in Calcutta and report the final result to the Council for such action as they may consider proper before proceeding with the framing of the constitution

> Thereafter the Muslim League was not represented by any body authorised in their behalf at the All Parties Conference as there was created a fundamental difference owing to the Indian National Congress receding from its position adopted hitherto

Entire Overthrow of Previous Understanding

The All Parties Conference meeting in May in Bombay, in absence of the Muslim League representatives, changed the basis of *rapprochement* brought about by the resolution of the Indian National Congress at Madras followed by the Calcutta session of the All India Muslim League when the latter made a response to the Congress The meeting of the All Parties Conference at Bombay struck a new line It adopted a totally different course and appointed a small committee with terms of reference to which the All India Muslim League was not a party This Committee's report was considered at Lucknow by the so called All Parties Conference at which the Muslim League was not represented though it was one of the principal parties who had initiated the move by promoting Delhi Muslim Proposals This Conference nevertheless passed resolutions with regard to communal adjustments and other matters which were finally embodied in the Nehru Report

Muslim View of Nehru Report

The basic principles of the communal settlement embodied in the Nehru Report are contrary to those on which Muslim opinion had hitherto expressed its willingness to come to an agreement The Conference having rejected virtually the Delhi Muslim Proposal, the League is, therefore, free to adopt such course with regard to this matter and formulate such proposals as the League may think proper to be incorporated in any future scheme of consutution of the Government of India that may be framed and adopted

The only occasion where the League has given its consideration to the Nehru Report was when it was invited to send the delegation to the All Parties Convention at Calcutta in December, 1928 The League Delegation submitted proposals at the Convention subject to their ratification by the League and made it clear that if they were acceptable to the Convention, the delegates would then discuss the constitution and the various provisions of the scheme But the main proposals submitted by the League's delegation were summarily rejected by the Convention These proposals were

1 That one third of the elected representatives of both the Houses of the Central Legislature should be Musalmans

2 That in the Punjab and Bengal in the event of adult suffrage not being established there should be reservation of seats for Musalmans on population basis for 10 years subject to re examination after that period but that they shall have no right to contest additional seats

3 That the form of the constitution should be federal and that residuary powers should be left to the provinces and should not vest in the Central Legislature

4 That clause 13(a) embodied in the Supplementary Nehru Report should be deleted

5 That the division of subjects in the Schedules 1 and 2 of the Nehru Report should be revised

6 That with regard to Sind delete the words 'simultaneously with establishment of Government under this constitution' from the first part which runs as follows simultaneously with the establishment of Government under this constitution Sind shall be separated from Bombay and constituted into a separate province'

In view of summary rejection of these proposals, the League's delegates could not proceed further and reported the decisions of the Convention to the All India Muslim League

Other Organizations on the Nehru Report

The League found that it did not stand singular in its difficulties with the Nehru Report The National Congress itself merely accorded it sanction to the scheme for a year The All India Hindu Mahasabha declared that even if a comma were changed, the Hindus will withdraw their support

from the Nehru Report The Sikh League delegates at the Convention rejected the scheme of communal settlement The National Liberal Federation at first adopted an attitude of benevolent neutrality and subsequently adopted the Nehru Report without expressing strong views one way or the other with regard to the Muslim proposals

Position Confronting the League

Thus the original conception of bringing about a communal pact or a national agreement was not feasible and the All India Muslim League after a very careful consideration decided to adjourn its session and instructed the Council of the League to call the adjourned session at such a place and time as the Council may deem it necessary before the end of May 1929 The Nehru Report proposal can, therefore, at best be treated only as counter Hindu proposals to the Muslim proposals And as there is no agreement reached it is now for the All India Muslim League to take such action or adopt such course as the League may think proper in the best interests of the community and the Country

M A JINNAH

Safeguards for Muslims of India Mr Jinnah's 'Fifteen Points'

1 The form of the future Constitution should be federal with residuary powers vested in the province Central Government to have the control only of such matters of common interest as may be guaranteed by the Constitution

2 Uniform measure of autonomy shall be granted to all provinces

3 All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies should be reconstituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority of any province to a minority or even equality

4 In the Central legislature Muslim representation should not be less than one third

5 The representation of communal groups should continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present, provided that it should be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorates

6 Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary should not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab Bengal and North West Frontier Province

7 Full religious liberty that is liberty of belief worship, observances propaganda association and education should be guaranteed to all communities

8 No bill or resolution or any part thereof should be passed in any legislature or any other elected body, if three fourths of the members of

any community in that particular body oppose such a bill or resolution or part thereof, on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community or in the alternative such other method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases

9 Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency

10 Reforms should be introduced in the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces

11 Provision should be made in the Constitution giving the Muslim an adequate share along with other Indians in all the Services of the State and in self-governing bodies, having due regard to the requirements of efficiency

12 The Constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim religion, culture and personal law and the promotion of Muslim education language religion personal laws Muslim charitable institutions and for their due share in grants in aid given by the State and by self governing bodies

13 No cabinet either Central or Provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of Muslim Ministers of at least one third

14 No change to be made in the Constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the States constituting the Indian Federation

15 That in the present circumstances the representation of Musalmans in the different legislatures of the country, and of the other elected bodies through separate electorates is inevitable and further, Government being pledged not to deprive the Musalmans of this right it cannot be taken away without their consent and so long as the Musalmans are not satisfied that their rights and interest are safeguarded in the manner specified above (or herein) they would in no way consent to the establishment of joint electorates with or without conditions

Note The question of excess representation of Musalmans over and above their population in the provinces where they are in the minority to be considered hereafter [1]

[1]The last item is only a statement of the condition for establishing the joint electorates hence the document is called the 'Fourteen Points' and not the Fifteen Points of Jinnah

Viceroy Irwin's Statement, 31 October 1929 — Dominion Status Pledge[1]

New Delhi, October 31 Dominion Status as India's goal in her political development, and the holding of a Round Table Conference after the Simon Commission has reported—These are the two main points in Lord Irwin's announcement which was issued in the form of a *Gazette Extraordinary* from New Delhi last night [2]

The pledge regarding Dominion Status has set at rest the suspicions which arose over the interpretation of the Declaration of 1917, while the concession to the demand for a Round Table Conference meets every legitimate claim urged by Indian politicians since the Simon Commission was appointed The Conference is to be held at the suggestion of Sir John Simon, and, as forecast in the *Statesman*, will be attended by representatives of the British Government, British Indian and the Indian States This will not affect the work of the Joint Parliamentary Committee which will meet after the Conference to examine the Bill to be placed before Parliament

Removing Distrust

Lord Irwin concludes the announcement with the hope that the action of the Government will enlist the support of all sections in India and that all who wish India well desire to break through the webs of mistrust that have recently clogged the relations between Britain and India Our London correspondent states that the Government is particularly anxious to ensure the success of the London Conference, and it is emphasized that the Bill for Parliament will not be drafted until the views of the Indian representatives are fully known

Bombay Appreciation

Party leaders are to meet in Delhi today to discuss the announcement Bombay leaders met last night and issued a statement appreciating the fundamental change in the procedure whereby representatives of India will be invited to meet His Majesty's Government in conference Those who signed the statement include Sir Chimanlal Setalvad Mr M A Jinnah, Mr M R Jayakar and Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas

Gazette Extraordinary is issued today

> I have just returned from England where I have had the opportunity of a prolonged consultation with His Majesty's Government
>
> Before I left this country I said publicly that as the King Emperor's representative in India I should hold myself bound to tell my fellow

[1] *Statesman* 1 November 1929 The background to this statement and its significance and repercussions are discussed in detail in my Cambridge University doctoral dissertation later published as Waheed Ahmad *Road to Indian Freedom The Formation of the Government of India Act 1935* The Caravan Book House Lahore 1979 See Chapter II entitled Lord Irwin pp 40 70

[2] See *The Gazette of India Extraordinary Published by Authority Government of India Home Department Notification Public No 4485*, New Delhi 31 October 1929

countrymen as faithfully as I might, of India's feelings, anxieties and aspirations In my endeavours to discharge that undertaking I was assisted by finding as I had expected a generous and sincere desire not only on the part of His Majesty's Government but on that of all persons and parties in Great Britain to hear and to appreciate everything that it was my duty to represent

'These are critical days when matters by which men are deeply touched are in issue and when therefore, it is inevitable that political feeling should run high and that misunderstandings which would scarcely arise in conditions of political tranquillity should obtain a firm foothold in men's minds I have nevertheless not faltered in my belief that behind all the disquieting tendencies of the time, there lay the great mass of Indian opinion overflowing all divisions of race religion or political thought, fundamentally loyal to the King Emperor and whether consciously or not only wanting to understand and to be understood

Pledges Given

On the other side I have never felt any doubt that opinion in Great Britain puzzled as it might be by events in India or only perhaps partially informed as to their true significance was unshaken in its determination that Great Britain should redeem to the full the pledges she has given for India's future On both countries the times have laid a heavy and in some ways a unique responsibility, for the influence in the world of a perfect understanding between Great Britain and India might surely be so great that no scales can give us the measure either of the prize of success or the price of failure in our attempts to reach it

In my discussions with the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State it was inevitable that the principal topic should have been the course of events in India It is not profitable on either side to discuss to what extent or with what justification the appointment of a Parliamentary Commission two years ago has affected the general trend of Indian thought and action Practical men must take the facts and the situations as they are and not as they would have them to be

Lord Irwin Recalls His Speech to Assembly

Sir John Simon's Commission assisted as it has been by the Indian Central Committee is now at work on its report, and until that report is laid before Parliament it is impossible and even if it were possible, it would in the view of His Majesty's Government clearly be improper, to forecast the nature of any Constitutional changes that may subsequently be proposed In this respect every British Party is bound to preserve to itself complete freedom of action But what must constantly engage our attention and is a matter of deep concern to His Majesty's Government, is the discovery of means by which when the Commission has reported the broad question of British Indian Constitutional advance may be approached in co operation with all those who can speak authoritatively for opinion in British India

Guiding Principles

I would venture to recall some words which I used in addressing the Assembly eight months ago in a reference to the then existing political situation On the one side I said it is as unprofitable to deny the right of Parliament to form its free and deliberate judgment on the problem as it would be shortsighted of Parliament to unnderrate the importance of trying to reach a solution which might carry the willing assent of political India We shall surely stray from the path, at the end of which lies

achievement, if we let go either one or other of these two main guiding principles of political action But there has lately emerged, from a totally different angle, another set of considerations which is very relevant to what I have just stated on this matter to be the desire of His Majesty s Government

'The Chairman of the Commission has pointed out in correspondence with the Prime Minister, which I understand, is being published in England, that as their investigation has proceeded he and his colleagues have been greatly impressed in considering the direction which the future Constitutional development of India is likely to take with the importance of bearing in mind the relations which may at some future time develop between British India and the Indian States In his judgment it is essential that the methods by which this future relationship between these two constituent parts of Greater India may be adjusted, should be fully examined

Conference Plans

'He has further expressed the opinion that if the Commission s report and the proposals subsequently to be framed by the Government take this wider range it would appear necessary for the Government to revise the scheme of procedure as at present proposed He suggested that what might be required after the reports of the Statutory Commission and the Indian Central Committee have been made considered and published, but before the stage is reached of the Joint Parliamentary Committee would be the setting up of a conference in which His Majesty s Government should meet representatives both of British India and of the States, for the purpose of seeking the greatest possible measure of agreement for the final proposals which it would later be the duty of His Majesty s Government to submit to Parliament

The procedure by the Joint Parliamentary Committee conferring with delegations from the Indian Legislatures and other bodies, which was previously contemplated and is referred to in Sir John Simon s letter to myself of February 6 1928 would still be appropriate for the examination of the Bill when it is subsequently placed before Parliament but would in the opinion of the Commission obviously have to be preceded by some such conference as they have suggested

Problem of States

With these views I understand that His Majesty s Government are in complete accord, for while they will greatly desire, when the time comes to be able to deal with the question of British Indian political development under conditions most favourable to its successful treatment they are with the Commission deeply sensible of the importance of bringing under a comprehensive review the whole problem of the relations of British India and the Indian States Indeed, an adjustmnet of these interests in their view is essential for the complete fulfilment of what they consider to be the underlying purpose of British policy whatever may be the method for its furtherance which Parliament may decide to adopt

The goal of British policy was stated in the Declaration of August 1917 to be that of providing for the gradual development of self governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire As I recently pointed out my own Instrument of Instructions from the King Emperor expressly states that it is His Majesty s will and pleasure that the plans laid by Parliament in 1919 should be the means by which British India may attain its due place among his Dominions

The Ministers of the Crown moreover, have more than once publicly declared that it is the desire of the British Government that India should, in the fullness of time, take her place in the Empire in equal partnership with the Dominions But in view of the doubts which have been expressed both in Great Britain and India regarding the interpretation to be placed on the intentions of the British Government in enacting the Statute of 1919, I am authorized on behalf of His Majesty s Government to state clearly that in their judgment it is implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India s Constitutional progress, as there contemplated is the attainment of Dominion status

Position of the States in Future Scheme

In the full realization of this policy it is evidently important that the Indian States should be afforded an opportunity of finding their place, and even if we cannot at present exactly foresee on what lines this development may be shaped, it is from every point of view desirable that whatever can be done should be done to ensure that action taken now is not inconsistent with the attainment of the ultimate purpose which those whether in British India or the States, who look forward to some unity of all India have in view

His Majesty s Government consider that both these objects namely, that of finding the best approach to the British Indian side of the problem, and secondly of ensuring that in this process the wider question of closer relations in the future between the two parts of Greater India is not overlooked can best be achieved by the adoption of procedure such as the Commission has outlined

When therefore the Commission and the Indian Central Committee have submitted their reports, and these have been published and when His Majesty s Government have been able in consultation with the Government of India, to consider these matters in the light of all the material then available they will propose to invite representatives of different parties and interests in British India and representatives of the Indian States to meet them separately or together as circumstances may demand for the purpose of a conference and discussion in regard both to the British Indian and the all Indian problems It will be their earnest hope that by this means it may subsequently prove possible on these grave issues to submit proposals to Parliament which may command a wide measure of general assent

It is not necessary for me to say how greatly I trust that the action of His Majesty's Government may evoke response from and enlist the concurrence of all sections of opinion in India and I believe that all who wish India well, wherever and whoever they are, desire to breakthrough the webs of mistrust that have lately clogged the relations between India and Great Britain I am firmly assured that the course of action now proposed is at once the outcome of a real desire to bring to the body politic of India the touch that carries with it healing and health and is the method by which we may best hope to handle these high matters in the way of constructive statesmanship '

East India (Constitutional Reforms): Communal Decision (commonly known as the Communal Award)[1]

In the statement made by the Prime Minister on 1st December last on behalf of His Majesty's Government at the close of the second session of the Round Table Conference which was immediately afterwards endorsed by both Houses of Parliament, it was made plain that if the communities in India were unable to reach a settlement acceptable to all parties on the communal questions which the Conference had failed to solve His Majesty's Government were determined that India's constitutional advance should not on that account be frustrated and that they would remove this obstacle by devising and applying themselves a provisional scheme

2 On the 19th March last His Majesty's Government having been informed that the continued failure of the communities to reach agreement was blocking the progress of the plans for the framing of a new Constitution stated that they were engaged upon a careful re-examination of the difficult and controversial questions which arise They are now satisfied that without a decision of at least some aspects of the problems connected with the position of minorities under the new Constitution no further progress can be made with the framing of the Constitution

3 His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided that they will include provisions to give effect to the scheme set out below in the proposals relating to the Indian Constitution to be laid in due course before Parliament The scope of this scheme is purposely confined to the arrangements to be made for the representation of the British India communities in the Provincial Legislature consideration of representation in the Legislature at the Centre being deferred for the reason given in paragraph 20 below The decision to limit the scope of the scheme implies no failure to realise that the framing of the Constitution will necessitate the decision of a number of other problems of great importance to minorities but has been taken in the hope that once a pronouncement has been made upon the basic questions of method and proportions of representation the communities themselves may find it possible to arrive a *modus vivendi* on other communal problems which have not as yet received the examination they require

4 His Majesty's Government wish it to be most clearly understood that they themselves can be no parties to any negotiations which may be initiated with a view to the revision of their decision and will not be prepared to give consideration to any representation aimed at securing the modification of it which is not supported by all the parties affected But they are most desirous to close no door to an agreed settlement should such happily be forthcoming If therefore before a new Government of India Act has passed into law, they are satisfied that the communities who are concerned are mutually agreed upon a practicable alternative scheme either in respect of any one or more of the Governor's Provinces or in respect of the whole of British India they will be prepared to recommend to Parliament that that alternative should be substituted for the provisions now outlined

5 Seats in the Legislative Councils in the Governors Provinces or in the Lower House if there is an Upper Chamber will be allocated as shown in the annexed table

[1] Cmd 4147 East India (Constitutional Reforms) *Communal Decision*, presented by the Secretary of State for India to Parliament by Command of His Majesty August 1932 London printed and published by His Majesty's Stationery Office 1932

6 Election to the seats allotted to Muhammadan European and Sikh constituencies will be by voters voting in separate communal electorates covering between them the whole area of the Province (apart from any portions which may in special cases be excluded from the electoral area as backward)

Provision will be made in the Constitution itself to empower a revision of this electoral arrangement (and the other similar arrangements mentioned below) after 10 years with the assent of the communities affected for the ascertainment of which suitable means will be devised

7 All qualified electors who are not voters either in a Muhammadan Sikh Indian Christian (see paragraph 10 below) Anglo Indian (see paragraph 11 below) or European constituency will be entitled to vote in a general constituency

8 Seven seats will be reserved for Mahrattas in certain selected plural member general constituencies in Bombay

9 Members of the depressed classes qualified to vote will vote in a general constituency In view of the fact that for a considerable period these classes would be unlikely by this means alone to secure any adequate representation in the Legislature a number of special seats will be assigned to them as shown in the table These seats will be filled by election from special constituencies in which only members of the depressed classes electorally qualified will be entitled to vote Any person voting in such a special constituency will as stated above, be also entitled to vote in a general constituency It is intended that these constituencies should be formed in selected areas where the depressed classes are most numerous and that except in Madras they should not cover the whole area of the Province

In Bengal it seems possible that in some general costituencies a majority of the voters will belong to the Depressed Classes Accordingly pending further investigation no number has been fixed for the members to be returned from the special Depressed Class constituencies in that Province It is intended to secure that the Depressed Classes should obtain not less than 10 seats in the Bengal Legislature

The precise definition in each Province of those who (if electorally qualified) will be entitled to vote in the special Depressed Class constituencies has not yet been finally determined It will be based as a rule on the general principles advocated in the Franchise Committee s Report Modification may however be found necessary in some Provinces in Northern India where the application of the general criteria of untouchability might result in a definition unsuitable in some respects to the special conditions of the Province

His Majesty s Government do not consider that these special Depressed Classes constituencies will be required for more than a limited time They intend that the Constitution shall provide that they shall come to an end after 20 years if they have not previously been abolished under the general powers of electoral revision referred to in paragraph 6

10 Election to the seats allotted to Indian Christians will be by voters voting in separate communal electorates It seems almost certain that practical difficulties will except possibly in Madras prevent the formation of Indian Christian constituencies covering the whole area of the Province, and that accordingly special Indian Christian constituencies will have to be formed only in one or two selected areas in the Province Indian Christian voters in these areas will not vote in a general constituency Indian Christian voters outside these areas will vote in a general constituency Special arrangements may be needed in Bihar and Orissa where a considerable proportion of the Indian Christian community belong to the aboriginal tribes

11 Election to the seat allotted to Anglo Indians will be by voters voting in separate communal electorates It is at present intended subject to investigation of any practical difficulties that may arise that the Anglo Indian constituencies shall cover the whole area of each Province, a postal ballot being employed but no final decision has yet been reached

12 The method of filling the seats assigned for representatives from backward areas is still under investigation and the number of seats so assigned should be regarded as provisional pending a final decision as to the constitutional arrangements to be made in relation to such areas

13 His Majesty's Government attach great importance to securing that the new Legislatures should contain at least a small number of women members They feel that at the outset this object could not be achieved without creating a certain number of seats specially allotted to women They also feel that it is essential that women members should not be drawn disproportionately from one community They have been unable to find any system which would avoid this risk and would be consistent with the rest of the scheme for representation which they have found it necessary to adopt except that of limiting the electorate for each special woman's seat to voters from one community The special women's seats have accordingly been specifically divided, as shown in the table between the various communities [1] The precise electoral machinery to be employed in these special constituencies is still under consideration

14 The seats allotted to Labour will be filled from non communal constituencies The electoral arrangements have still to be determined, but it is likely that in most Provinces the Labour constituencies will be partly trade union and partly special constituencies as recommended by the Franchise Committee

15 The special seats allotted to Commerce and Industry Mining and Planting will be filled by election through Chambers of Commerce and various Associations The details of the electoral arrangements for these seats must await further investigation

16 The special seats allotted to Landholders will be filled by election by special Landholder s constituencies

17 The method to be employed for election to the University seats is still under consideration

18 His Majesty s Government have found it impossible in determining these questions of representation in the Provincial Legislatures to avoid entering into considerable detail There remains nevertheless the determination of the constituencies They intend that this task should be undertaken in India as early as possible

It is possible that in some instances delimitation of constituencies might be materially improved by slight variations from the numbers of seats now given His Majesty s Government reserve the right to make such slight variations, for such purpose provided that they would not materially affect the essential balance between communities No such variations will however be made in the case of Bengal and Punjab

19 The question of the composition of Second Chambers in the Provinces has so far received comparatively little attention in the constitutional discussions and requires further consideration before a decision is reached as to which Provinces shall have a Second Chamber or a scheme is drawn up for their composition

[1] Subject to one exception see note(c) to Table

His Majesty's Government consider that the composition of the Upper House in a Province should be such as not to disturb in any essential the balance between the communities resulting from the composition of the Lower House

20 His Majesty's Government do not propose at present to enter into the question of the size and composition of the Legislature at the Centre since this involves among other questions that of representation of the Indian States which still needs further discussion They will of course when considering the composition, pay full regard to the claims of all communities for adequate representation therein

21 His Majesty's Government have already accepted the principle that Sind should be constituted a separate Province if satisfactory means of financing it can be found As the financial problems involved still have to be reviewed in connection with other problems of federal finance His Majesty's Government have thought it preferable to include at this stage, figures for a Legislature for the existing Province of Bombay in addition to the schemes for separate Legislatures for Bombay Presidency proper and Sind

22 The figures given for Bihar and Orissa relate to the existing Province The question of constituting a separate Province of Orissa is still under investigation

23 The inclusion in the table of figures relating to a Legislature for the Central Provinces including Berar does not imply that any decision has yet been reached regarding the future constitutional position of Berar

LONDON
4th August 1932

ALLOCATION OF SEATS IN PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES (LOWER HOUSE ONLY)

Province	General	Depressed Classes	Representatives from Backward Areas	Sikh	Mohammadan	Indian Christian	Anglo-Indian	European	Commerce and Industry Mining and Planting Special (a)	Landholders Special	University Special	Labour Special	Total
Madras	134 (including 6 women)	18	1	0	29 (including 1 woman)	9 (inc 1 woman)	2	3	6	6	1	6	215
Bombay (including Sind)	97(b) (including 5 women)	10	1	0	63 (including 1 woman)	3	2	4	8	3	1	8	200
Bengal	80(c) (including 2 women)	(c)	0	0	119 (including 2 women)	2	4 including 1 woman)	11	19	5	2	8	250
United Provinces	132 (including 4 women)	12	0	0	66 (including 2 women)	2	1	2	3	6	1	3	228
Punjab	43 (including 1 woman)	0	0	32 (including 1 woman)	86 (including 2 women)	2	1	1	1	5(d)	1	3	175
Bihar and Orissa	99 (including 3 women)	7	8	0	42 (including 1 woman)	2	1	2	4	5	1	4	175
Central Provinces (including Berar)	77 (including 3 women)	10	1	0	14	0	1	1	2	3	1	2	112
Assam	44 (including 1 woman)(e)	4	9	0	34	1	0	1	11	0	0	4	108
North West Frontier Province	9	0	0	3	36	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	50
Bombay (without Sind)	109 (b) (including 5 women)	10	1	0	30 (including 1 woman)	3	2	3	7	2	1	7	175
Sind	19 (including 1 woman)	0	0	0	34 (including 1 woman)	0	0	2	2	2	0	1	60

(a) The composition of the bodies through which election to these seats will be conducted though in most cases either predominantly European or predominantly Indian will not be statutorily fixed It is accordingly not possible in each Province to state with certainty how many Europeans and Indians respectively will be returned It is however expected that initially the numbers will be approximately as follows Madras 4 Europeans 2 Indians Bombay (including Sind) 5 Europeans 3 Indians Bengal 14 European 5 Indians United Provinces 2 Europeans 1 Indians Punjab 1 Indian Bihar and Orissa 2 Europeans 2 Indian Central Provinces (including Berar) 1 European 1 Indian Assam 8 Europeans 3 Indians Bombay (without Sind) 4 Europeans 3 Indians Sind 1 European 1 Indian

[illegible] The number of general seats will be [illegible]

Shahidganj Mosque[1]

Situated between the Railway station and Delhi gate in Lahore the mosque known as *Masjid-e Shahidganj* was built during the reign of Mughal Emperor Shahjahan (1628 58) Later during the Mughal Governorship of the Punjab of Moinul Mulk (d 1753) a *Kotwali* was built near the mosque where the lawbreakers were tried and sentenced, some even executed

One Bhai Toro Singh a Sikh, was similarly convicted and later executed at the same place in 1746 This incident made Bhai Toro a hero among Sikhs The Sikhs named the place as *Shahidganj* and built a *Samadhi* (Sikh shrine) near the site Muslims however continued to offer prayers in the mosque till the three Sikh rulers (1765 99)known as *Seh Hakeeman e Lahore* established their rule over the city This enabled the Sikhs to occupy the mosque and the adjoining premises The area remained in the occupation of the Sikh *Mahants* till the annexation of the Punjab by the British in 1849

In 1850 one Nur Ahmed claiming to be a *Mutawali* (guardian) of the mosque made an unsuccessful bid to recover the place by instituting proceedings in the Settlement Department He filed two more suits in 1853 and 1855 both were dismissed His appeal against these decisions was also dismissed first by the Lahore Commissioner and then by the Judicial Commissioner of the Punjab in April and June 1856 respectively

After the passage of the Sikh Gurdwaras Act of 1925 the Government by a notification in 1927 declared the mosque and the adjacent premises as part of Sikh Gurdwara property

As many as seventeen petitions were filed by various persons claiming ownership of the *Shahidganj* premises In March 1928 one Harnam Singh filed one such petition the other was by the Anjuman e Islamia of the Punjab on behalf of the Mohamedans Both these petitions were dismissed in January 1930 by the Sikh Gurdwara Tribunal The Anjuman did not file an appeal but Harnam Singh did The Lahore High Court dismissed Harnam Singh s appeal in October 1934 As a result the mosque and the other adjoining property remained in the custody of the Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee under the original Government Notification of 1927 In the following year i e 1935 the Sikh *Jathas* (armed groups) began to pour into Lahore city from all over the Punjab province reportedly to demolish the mosque To ease Muslim concern Herbert William Emerson (1881 1962) the Punjab Governor (1933 8) promised to the Muslims that no harm would come to the mosque On the night of 4 5 July 1935 however, the Sikhs started pulling it down As a result a large number of Muslims assembled at the site to stop demolition work The mob was fired upon by the Army and a number of people were killed

A complaint was filed in October 1935 in the court of the District Judge, Lahore by The mosque and a number of Mohamedans including women and children against the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee and the Committee of Management for the notified Sikh *Gurdwaras* Lahore for a declaration that the building was a mosque in which the plaintiffs and all followers of Islam are entitled to worship

[1] Sources Ashiq Hussain Batalvi *Iqbal Ke Akhree Do Saal* (Urdu) Iqbal Academy Lahore nd pp 547 80 Janbaz Mirza *Tahreek e Masjid Shahidganj* (Urdu) Maktaba Tabsera Lahore 1988 Ikram Ali Malik *Tareekh e Punjab* (Urdu) Vol I Salman Matbooat Lahore 1990 pp 127 30 and 140 Privy Council Judgement Vol xxi Lahore Series 140 Federal Shariat Court Judgement Islamabad 2 February 1991 and Muslim League Resolutions Annual Session 15 18 October 1937, appendix XVII 2 Resolution No 5

The District Judge dismissed the suit in May 1936 An appeal was filed against the judgement in the Lahore High Court At the instance of Allama Iqbal Punjab Muslims led by Malik Barkat Ali approached Jinnah to appear before the Court to argue the Muslim case Jinnah however did not agree saying that following his visit to Lahore in February 1936 he was already committed to seeking an amicable settlement between the Muslims and the Sikhs However at his suggestion the services of a British barrister (Mr Coltman) from Bombay were hired The appeal was again dismissed in January 1938 by the Division Bench of the High Court comprising Justice Young Justice Bhide and Justice Din Muhammad Mr Justice Din Muhammad however wrote a note of dissent An appeal to the Privy Council in London in 1938 against the judgement of the High Court was also dismissed in May 1940 with costs to the respondents

Jinnah visited Lahore on 21 February 1936 to perform his role as a mediator He stayed there for nearly a fortnight Before leaving he formed a Committee comprising the following to negotiate a settlement

1 Allama Muhammad Iqbal
2 Maulvi Abdul Qadir Qasuri
3 Mian Abdul Aziz Bar-at Law
4 Raja Narendra Nath
5 Pandit Nanak Chand Bar at Law
6 Sardar Boota Singh, Advocate
7 Sardar Ujjal Singh
8 Sardar Sampooran Singh
9 Mian Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana (Convener)

The Committee however failed to fulfil its task Following this the Council of the All India Muslim League at its session held on 30 31 January 1938 at Delhi with Jinnah in the chair resolved to summon a special session of the All India Muslim League to decide on the final line of action It further called upon the Muslims all over India to observe Friday 18 February 1938 as Shahidganj Day The special session of the All India Muslim League was held at Calcutta on 17 18 April 1938 with Jinnah in the Chair It appealed to the Musalamans to maintain a peaceful atmosphere and enable the Punjab government to seek a settlement of the issue

Nothing concrete was however achieved till independence in 1947, when a case was filed in the Federal Shariat Court of Pakistan by one Muhammad Siddique Chughtai of Lahore The Shariat Court in its judgement dated 2 June 1991 dismissed the petition *in limine* as in its opinion the learned counsel for the petitioner failed to point out any law or provision of law which he wants us to declare repugnant to the injunctions of Islam There the position rests and the premises remain in the custody of the Sikhs

The Unionist Party[1]

Formed in 1923, the Unionist Party was an outgrowth of the rural block of the *Zamindar* party founded in 1921 The party which owed its origin to the genius of Sir Fazl i Husain[2] (1877 1936) had its activities confined to the province of the Punjab Here the Muslims possessed a marginal majority in population, although all levers of power—economic and political—remained in the hands of the Hindus and the Sikhs The latter constituted only 13 2 percent in the Punjab population but demanded a weightage of 30 percent under the proposed constitution The Prime Minister s Communal Award of 1932 allowed the Hindus and Sikhs in the proposed Council of the Punjab 27 percent (43 seats) and 18 8 percent (32 seats) respectively As against this the Muslims 57 percent were allotted 86 seats in the house of 175 They were also likely to secure three more seats from the landholders constituencies

The Sikh demand for excessive weightage if conceded, would have turned Muslims into a permanent minority in the Punjab In order to prevent this, the Muslims wanted that their marginal majority should be reflected in their share of seats in the provincial legislature with a statutory guarantee

Punjab was a land of peasant proprietors and the agriculturists mainly Muslims who formed the bulk of the population in the rural areas However, they lived like a suppressed community *vis a vis* Hindu moneylenders and the prosperous and well organised Sikhs In the circumstance Fazl i Husain feared the threat of the combined force of the Congress and the Sikhs in the proposed Provincial Council He therefore entered into an agreement with Chaudhry Lal Chand a Hindu champion of the rights and privileges of the rural agriculturists The party thus formed as a result of Fazl i Husain Lal Chand coalition was named the National Unionist Party Lal Chand was however unseated from the Punjab Assembly in 1924 as a result of a court judgement He was succeeded by Chhotu Ram (1882 1945) yet another Hindu champion of the cause of the peasantry

[1]Sources—Gilmartin *Empire and Islam Punjab and the Making of Pakistan*, Oxford University Press New Delhi 1989 pp 35 108 110 126 129 31, 144 and 148 49 Ashiq Husain Batalvi op cit pp 159 188 Waheed Ahmad (ed), *Letters of Mian Fazl i Husain* Research Society of Pakistan Lahore 1976 pp 102 425 26 484 85 and 508 09 pp xxxiii xlix, Introduction, Waheed Ahmad (ed), *Diaries and Notes of Mian Fazl i Husain* Research Society of Pakistan Lahore 1977 Naresh Kumar Jain (ed) *Muslims in India A Biographical Dictionary*, Vol I, Manohar Publications 2 Ansari Road Daryaganj New Delhi 1979 and S P Sen (ed) *Dictionary of National Biography* Institute of Historical Studies Calcutta 1973

[2]On Fazl i Husain the chief architect of the Unionist Party, see Jinnah s remarks (*supra*, p 60) on Fazli s death and the observations of Sir Malcolm Hailey (1872 1969) Governor of the Punjab (1924 9) made thirty three years after he had left the province of the Punjab in his comment on Fazl i Husain s biography by his son Azim Husain then India s Deputy High Commissioner in London

> One must forgive the desire shown by the son to pay a tribute to the memory of his father but his record of Fazl i Hussain s career in politics is very far from objective he would admit that his father was first and last dedicated to securing the advancement, political and economic, of Muslims as against the Hindus and Sikhs and that the machinery he utilized for this purpose was the leadership accorded to him by the agricultural members of the legislature consisting mainly of Muslims and such Hindus and Sikhs as were prepared as agriculturists to support him against the non agricultural Hindu and Sikh section of the population
>
> Sir Fazli himself had I think no real affinity with the agriculturists as defind by the Punjab legislation but he utilized the support of the Unionist party in so far as this could aid him in securing the advance of the Muslim cause **Hailey to D A Low (then Fellow, Department of History, Australian National University, Canberra), 10 January 1961, India Office Library, Hailey Collection, MSS Eur E.220/51**

With a view to contesting the 1936 37 provincial elections on inauguration of the India Act of 1935, Fazl-i Husain though in poor health reorganized the party in 1936, launched a well thought out party programme in his pamphlet *Punjab Politics* 'by a Punjabee' and strengthened party's links with the rural Muslim leadership i e , *Pirs, Sajjaadanasheens* and *Imams* of mosques Mian Ahmed Yar Khan Daulatana (1896 1940) a co founder of the party served as the office secretary of the party and the secretary of the parliamentary party in the Punjab Legislative Council This was also the time when Jinnah had begun his work of re organizing the Muslim League by establishing Muslim League Parliamentary Boards everywhere including the Punjab A clash between the two seemed imminent However the godfather of the Unionist Party died in July 1936 and the party mantle passed on to Sir Sikander Hyat Khan

The Party contested the 1936 37 elections and won 96 seats out of 176 Sikander became the Punjab Chief Minister and remained a good ally of Britain in her war efforts But as time passed his position had been threatened by the rising influence of the Muslim League and its leader Jinnah However, before he could be overwhelmed by the Muslim League Sikander Hyat died in December 1942 and was succeeded by Khizir Hyat Khan Tiwana (1900 75) as the party leader As elections were not held till early 1946 Tiwana continued to hold power unsteadily until the closing phase of British rule in India The party was routed in the 1946 elections by the Muslim League which with 79 seats out of 175 emerged as the largest group in the Assembly Khizir Hyat was forced to resign in March 1947 and the Unionist Party ceased its activities for all practical purposes

Wardha Scheme of Education[1]

On Congress party forming governments in the six Indian provinces in July 1937 Gandhi outlined his plan of self supporting mass education at the primary level In his article in *Harijan* 31 July 1937 entitled Criticism Answered,' Gandhi explained that by his idea of education as 'an all round drawing out of the best in child and man — body mind and spirit For this purpose he asked the Ministers of Government to 'lay down a well conceived but determined policy' Following this advocacy a conference was held at Wardha a Gandhian *ashram* in the Central Provinces (now Madhya Pradesh) in India, on 22-23 October 1937 Gandhi himself presided Among the invitees were the Education Ministers of the six Congress-ruled provinces The Conference passed the following four resolutions after hearing Gandhi s exposition

1. That in the opinion of the Conference, free and compulsory education be provided for seven years on a nation wide scale
2. That the medium of instruction be the mother tongue
3. That the Conference endorses the proposal made by Mahatma Gandhi that the process of education throughout the period should centre round some form of manual and productive work, and that all the other abilities to be developed or training to be given should as far is possible be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child
4. That the Conference expects that this system of education will be gradually able to cover the remuneration of the teachers

A committee was then appointed headed by Dr Zakir Husain to prepare a planned syllabus for submission to Gandhi within a month Its other members were

> Vinoba Bhave, Krishna Das Jajoo, Kishori Lal Mashruwala J C Kumarappa Prof Saiyaddain Prof K T Shah, Kakasaheb Kalelkar, Shrimati Asha Devi and Aryanayakam (Convener)

The Committee submitted its report to Gandhi on 2 December 1937 The report known as the Zakir Husain Committee Report was later published under the title of Basic National Education Since the conference was held at Wardha the report is also called the Wardha Scheme It was enforced in the Congress ruled provinces in March 1938 The two main recommendations of the Committee were inculcation among students of the idea of *Ahimsa* (non violence) and territorial nationalism In the background of discontent among Muslims over Ministry formation and the performance of Congress in the Congress-ruled provinces Muslims regarded the Wardha scheme and *Vidya Mandirs* established under it as the Congress attempt to impose Hindu thought and culture on them Hence they rejected it and protested at its enforcement

[1]See Nripendra Nath Mitra, (ed) *The Indian Annual Register An Annual Digest of Public Affairs of India*, July December 1937 Vol II The Annual Register Office Calcutta n d , p 31 Gandhi s article entitled Criticism Answered in Director Publications Division Government of India *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* Vol LXV 15 March—31 July 1937 New Delhi 1976, pp 450 53 and appendix XX 3 para entitled National Education' about the constitution of an All India Education Board in the Indian National Congress Resolutions Annual Session 19 21 February 1938

See also a fifty page publication Government Printing, C P & Berar *Vidya Mandir Scheme A Way to the Spread of Free and Compulsory Mass Education within a Fixed Period* Nagpur 1938 which explains as to how the idea was conceived and gives details about *Vidya Mandirs*, their operation and benefits For the Muslim reaction see proceedings of the Muslim League Working meeting on 4 July 1939 *supra*, p 379

Bande Mataram [1]

Hail thee mother! To her I bow,
Who with sweetest water o'erflows
With dainty fruits is rich and endowed
And cooling whom the south wind blows,
Who's green with crops as on her grow,
To such a mother down I bow!
With silver moon beams smile her nights
And trees that in their bloom abound
Adorn her, and her face doth beam
With sweetest smiles, sweet is her sound!
Joy and bliss she doth bestow
To such a mother down I bow
Resounding with triumphal shouts
From seventy million voices bold
With devotion served by twice
As many hands that ably hold
The sharp and shining rapier bold
— Thou a weakling we are told!
Proud in strength and prowess thou art
Redeemer of thy children thou,
Chastiser of aggressive foes
Mother, to thee thy child I bow
Thou art knowledge thou my faith
Thou my heart and thou my mind
Nay more thou art the vital air
That moves my body from behind
Of my hands thou art the strength
At my heart devotion thou
In each temple and each shrine
To thy image it is we bow
Durga bold who wields her arms
With half a score of hands
The science goddess Vani too
And Lakshmi who on lotus stands
What are they but mother thou,
To thee in all these forms I bow!
To thee! Fortune giver, that art
To fault unknown beyond compare
Who dost with sweetest waters flow
And on thy children in thy care
Dainty fruits dost rich bestow
To thee mother to thee I bow!
To thee I bow that art so green
And so rich bedecked with smile
Thy face doth glow, thou dost sustain
And hold us — still unknown to guile!
Hail thee mother! To thee I bow!

[1] English translation Nares Chandra Sen Gupta, *The Abbey of Bliss* Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's *Anandamath* Padmini Mohan Nosgi n d pp 32 33 cited in Latif Ahmed Sherwani (ed) *Pakistan in the Making Documents and Readings* Quaid i Azam Academy Karachi 1987 pp 75 79

Literally meaning 'Hail to the Mother', this song occurs in Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's[1] novel *Anandamath* Written in a mixture of Sanskrit and Bengali *Anandamath* is a masterpiece of Chatterjee's creative genius It was published in 1882 The song *Bande Mataram* was reportedly sung by Rabindranath Tagore at Congress session of 1896 [2] *Anandamath* is a political novel with a plot which is based on the *Sanyasi* [3] rebellion that erupted in Bengal in the eighteenth century against the Muslim rule Bankim gave it a politico religious twist and made his characters in the novel selfless patriots inspired by the doctrine of disinterested action [4] The novel gave tremendous impetus to the religious patriotic and national fervour beginning with Hindu missionary activities and culminating in the Hindu terrorist movement in Bengal in the first decade of the twentieth century consequent upon Viceroy Curzon's partition of Bengal in 1905 On August 7 1905 hundreds of people joined the historic students procession from College Square to Townhall singing *Bande Mataram* From that day Swadeshi Movement spread throughout Bengal like wildfire Hardly a day passed without processions and boycott meetings rending the sky by *Bande Mataram* [5]

There is an appreciation in the novel of the English presence as a helpful prelude to a revival of the True Faith of Hinduculture' and a positive potential for India under British rule [6] In Bankim's own words the day European Science and mechanical skill unite their forces with India's philosophical

[1]Bankim Chandra Chatterjee b 26 June 1838 edn Hooghly College the Presidency College and Calcutta University of which he was the first graduate 1858 entered government service and posted at Jessore as Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector 1858 retired from government service 1891 and died 8 April 1894 represented one of the greatest of Hindu minds (Nirad Chaudhri cited in Basanta Koomar Roy (ed) *Anandamath Translated and Adopted from Original Bengali* Vision Books New Delhi 1992 p 7) A prolific writer of Bengali poems and novels author of *The Adventures of a Young Hindu Rajmohan's Wife (1964) Durgeshnandini (1865), Kapalkundala (1866) Mrinalini (1869) Rajani (1877) Krishnakanter Uil (1878) and Anandamath (1882)* However in no other work of his is Bankim so closely identified as with *Anandamath* Sisir Kumar Das (Tagore Professor of Bengali Literature University of Delhi) cited on dustcover *Ibid*

[2]O P Sharma *Great Men of India* Uppal Publishing House New Delhi 1988 pp 277 79

[3]Governor General Warren Hastings described the *Sanyasis* in a letter dated 9 March 1773 as follows

> The history of this people is curious They inhabit or rather possess the country lying south of the hills of Tibbet from Caubul to China They go mostly naked They have neither towns houses nor families but rove continually from place to place recruiting their numbers with the healthiest children they can steal in the countries through which they pass Thus they are the stoutest and most active men in India Many are merchants They are all pilgrims and held by all classes of Gentoos [Hindus] in great veneration This infatuation prevents our obtaining any intelligence of their motions, or aid from the country against them notwithstanding very rigid orders which have been published for these purposes insomuch that they often appear in the heart of the province as if they dropped from heaven They are hardy bold and enthusiastic to a degree surpassing credit Such are the Senassies the gipsies of Hindostan

Cited in Vincent A Smith *The Oxford History of India From the Earliest Times to the End of 1911* Clarendon Press First ed 1919 second ed 1923 Impression of 1928 pp 515 16

[4]Remarks on dust cover of the book Basanta Koomar Roy, op cit

[5]O P Sharma, op cit p 279

[6]Preface by William J Jackson to Basanta Koomar Roy op cit p 7

idealism, then truly will man become a god "[1] In short, the theme of the novel was the need to use English presence 'to acquire scientific knowledge from the British and throw the Muslims out [2] The following is a summary of dialogue among principal characters in the novel

> Bhavananda, the hero of the story is planning an armed revolt against Muslim power in Bengal, — the date is about 168 years ago He is collecting recruits and on a highway adventure meets one Mahendra whose wife and daughter he has earlier rescued from robbers Bhavananda hums the song *Bande Mataram* Mahendra at first does not understand, and then perceiving the trend of it asks Bhavananda to sing again The latter repeats the song explaining in between how and why rebellion is necessary to liberate the country which he throughout calls the Mother Mahendra is too timid and asks Bhavananda to abandon the impossible project In reply, Bhavananda bursts into spirited eloquence and concludes Our religion is gone our caste is gone, our honour is gone now even life is insecure Can the Hindus preserve their Hinduism unless these drunken *nereys* (term of contempt for Muslims) are driven away?' Mahendra asks Will you drive them away single handed? Bhavananda s reply is some lines of the song *Bande Mataram* which, literally translated mean 'When seventy million throats will roar and twice seventy million hands will hold the sharp edged swords call you the Mother weak? Further argument follows Mahendra points out the prowess of the Muslims but Bhavananda maintains that Muslims are cowards His words are The Englishman does not run away (from battle) even when his life is in danger but the Muslim runs away even as soon as he begins to perspire If one cannon ball falls anywhere near them the whole tribe of Muslims run for very life
>
> Next morning Bhavananda takes Mahendra to the temple *Anandamath* The Brahmachari in charge conducts Mahendra inside the temple where is semi darkness Mahendra gradually sees the following A huge image of four armed Vishnu complete with conch circle club and lotus two decapitated and bloody heads rolling in front of Vishnu, on the left of the image is Lakshmi on the right Saraswati and on the lap of Vishnu is another 'lovely image The Brahmachari asks Do you see the image on the lap of Vishnu? Mahendra says Yes who is she? 'The Mother answers the Brahmachari we are her children say *Bande Mataram* Here a comment may be permitted The Mother is an *image* which represents the motherland in the shape of an *idol* and is surrounded by other Hindu idols That *idolised* Mohterland is hailed with the words *Bande Mataram* Then Mahendra is led to another part of the temple Here the presiding deity is 'Jagatdharti an image surrounded by splendour The Brahmachari explains The Mother (land) was at first like this Mahendra reverently salutes 'the motherland symbolising Jagatdharti and is led into a dark tunnel In a subterranean chamber is the image of Kali black, bare and unclad The Brahmachari explains This is what the Mother (land) has *now* become Why does she hold those weapons in her hands? asks Mahendra We her children have armed her with them answers the Brahmachari and commands say *Bande Mataram*!

[1] Basanta Kapoor Roy *Ibid* p 20

[2] Syed Razi Wasti (ed) *Biographical Dictionary of South Asia* Publishers United Limited Lahore 1980 p 104

Thence Mahendra is led to another chamber, where the ten-armed Durga presides The Brahmachari says 'That is what the Mother (land) will be like when the enemy will be crushed under her feet Here also Lakshmi and Saraswati are present and working himself to an excess of fervour the Brahmachari chants words which are identical with those words of the song which literally translated mean 'Thou art Durga with ten arms and thou art Lakshmi lotus ranging and thou art Vani (Saraswati) that giveth knowledge I salute thee[1] Mahendra is now converted and says, I will take the vow ' Here another comment may be permitted The Mother (land) is clearly conceived as having no separate identity but being *identical* with all the three goddesses and accordingly saluted [1]

[1]Latif Ahmed Sherwani (ed) op cit pp 78 9

Moving the resolution on the issue at the twenty fifth annual session of the Muslim League October 1937 (see appendix XVII 2 resolution No 6), Maulana Akram Khan traced the history of *Bande Mataram* song and said that in 1773 the *Sanyasi* movement was started in Bengal whose chief aim was to turn out Muslims from Bengal the song is really war cry against the Muslims and is extremely offensive to the Muslim religion and sentiment see report in *Star of India,* 18 October 1937

Muslim Grievances against Congress rule, 1937-39—Reports of ML Inquiry Committees

1

Pirpur Report, November 1938

Raja Syed Muhammad Mehdi of Pirpur *Report of the Inquiry Committee appointed by the Council of the All India Muslim League to inquire into some Grievances in Congress Provinces* Commonly referred to as the Pirpur Report it comprised 83 pages Signed on 15 November 1938 it was presented to M A Jinnah President All India Muslim League under a covering letter reproduced below

To
M A Jinnah Esqr
President
All India Muslim League

Sir

The Council of the All India Muslim League passed the following resolution at its meetings held on March 20, 1938 at Delhi

> Whereas numerous complaints have reached the Central Office of the hardship ill treatment and injustice that is meted out to the Muslims in various Congress Government Provinces and particularly to those who are workers and members of the Muslim League the Council resolves that a special committee be appointed consisting of the following members to collect all information make all necessary inquiries and take such steps as may be considered proper and to submit their report to the President and the Council from time to time Raja Syed Muhammad Mehdi (Chairman) Mr A B Habibullah (Secretary) Khan Bahadur Haji Rashid Ahmad Syed Ashraf Ahmad Maulvi Abdul Ghani M L A Mian Ghias ud Din M L A Syed Zakir Ali Syed Hasan Riaz Syed Taqi Hadi Naqvi

In pursuance of the above resolution we started our inquiry immediately and finished our work (so far as the present report is concerned) in the last week of October 1938

During our extensive tour of all the six Congress Provinces namely the United Provinces Bihar Orissa Central Provinces Madras and Bombay we collected both written and oral evidence from all sections of Muslims specially the local M L As and Muslim League branches In some parts of the country we also received cooperation from non Muslims as well and they helped us with their evidence on important incidents We take this opportunity of thanking all these people for providing us with valuable information which has been incorporated in this report

The report is divided in three parts The first two parts deal with the general principles and causes of conflict between the Muslims and the Congress The third part deals in detail with the grievances of the Muslims in the Congress governed provinces We have endeavoured our best to examine the problem as a whole dispassionately particularly the Muslim grievances We believed that the grievances which we have incorporated in our report are just, real and genuine and will we hope, open the eyes of the Congress leaders

Numerous other instances besides those incorporated in the report were brought to our notice We have purposely withheld them not because we doubted their veracity but because of the exigency of space We have only included typical instances of the various types Then we have not included instances of Congress

interference with the official machinery of the State Firstly because it is very difficult almost impossible to get evidence on such matters and secondly because the fact of widespread attempt on the part of Congress men to influence official machinery has been even pointed out by the Hon ble Judges of the Allahabad High Court in their judgement in the Contempt of Court case against Dr Mukerji

Mian Ghias ud Din, M L A , did not take any part in the proceedings of the Committee while Maulvi Abdul Ghani M L A another member toured with the Committee in Bihar and rendered every possible help to the Committee in that province He however fell ill and was not able to participate in the proceedings of the Committee thereafter

We have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servants,
(Raja) Syed Mohammad Mehdi of Pirpur Chairman
A B Habibullah Secretary
Syed Ashraf Ahmad
Syed Hasan Riyaz
Syed Taqi Hadi Naqvi,
Syed Zakir Ali

Lucknow
November 15 1938

The report was published by Honorary Secretary All India Muslim League It is divided into three parts as detailed below

Part I General Survey

- i) Communal Problem
- ii) Indian Economic Life—Peculiar Characteristics
- iii) Political Parties
- iv) Muslim Mass Contact Movement—its Repercussions

Part II The Conflict and its Causes

- v) General Policy of the Congress
- vi) *Bande Mataram*
- viii) The Tricolour
- viii) Exclusion of Muslims from Local Bodies and Debt Conciliation Boards
- xi) Cow Protection
- x) Communal Riots—Cause and Origin
- xi) The Language and Culture

Part III Details of Muslims Grievances

- xii) Bihar
- xiii) Central Provinces and Berar
- xiv) Bombay
- xv) United Provinces
- xvi) Madras
- xvii) Orissa

2

Shareef Report, December 1939

S M Shareef *Report of the Publicity Committee of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League on some Grievances of the Muslims, 1938 39* Commonly known as Shareef Report it was published by the Bihar Provincial Muslim League Patna December 1939 Members of the Committee were

i) S M Shareef President of the Committee

ii) Mr Imteyaz Kareem Advocate, President Patna District Muslim League and a member of the Provincial Working Committee,

iii) Mr Syed Azizul Haque Fakhruddin, Advocate High Court, Patna ex President of the Patna District Muslim League,

iv) Mr Syed Mohammad Majeed, Advocate of Patna City,

v) Maulana Syed Shah Husain Mian Provincial Propaganda Officer of Phulwari Shareef,

vi) Maulana Mohiuddin Tamunna Saheb, Vice President of Provincial Muslim League

vii) Maulana Syed Ibrar Hussain Saheb a Shia theologist and professor of Jamea Sulaimania Patna City

viii) Maulvi Syed Zamiruddin Ahmed

ix) Khan Saheb Syed Mazhar Imam Assistant Secretary Provincial Muslim League and member of the Minority Provinces Deputation of the All India Muslim League

x) Maulana Abbas Videyarthi Saheb Propaganda Secretary District Muslim League Mozaffarpur and

xi) Khan Bahadur Syed Hasan General Secretary Bihar Provincial Muslim League

Syed Najmul Haque Advocate M L A Secretary of the Committee

Spread over 215 pages it was presented to Syed Abdul Aziz President Bihar Provincial Muslim League on 20 December 1939

The report was divided into three parts as under

Part I

Congress Principles and Policies in Practice

i) Introduction

Part II

Some Typical Examples of Oppression

ii)	District Patna	20 Cases
iii)	District Shahabad	02 Cases
iv)	District Gaya	11 Cases
v)	District Saran	07 Cases
vi)	District Champaran	03 Cases
vii)	District Darbhanga	09 Cases
viii)	District Bhagalpur	07 Cases
ix)	District Monghyr	07 Cases
x)	District Purnea	06 Cases
xi)	Distreit Santal Perganna	07 Cases
xii)	District Hazaribagh	03 Cases
xiii)	District Ranchi	03 Cases
xiv)	District Palamau	01 Case
xv)	District Manbhum	01 Case
xvi)	District Singhbhum	01 Case
xvii)	Appendix A (Village Sarthua District Patna)	

Part III

Some Grievances in the Services

xviii) Language and Culture

xix) Services

xx) Opinion of Mr Khurshid Hasnain Advocate High Court Patna

3

Fazlul Huq's Statement, December 1939

Fazlul Huq's statement entitled *Muslim Sufferings under Congress Rule Being the reprint of a Statement issued to the Press by the Hon'ble Mr A K Fazlul Huq Premier of Bengal,* and published under the authority of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League in December 1939 The statement printed in the form of a booklet is Narration of facts as I have obtained them' The booklet comprising 18 pages lists grievances and sufferings of the Muslims of the minority provinces under Congress governments especially in Bihar and UP

Besides the above three Reports a series of 32 articles appeared in *Dawn,* being press reports contemporaneous with the occurence of events to which they relate' based on 'personal investigation made in a six-weeks' tour of U P and Bihar at the end of 1939' by Altaf Husain,[1] later *Dawn* s editor, published in a book form (264 pages) in 1946 beginning with 'What Muslims suffered when Congress Ruled—The Tragic Story of 1937 39 Re-told' See S Shamsul Hasan (publisher), with a Foreword by Qazi Isa, *It shall Never Happen Again* Department of Publicity and Information, All India Muslim League, Daryaganj, Delhi, March 1946,p 1

[1]B 26 January 1900 edc First Class M A English from Dacca University Joined Dacc University as Lecturer 1923, Director Public information Bengal 1938 resigned from government service 1945 and took over as editor *Dawn,* Delhi and later Karachi 1945 65 Minister for Industries and Natural Resources in Ayub Khan s Cabinet 1965 to April 1968 (resigned due to ill health) and died May 1968 M SM Sharma, editor *Daily Gazette* described him as the younger brother of Adolf Hitler s publicity agent Goebbels in relation to Jinnah See Naresh Kumar Jain op cit pp 83 4

Emergency Powers on Declaration of War. Viceroy's Broadcast, 4 September 1939[1]

Simla, September 4 Official intimation has been received by the Viceroy that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom is at war with Germany The Prime Minister has broadcast that as no answer was received from Germany by 11 o'clock (B S T), Great Britain was at war with Germany An emergent meeting of the Viceroy's Executive Council was held in the evening His Excellency the Viceroy broadcast the following message to India

You have all heard that early on Friday morning the German armed forces invaded Polish territory The German Government presented no ultimatum They gave the Polish Government no warning Their war planes are reported to be bombing open towns and heavy casualties have already been inflicted among the civilian population

It is clear beyond any question from what has happened that Poland has had to face the same threat that Czechoslovakia had to face a year ago Confronted with the demand that she should accept the dictation of a foreign power in relation to her own territory and her own subjects Poland has elected to stand firm At this moment our troops are bravely defending the frontier against the ruthless power that seeks to overwhelm her

His Majesty's Government and the Government of France have made it clear that they stand behind the former pledges against aggression which they had given to Poland It is in these circumstances that we find ourselves at war with Germany today The issues that emerge are clear Acceptance of the policy and the methods which Germany has adopted would make life in the world impossible It would represent the triumph of aggression and the supremacy of the rule of force In circumstances such as these there could be no security in the world and no peace of mind for any of us The ruthless onslaught of Germany on Poland without a declaration of war is in keeping with the rest of her conduct in this matter

What faces us today is the safeguarding of principles vital to the future of humanity principles of international justice and international morality The principle that civilised man must agree to settle disputes between nations by reason and not by force The principle that in the affairs of men the law of the jungle the will of the strongest irrespective of right and justice cannot be allowed to prevail

To fail to take up this challenge would be to destroy for mankind any hope of true progress and true development So long as this cruel and ruthless thing is in the world there can be no freedom of the spirit for humanity Nowhere do these great principles mean more than in India There is no country that values them more highly than India and none that has at all times been more concerned to safeguard them His Majesty's Government in entering the war have done so with no selfish aims They have done so to safeguard vital principles affecting all humanity, to ensure the orderly progress of civilisation to see that disputes are settled between nations, not by the arbitrament of force but by equitable and peaceful means They have spared no effort to avoid the calamity that now threatens the world

I do not propose to speak to you at length this evening for more important than anything that I can say to you must be the response of each one of you to this tremendous issue With me I am certain, you will feel that in the stern and testing days that lie before us victory—the triumph of the right—will not be secured by

[1] Viceroy's broadcast Civil & Military Gazette, 5 September 1939

arms alone We shall all of us have to depend upon those inner and spiritual forces which in all the great emergencies of life are the true and unfailing source of strength and fortitude In a cause such as this the wholehearted sympathy and the support of all in this great country whether in British India or in the Indian States will I am certain, be forthcoming without distinction of class, of creed of race or of political party I am confident that on a day in which all that is most precious and most significant in the civilisation of the modern world stands in peril India will make her contribution on the side of human freedom as against the rule of force, and will play a part worthy of her place among the great nations and historic civilisations of the world

Ordinance

A Gazette of India Extraordinary publishes a proclamation by the Viceroy declaring that a grave emergency exists whereby the security of India is threatened by war A second proclamation is published stating that the Viceroy being satisfied thereof by information received Proclaims that war has broken out between His Majesty and Germany

The Gazette also publishes Ordinance V providing for Special measures to ensure the public safety and interest and the defence of British India and for the trial of certain offences The Defence of India Ordinance empowers the Central Government to make such rules as appear to be necessary or expedient for securing the defence of British India the public safety the maintenance of public order or the efficient prosecution of war or for maintaining supplies and services essential to the life of the community The rules issued under the Ordinance provide for

Ensuring the safety and welfare of His Majesty s forces ships and aircraft and preventing the prosecution of any purpose likely to prejudice the operations of His Majesty s forces or the forces of His Majesty's allies Prohibiting anything likely to prejudice the training discipline or health of His Majesty s forces Preventing any attempt to tamper with the loyalty of persons in or to dissuade persons from entering the service of His Majesty

Preventing anything likely to assist the enemy or to prejudice the successful conduct of war including (a) Communications with the enemy or agents of the enemy (b) Acquisition possession and publication of information likely to assist the enemy (c) Contribution to participation in or assistance in the floating of loans raised by or on behalf of the enemy and (d) Advance of money to contracts or commercial dealings with the enemy, enemy subjects or persons residing carrying on business or being in enemy territory

False Reports

Preventing the spread of false reports or the prosecution of any purpose likely to cause disaffection or alarm, or to prejudice His Majesty s relations with foreign powers or to promote feelings of enmity and hatred between different classes of His Majesty s subjects Requiring the publication of news and information, Regulating the conduct of persons in respect of areas the control of which is considered necessary or expedient and the removal of persons from such areas, Requiring any person or class of persons to comply with a scheme of defence

Ensuring the safety of ports dockyards lighthouses aerodromes railways telegraphs, post offices, signalling apparatus and all other means of communication sources of water supply works for the supply of water, gas or electricity and any other place or thing the protection of which is necessary for the defence of British India, the apprehension and detention in custody of any person reasonably suspected of being of hostile origin or association or of having acted, acting or being about to act, in a manner prejudicial to the public safety or interests or to the defence of British India, the prohibition of such a person from entering or residing or remaining in any area and the compelling of such a person to reside and remain in any area or to do or abstain from doing anything The control of persons

Foreign Exchange Purchases and sales of sterling are not restricted but 'forward' facilities will be obtainable only for genuine trade purposes Purchase of other foreign currencies by the public are subject to strict control but such foreign exchange will be obtainable for genuine trade purposes for petty personal remittances and for travelling as indicated below

All dealings in foreign currencies including sterling must be made through authorised dealers in foreign exchange The public should continue to deal direct with their usual bankers Persons resident in India wishing (1) to purchase or sell sterling should apply to their bankers in the usual way (2) to sell foreign currencies other than sterling should apply to their bankers on the appropriate form as follows (a) for paying for imports use form A 1 (b) for travelling abroad use from A 2 (c) for other genuine trade purposes use form A 3 (d) for petty private remittances (up to a limit of the equivalent of Rs 2000) use form A 4 (e) for remittance of savings and other purposes not specified above use form A 5

Notes

(1) Applications in forms A 1 A 2 A 3 and A 4 will normally be granted on compliance with the formalities indicated in the forms Applications in form A 5 will in all cases be referred by the authorised dealer to the Reserve Bank of India for sanction Large transfers of a capital nature will not normally be permitted

Transmission Abroad

(2) Post offices will continue to transact a limited business in money orders for transmission abroad on conditions ascertainable from such offices

(3) when sterling is purchased with the object of remitting the proceeds later into some other currency the purchaser should obtain a certificate in for A 6 from an authorised dealer to surrender to the exchange control authorities in the United Kingdom The supply of foreign exchange against sterling is however entirely a matter for the United Kingdom authorities and the certificate in form A 6 does not confer any right to obtain foreign exchange in the United Kingdom

Gold

Purchases and sales of gold in British India may continue to be made freely Imports and exports of gold may only be made under licence obtained by an authorised dealer in gold Persons desiring to import or export gold must apply to the nearest banking office of the Reserve Bank of India (Bombay Calcutta Delhi or Madras) for registration as authorised dealers in gold They will be supplied with a copy of the memorandum to authorised dealers in gold explaining the procedure

Licences for imports and exports of gold from or to the United Kingdom will be granted freely to authorised dealers in gold Licences for import or export of gold from or to other non hostile countries will be subject to such conditions as may be imposed in each case

Viceroy's Address to Joint Session (Council of State and Legislative Assembly), 11 September 1939[1]

His Excellency the Viceroy having arrived in procession with the Presidents of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly took his seat on the dais at half past eleven of the clock

His Excellency the Viceroy Gentlemen I have in the first place to read to you a gracious Massage to India from His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor which I have just received and which I think can most appropriately first be announced in the presence of the Central Legislature

The Message was received by all standing

> In these days when the whole of civilization is threatened, the widespread attachment of India to the cause in which we have taken up arms has been a source of deep satisfaction to Me I also value most highly the many and generous offers of assistance made to Me by the Princes and people of India I am confident that in the struggle upon which I and my peoples have now entered we can count on sympathy and support from every quarter of the Indian Continent in the face of the common danger Britain is fighting for no selfish ends but for the maintenance of a principle vital to the future of mankind—the principle that the relations between civilised States must be regulated not by force, but by reason and law so that men may live free from the terror of War to pursue the happiness and the wellbeing which should be the destiny of mankind GEORGE R I

We are all of us by now only too familiar with the circumstances in which Germany has attacked her neighbour State We have seen even in the week that has elapsed since the outbreak of the war the spirit in which that war is likely to be waged by Germany s Rulers We have seen the ruthless onslaught upon Poland without a declaration of war the sinking without warning of the liner Athenia' and the loss of life that has followed the complete and cynical disregard by the Rulers of the German people of those principles the establishment and the maintenance of which has been the general object of civilised mankind in past years It is clear beyond any question in the present circumstances that hateful as the idea of war may be to us, we and the nations associated with us are left with no alternative There is no means of replying to the unprovoked and wanton onslaught that has been made on a peaceful country but by resorting ourselves to force But in resorting to force, we can at least do so with confidence as to the purity of our motives and as to the unselfishness of the considerations which have led us to our decision

I need not today enlarge on the importance of the issues You are all of you familiar with them But I would again emphasize the impossibility which confronts us in face of repeated breaches of faith breaches of honourable understandings over the past year and more of trusting the word of the Rulers of the German people—a point which the Prime Minister forcibly brought out in his recent address to Germany Nothing could be more damning than the plain recital of the facts We have been assured time and again that Germany had no further territorial ambition in Europe and that assurance has been repudiated on every occasion on which it has suited the Rulers of Germany to repudiate it We have been assured that Germany would respect the Treaty of Locarno that she had no designs on the

[1] *Legislative Assembly Dabates* (Official Report) Vol V 1939 Government of India Press New Delhi 1940 pp 431 34 The text of the address also appeared in *Star of India*, 11 September 1939 and *Statesman* 12 September 1939

former Czechoslovakia, that she was concerned only to restore to Germany the Sudeten fringes of Czechoslovakia and had no designs on the true Czechoslovak centre of that country, that she did not aim at the incorporation in her territories of the citizens of any non German nation or race that she did not contemplate the annexation of Austria that she had no designs on Poland for many years in the difficult post war period a trusting friend bound to her by treaties of alliance That long list does not exhaust the tale of German pledges publicly given in the most binding and the most sacred fashion No single one of those pledges has been honoured Each one of them has been broken with entire disregard for those standards of truth and international morality on the basis of which alone the world can hold together, or hope to progress And those breaches of faith have been not merely a breach of faith They have represented a denial of justice a refusal to recognize any guiding principle save that of force a complete and cynical disregard for the principles that regulate the intercourse of nation with nation an anxiety to turn to the fullest advantage the absence of preparedness of those nations who had believed in the sanctity and in the sacredness of the undertakings given on behalf of a great nation by the Rulers of that nation

Now that the decision is taken now that it is clear that no course other than armed resistance will enable us and the countries allied with us to preserve the principles for which we fight I would make only one appeal today My appeal is one for unity In the Message which I have just read His Imperial majesty has told us of the deep satisfaction caused to him by in his own words the widespread attachment of India to the cause in which we have taken up arm Our task must be to vindicate the principles at stake, to work together in the closest unity for the furthering of our common object Nothing could be more significant than the unanimity of approach of all in India—the Princes the leaders of the great political parties the ordinary man and woman or than the contributions whether in offers of personal service of men of money that have already reached me from the Princes and the people of India There could be no more striking evidence of the dearth of the appeal of the issues now before us I am confident that however difficult may be the days that lie ahead of us (and the teaching of history shows us clearly the folly of assuming in a struggle of the magnitude of the present that victory will be easy or that the course of the campaign whatever it may be will be unchequered) India will speak and act as one and that her contribution will be worthy of her ancient name

Gentlemen in circumstances such as those in which we are met together today you will not expect me to deal with the matters of more ordinary interest which in the normal course would have figured in my address to the Central Legislature I am certain that I shall be voicing the wishes of all of you if I confine my remarks today to the war and to the issues that directly concern or arise out of war But I feel that it is only proper that I should express my own confidence that whatever may be the tasks that as the campaign develops may fall to the lot of our Defence Forces whether by sea by land or in the air the response will be one worthy of those glorious traditions the fame and renown of which are worldwide They are already as you know represented overseas and our fighting forces can claim to be assisting at the very outset of the war in holding posts of vast and critical importance

To the civil population of the country and to the civil services whether at the centre or in the provinces I would say that past experience has shown the spirit in which we may anticipate their answer to the new call which is being made upon them and to the new tasks which they have to undertake These are anxious and difficult times in which heavy burdens personal as well as general must necessarily weigh upon all of us whoever and wherever we may be I am certain that those burdens will be sustained in a manner worthy of our past

Before I conclude my remarks to you today there are two matters both of them arising out of the present situation on which I would say a word The first is the acceptance by His Majesty s Government and the Government of India of the conclusions of Lord Chatfield s Committee as expressed in the recently published

Despatch That decision marks an epoch in the history of Indian defence The grave problems which confronted us in the matter of defence consequent on changes in the international situation and the development of modern armaments are now in a fair way to solution They have been the constant concern of my advisers, and particularly of His Excellency the Commander in Chief for many months past The result of the deliberations which have taken place is on a broad view satisfactory in the highest degree In particular I am glad to think not only that the improvements so essential at the present stage of the world s history should be so far advanced, but that thanks to the most generous measure of help which has been extended to us the necessity of laying heavy additional burdens on the Indian taxpayer has been avoided The profound significance of the decisions that have been taken lies in the fact that India—so largely an agriculture country which could never save at the cost of a complete disregard of other calls have hoped to make available the vast sums of money necessary for re equipment and modernization —has, thanks to the gift which she has received form His Majesty s Government, been palced in the same position in relation to the modernization of her army as the great industrial nations of the world

I will add only one word more in regard to our federal preparations Those preparations as you are aware are well advanced and great labour has been lavished on them in the last three years Federation remains as before the objective of His Majesty s Government but you will understand Gentlemen without any elaborate exposition on my part the compulsion of the present international situation and the fact that, given the necessity for concentrating on the emergency that confronts us we have no choice but to hold in suspense the work in connection with preparations for federation while retaining federation as our objective

Had we met in more normal times there would have been many other matters to mention to you today—the position of Indians overseas the various developments of interests and importance which are under consideration in civil administration the working of provincial autonomy and of the reformed constitution But as I have already suggested I feel certain that at a time when the struggle which is raging elsewhere is uppermost in our thoughts this is a moment in which that emergency and matters directly associated with that emergency must be of predominant and in a sense of almost exclusive importance Our trust must be that under Providence the forces of right and of justice will triumph and that we may be able to take up again those interrupted activities on which we have been engaged for the furtherance of the constructive work of peace and of the progress and the prosperity of India (Applause)

This statement I think clearly establishes the nature of the cause for which we are fighting, and justifies if justification is needed the extension by India of her moral support and her goodwill to the prosecution of that cause

India's Future

Let me turn now to the second question which has been put to me—the question of India s future and of the lines of her constitutional development That is a question, I am certain in the light of my conversations which is of the greatest and most acute interest to all parties and all sections of opinion in this country As matters stand today the constitutional position of India and the policy of His Majesty s Government are governed by the provisions of the Government of India Act 1935 Part III of that Act which provides for the conferment of Provincial Autonomy on the provinces of British India has been implemented For nearly two and a half years now the provinces have been conducting their own affairs under the scheme of the Act That they have done so on the whole with great success even if now and then difficulties have arisen no one can question Whatever the political party in power in those provinces all can look with satisfaction on a distinguished record of public achievement during the last two and a half years The experience that they have had has show beyond any question that whatever minor problems the application of the scheme of the Act may have presented whatever difficulties may have confronted us in the operation of the Act from time to time in the Provincial sphere the scheme of the Act is essentially sound and that it transfers great power and gives great opportunities to popularly elected Governments dependent on the support of a majority in their Legislatures

At the Centre

The second stage contemplated by the Act was the reconstitution of the Central Government on such a basis as to achieve the essential goal of Indian unity The method contemplated for that purpose was the achievement of a Federation of all India in which the representatives of all political parties in British India would together with the Rulers of the Indian States form a unified Government of India as a whole

I am only too conscious of the severity of the criticisms that have been advanced from many different points of view against the Federal scheme and against the arrangements embodied in Part II of the Act

I will say today no more than that having myself had so close a familiarity not only with the framing of the provisions but with the preliminary work which has been done with a view to putting them into force I have throughout believed that the Federal scheme in its operation would have turned out as satisfactorily as broadly speaking we can all of us regard the scheme of Provincial Autonomy as having turned out I will not dilate on that subject today for our work in connection with the Federal scheme has been suspended

But in reaffirming, as I do, my belief in the essential soundness of the Federal aspects of the Act of 1935 I do so with the greater emphasis because of the evidence which the Federal provisions of the Act constitute of the anxiety of His Majesty s Government to achieve with the minimum of delay and on the basis which appears to represent the greatest amount of agreement between the various parties and interests affected the unity of India, and to advance beyond a further and a most important milestone on the road to India s goal

Dominion Status

Such being the background against which we are working what are the intentions and aims of His Majesty's Government in relation to India ? I cannot do better in reply to that question than to refer to the statement made on behalf of His

Majesty's Government and with their full authority by the late Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons on February 06 1935 That statement makes the position clear beyond a shadow of doubt It refers to the pledge given in the Preamble of the Act of 1919 and it makes it clear that it was no part of the plan of His Majesty's Government to repeal that pledge It confirms equally the interpretation placed in 1929 by Lord Irwin as Viceroy again on the authority of the Government of the day on that Preamble that the natural issue of India s progress as there contemplated is the attainment of dominion status [1]

I need not dilate on the words of that statement They are clear and positive They are enshrined in the parliamentary record They stand as a definite and categorical exposition of the policy of His Majesty s Government of the day and of their intentions today to this end the future constitutional development and position of India I would add only that the Instrument of Instructions issued to me as Governor General by His Majesty the King Emperor in May 1937 lays upon me as Governor General a direction so to exercise the trust which His Majesty has reposed in me that the partnership between India and the United Kingdom within our Empire may be furthered to the end that India may attain its due place among our Dominions '

Common Effort

That is the policy and that is the position Those are the intentions of His Majesty s Government

Let me go on to say another word about the Act of 1935 That Act was based on the greatest measure of common agreement which it was possible to obtain at the time when it was framed It was based as is well known to all of us on the common labours of British and Indian statesmen and of representatives of British India as well as of the Indian States over a long period of years All parties were at one stage or other closely associated with those deliberations And I can speak from personal experience when I bear tribute to the extreme anxiety of all those of us on whom in the Joint Select Committee there fell the more particular responsibility for devising proposals for the consideration of Parliament to ensure that the fullest account had been taken of all interests of the views of all political parties, and that nothing had been left undone to ensure that the outcome of our labours reflected the greatest measure of agreement practicable in the conditions that confronted us

Partnership within the Empire

Be that as it may, His Majesty s Government recognize that when the time comes to resume consideration of the plan for the future Federal Government of India and of the plan destined to give effect to the assurances given in Parliament by the late Secretary of State to which I have just referred it will be necessary to reconsider in the light of the then circumstances to what extent the details of the plan embodied in the Act of 1935 remain appropriate And I am authorized now by His Majesty's Government to say that at the end of the war they will be very willing to enter into consultation with representatives of the several communities, parties and interests in India and with the Indian Princes with a view to securing their aid and co operation in the framing of such modifications as may seem desirable

I have I trust in what I have just said made clear that the intention and the anxiety of His majesty's Government is as stated in the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General to further the partnership between India and the United Kingdom within the Empire to the end that India may attain her due place among the great Dominions The scheme of Government embodied in the Act of 1935 was designed as an essential stage in that process But I have made clear in what I have

[1]See appendix V which gives text of Lord Irwin s statement 31 October 1929

just said that His Majesty's Government will, at the end of the war be prepared to regard the scheme of the Act as open to modification in the light of Indian views and I would make it clear, too that it will be their object as at all times in the past it has been to spare no pains to further agreement by any means in their power in the hope of contributing to ordered and harmonious progress of India towards her goal

Wider Demands

Let me in that connection add that in the conversation I have had representatives of the minorities have urged most strongly on me the necessity of a clear assurance that full weight would be given to their views and to their interests in any modifications that may be contemplated On that I need say no more than that over more than a decade at the three Round Table Conferences and at the Joint Select Committee, His Majesty s Government consulted with and had the assistance of the advice of representatives of all parties and all interest in this country It is unthinkable that we should now proceed to plan afresh or to modify in any respect any important part of India's future constitution without again taking counsel with those who have in the recent past been so closely associated in a like task with His Majesty s Government and with Parliament

That some even more extensive scheme than I have mentioned some even more widely phrased indication of the intentions of His Majesty s Government is desired in certain quarters in this country I am fully aware from the conversations I have had during these last few weeks That that is a desire held with sincerity and that it is in the manner in question that the future progress and development of India and the expressed intentions of His Majesty s Government can best be fulfilled I fully and readily accept

Word of Caution

I would utter one word only of caution And if I say that the situation must be faced in terms of world politics and of political realities in this country I do so from no lack of sympathy and no lack of appreciation of the motives that weigh with the people of India and the ideals that appeal to them But I would urge that it is essential in matters of this nature affecting the future of tens of millions of people, affecting the relations of the great communities affecting the Princes of India affecting the immense commercial and industrial enterprises whether India or European in this country that the largest measure of agreement practicable should be achieved With the best will in the world progress must be conditioned by practical considerations I am convinced myself if I may say so with the utmost emphasis that having regard to the extent of agreement which in fact exists in the constitutional field and on this most difficult and important question of the nature of the arrangements to be made for expediting and facilitating the attainment by India of her full status there is nothing to be gainded by phrases which widely and generally express, contemplate a state of things which is unlikely to stand at the present point of political development the test of practical application or to result in that unified effort by all parties and all communities in India on the basis of which alone India can hope to go forward as one and to occupy the place to which her history and her destinies entitle her I would ask that these words of caution be not taken as indicating any lack of sympathy on the part of His Majesty s Government for the aspirations of India or any indifference to the pace of her advance And I would repeat that His Majesty s Government are but concerned to use their best endeavours now as in the past, to bring about that measure of agreement and understanding between all parties and all interests in this country which is so essential a condition of progress towards India s goal

India and War

I turn now to the arrangements to be made to secure the association of public opinion in India with the conduct of the war India s contribution has already been great great to a degree which has impressed the imagination of the world At the head of the list I would put the contribution which India has made in spiritual not in material terms the support of her peoples for a cause which they can regard as a good and a righteous cause In the material field equally her contribution is already most significant and may be greater still And in the circumstances the desire the anxiety of the public opinion in India to be associated with the conduct of the war is naturally one with which I personally have throughout felt the greatest sympathy In the circumstances I have described the desirability of steps to ensure that leaders of public opinion should be in the closest touch with developments is of the first importance

I have discussed with the utmost frankness with the leaders of the various parties who have been good enough to come to see me in connection with the constitutional position by what machinery we could best give effect to this desire We have examined a variety of experiments and there has been no hesitation on the part of any of us in assessing the advantages and the disadvantages presented by each of them I do not propose today to examine those various alternatives in particular detail I will only say that in the light of my conversations and of the views (by no means always in accord), of the representatives of the great parties and of the Princes I am of opinion that the right solution would be the establishment of a consultative group representative of all major political parties in British India and of the Indian Princes over which the Governor General would himself preside which would be summoned at his invitation and which would have as its object the association of public opinion in India with the conduct of the war and with questions relating to war activities

Representative Body

This group for practical reasons would inevitably be limited in size But His Majesty's Government contemplate that it should be fully representative and in particular that its personnel should be drawn by the Governor General from panels prepared by the various major political parties from which a selection of individuals to attend meetings of the group would be made by the Governor General

I hope in the very near future to enter into consultation with political leaders and with the Princes on this question I have no doubt whatever that an arrangement of this nature will most materially contribute to associating the Indian States and British India with the steps which are being taken for the prosecution of the war and with the arrangements that are being made in that connection and I am confident too that in an association of this nature of representatives of all parties and all interests there lies the germ of that fuller and broader association of all points of view in this country which contain in it the seeds of such advantage for the future of India as a whole

An Appeal

When I spoke to the Central Legislature a month ago, I made an appeal for unity I would repeat that appeal today It is my earnest hope that the explanations I have given will have contributed materially to the removal of misunderstandings Even if on certain points I have not to my knowledge, been able to give assurances so comprehensive as those which would I know have been welcomed in certain political quarters in India, I would urge insistently that this is not a moment at which to risk the splitting of the unity of India on the rock of particular phrases and I would press that we should continue to aim at the unity of India even if differences of greater or less significance continue to exist We live in difficult and anxious

days Great ideals are in issue Dangers real and imminent face our civilization Those dangers are as imminent in the case of India as of any other member of the British Commonwealth of Nations Those ideals are as precious to India as to any country in the Empire or in the world At this grave moment in the destinies of nations, my prayer to all parties would be not to dissociate themselves from the common effort, but to lend their co-operation and their assistance in the prosecution of the war There could be no more decisive proof of India s fidelity to her best traditions than the full use of the opportunities afforded to her by the war for concerted endeavour The ideals we have set before us, the objects to secure which we are engaged in the present struggle are such as to command widespread sympathy and widespread support in India They are in harmony with her past history and her highest traditions It is my hope that in the grave juncture which we face, India will go forward as a united country in support of a common cause — API

Viceroy's Statement—His Talks with Indian Leaders on War, 5 November 1939[1]

New Delhi, Nov 5 'The discussions which have been taking place between the representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League have not ended in agreement,' says His Excellency the Viceroy in a statement issued tonight together with the correspondence between him Mr Gandhi Dr Rajendra Prasad and Mr M A Jinnah Lord Linlithgow proceeds

'No one can regret more than I do that this should be the case, and I think it is only proper as the issues involved are so important, to recall the history of the last few weeks

War was declared on September 3 In a broadcast that night I appealed to all parties and all sections in India to co operate in its prosecution On the following day I saw Mr Gandhi in Simla and I discussed the whole position freely with him I similarly took immediate steps to see Mr Jinnah as representing the Muslim League Nor did I fail to see the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes

'Thereafter the general question came for consideration before the Congress Working Committee and the Working Committee of the Muslim League The Working Committee of the Congress met on September 15 They condemned Nazi aggression in decisive terms But they postponed a final decision so as to allow for the full elucidation of the issues at stake the real objectives aimed at, and the position of India in the present and in the future and they invited the British Government to declare in unequivocal terms what were their war aims and how those aims would apply to India and be given effect to in the present Mr Gandhi, expressing his full agreement with the Working Committee s statement, remarked that he had been sorry to find himself alone in seeking that whatever support was to be given to the British should be given unconditionally

Muslim Request

The Working Committee of the Muslim League on September 18 similarly asked If full effective and honourable co operation of the Muslims is desired,' that a sense of security and satisfaction should be created amongst Muslims, and referred in particular to the position of the Muslims in Congress Provinces and to the necessity for consulting the Muslims fully regarding any change in the existing constitution and securing their consent and approval

'I now again got in touch with Mr Gandhi Mr Jinnah and the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes I decided that given the great divergence of views which clearly existed between the two major political parties in British India, I must satisfy myself as to the trend of feeling in the country In pursuance of that object I interviewed over 50 people, representing all parties communities and interests While those conversations were proceeding the All India Congress Committee, on October 10 passed a resolution repeating the demand of the Working Committee for a statement by His Majesty's Government of their war aims and peace aims They demanded also that India should be declared an independent nation and that present application of this status should be given to the largest possible extent

'I reported my conversations in detail to His Majesty's Government, who at a time of overwhelming pressure have been devoting the closest attention to the problems of India It was in the light of profound consideration and long discussion that on October 18, I made a declaration on behalf of His Majesty's Government That declaration emphasized first that Dominion Status remained the goal for India second, that His Majesty's Government were prepared to reconsider

[1]Viceroy s statement *Star of India* 6 November 1939

the scheme of the present Act at the end of the war in consultation with leaders of opinion in India third that His Majesty's Government attached importance to associating public opinion in India with the prosecution of the war, and that for that purpose they contemplated the formation of a consultative group, the details of which were to be settled after I had further consulted with party leaders

'The announcements in my statement are of great importance Their importance has been belittled but they represent points of real substance The debates in Parliament which followed the publication of my statement brought out another important point—the readiness of His Majesty's Government if certain conditions were secured to associate Indian opinion in a still closer and more responsible manner with the conduct of the war by a temporary expansion of the Governor General's Executive Council

Call to Ministries

'But the reception in British India both of my declaration and of the subsequent debates in Parliament was as far as the Congress was concerned, definitely hostile The Congress Working Committee on October 22, passed a resolution to the effect that my declaration was entirely unsatisfactory and called upon the Congress Ministries in the provinces to resign The Muslim League on the same day asked that certain doubts should be removed and complete clarification of the declarations secured subject to which they empowered their President if fully satisfied 'to give an assurance of cooperation and support on behalf of the Muslims of India to the British government for the purpose of the prosecution of the war

I next invited Mr Gandhi Dr Rajendra Prasad and Mr Jinnah to come to see me on November 1, and I discussed the whole position with them frankly I had already in my previous conversations discussed with them as with almost all my visitors, from various aspects the possibility of an expansion of the Governor General s Council I now told them that if in regard to association at the Centre we had been unable to go further than the consultative group it was because of the lack of prior agreement between the major communities such as would contribute to harmonious working in the Centre I added that the manifestoes issued on October 22, by the Congress Working Committee and the Muslim League had shown only too clearly the gulf that existed between the attitude of these two great parties

I begged my visitors in these circumstances to meet and to have discussions among themselves on the provincial position with a view thereafter to putting forward in agreement proposals which could be considered for some expansion of the Governor General s Council at the Centre I told them that I saw no necessity for every detail of the differences between them in the provinces to be resolved What was needed was a sufficient resolution of those differences to make the devising of a scheme for harmonious co operation at the Centre practicable I begged them in the most earnest manner to spare no endeavour to reach an agreement and I emphasized that this was essentially a question affecting Indians on which agreement between Indians themselves was what I was anxious to secure I repeated the profound anxiety not only of myself but of His Majesty s government to leave nothing undone which would contribute to achieve that agreement

The discussions which I suggested have taken place But the result to me has been a profound disappointment There remains today entire disagreement between the representatives of the major parties on fundamental issues All I will say now is that I am not prepared to accept this failure I propose in due course to try again in consultation with the leaders of these great parties and the Princes to see if even now there may still be the possibility of securing unity

During all the time I have been in India there is nothing I have been more anxious to secure than unity And unity matters far more to India than is perhaps

always realised Unity, too, means that Indians whatever their community or whatever their party allegiance and whether they dwell in British India or in the Indian states must work together in a common scheme

I will Try Again

'It is worth a great deal to try to bring that about I may have been unsuccessful so far but I will try again And when I try again I would ask India to remember my difficulties and give me credit for an earnest goodwill and an earnest desire to assist

'We are dealing with a problem that has defeated the united endeavours of the greatest organisations in this country There are grave differences of view which have to be taken into account, which should be bridged There are strong and deeply rooted interests which are entitled to the fullest consideration and whose attitude is not a thing lightly to be brushed aside There are minorities which are great in number as well as great in historic importance and in culture Those are all factors to which full weight has to be given

'But complex as the problems are I refuse to regard them as insoluble and I prefer to believe that like other human problems they will yield to patient discussion in a spirit of goodwill In this belief I am encouraged by the friendly feeling which has pervaded my discussions with the leaders of parties I would ask the country, and I would ask the leaders of the great political parties and their constituents, who I know have faith in those leaders and are ably led by them to give me the help which I so much need if there is to be any hope of overcoming our difficulties and reaching the result which I am sure that we all of us desire '—API

Day of Deliverance—Liaquat's Statement, 10 December 1939[1]

Mr M A Jinnah President of the All India Muslim League, in asking the Musalmans to observe Friday, the 22nd of December 1939, as the Day of Deliverance from the oppression and tyranny of Congress regime in the provinces where the Musalmans are in a minority has truly voiced the feelings and opinions of the millions and millions of Musalmans who have undergone great trials in the last two and a half years

During this period they have been victims of double oppression British Imperialism and Congress communalism One is as wicked as the other There is nothing to choose between British or any other kind of Imperialism and Congress communalism Both are based on the exploitation and domination of the weak by the strong and while one depends on its brute force of bayonets the other depends on the brute force of its majority and when the two evil forces combine together under gentlemen's agreement' life becomes intolerable Surely the Musalmans are entitled to express their sense of relief and joy at the termination of such a regime and offer prayers to God to grant Muslim India enough strength discipline and organisation to successfully resist the advent of a regime, which would not do even justice to all communities and interests, and desire for a truly representative and popular Government—a Government which will be in the real sense a Government of the people by the people and for the people and not a Government of the Congress by the Congress and for the Hindus

There is nothing in the proposed resolution text of which has already been published in the papers with Mr Jinnah s statement which the Muslim League has not repeatedly stated from its platform There are innumerable instances of unprovoked and unjust aggression on the Muslim minority by the majority community in the Provinces where the Congress Ministries were till recently in office and surely to express sense of relief at the termination of a regime which made such things possible is not a crime Who can deny that during the last two and

[1]Statement of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Honorary Secretary All India Muslim League Park Mansions Delhi Gate Delhi n d

'Day of Deliverance'—Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan's Appeal for— Observance with Dignity—Nothing in Resolution which has not been repeatedly stated

New Delhi, Dec 10 I trust that the Musalmans in observing the Day of Deliverance will faithfully follow the injunction of our Leader and will not do anything in any form which is likely to hurt the feelings and sentiments of any other community says Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Secretary All India Muslim League in statement to the Press

The Day of Deliverance is not being observed to gloat over the exit of the Congress regime but to offer thanks to god for relieving the country from an oppressive regime and to offer prayers for the establishment of a rule which will do even justice to all and sundry and will equally command the confidence and goodwill of every community The occasion demands that the greatest humility shall be observed and the meetings shall be conducted with dignity and poise

The Nawabzada says there is nothing in the proposed resolution (the text of which has already been published in these columns with Mr Jinnah statement) which the Muslim League has not repeatedly stated from its platform It, he declares the congress instead of indulging in tall talk of Constituent Assembly and so on and instead of looking for acceptance and support of its claims across the seas, strove nearer home it would tremendously increase the chances of India becoming a free and independent country

Mr Jinnah has faithfully expressed the feelings of the Musalmans when he in his recent statement says that the Muslim League is always ready and willing for an honourable settlement of the Hindu Muslim question without which India can never become free —(API) *Star of India* 11 December 1939

a half years, on account of the policy followed by the Congress, such bitterness has been created between the two major communities that even the worst enemies of India could not have succeeded in creating in two and a half centuries and the exit of the Congress Ministries from office is a blessing for the whole country Thank God the Musalmans today are at last awake and are able to stand on their own legs They shall not either be stampeded or befooled by anyone They are determined to fight to the last ditch for their just rights and preservation of their identity and their cultural economic, social and political rights

It is an admitted fact that there can never be real freedom and peace in this country unless and until the ninety million of Musalmans and other minorities are made to feel secure to their satisfaction The Muslim League is accused by our opponents of being an obstacle in the way of India's freedom It is a travesty of truth It is not the Muslim League which is an impediment but it is the Congress which is a real obstacle in the way of India becoming an independent country as it refuses to face the realities of the situation and is still striving to have a rule of majority To this type of rule where the ninety millions of people still exist only on the mercy of those who are numerically stronger the Musalmans will never submit If the Congress instead of indulging in tall talk of Constituent Assembly and so on and instead of looking for acceptance and support of its claims across the seas strove nearer home it would tremendously increase the chances of India becoming a free and independent country

Mr Jinnah has faithfully expressed the feelings of the Musalmans when he in his recent statement, says that the Muslim League is always ready and willing for an honourable settlement of the Hindu Muslim question without which India can never become free I trust that the Musalmans in observing the Day of Deliverance will faithfully follow the injuction of our Quaid i Azam (Leader) and will not do anything in any form which is likely to hurt the feelings and sentiments of any other community The day is not being observed to gloat over the exit of the Congress regime but to offer thanks to God for relieving the country from an oppressive regime and to offer prayers for the establishment of a rule which will do even justice to all and sundry and will equally command the confidence and goodwill of every community The occasion demands the greatest humility shall be observed and the meetings shall be conducted with dignity and poise

S Shamsul Hasan
Assistant Secretary All India Muslim League

Muslim League Resolutions, Annual Sessions, 1936-40[1]

1

Bombay, 24th Annual Session, 11-12 April 1936, Syed Wazir Hasan presided[2]

Resolution No 1

Resolved that this meeting of the All India Muslim League offers its respectful condolence to His Majesty King Edward VIII and Her Majesty Queen Mary on the sad demise of His late Majesty King George V (Chair)

Resolution No 2

Resolved that this meeting of the All India Muslim League offers its loyal congratulation to His Majesty King Edward VIII on his accession to the throne and assures him of the loyalty of the Musalmans of India (Chair)

Resolution No 3

Resolved that this meeting of the All India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow and grief at the sad and sudden demise of K B Hafiz Syed Hedayat Hosain C I E , Secretary of the League and considers it a great national loss The League conveys its heart felt condolence to the widow of the late Hafiz Saheb and other members of his bereaved family (Chair)

Resolution No 4

Resolved that this meeting of the All India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of regret at the loss which the community has suffered by the deaths of the late Sheriff Dewji Canji, K B Makhdum Syed Rajan Bux and the Hon ble Sheikh Makbul Husain members of the Council of the All India Muslim League and conveys its condolence to the members of their bereaved families (Chair)

Resolution No 5

Resolved that the Report of the Honorary Secretary be adopted (Chair)

Resolution No 6

Resolved that this important meeting of the All India Muslim League offers its gratitude to Mr M A Jinnah for his valuable services rendered in connection with the Shahidganj Mosque question, at a time when no other leader could venture to undertake the responsibility Mr Jinnah having realised the depth of the real feelings of the youths of the Punjab went to Lahore and made the Government of the Punjab to accept the demands of the Musalmans and thus gave a great impetus to the Musalmans of the Punjab in general and the youths of the province in particular

Proposed by	Haji Mohammad Aminuddin Saheb Sahrai Lahore
Seconded by	K B Nawab Ahmad Yar Khan Saheb, Daulatana

[1]No annual sessions of the All India Muslim League were held during 1935 and 1939 hence no annual session resolutions in these two years

[2]Liaquat Ali Khan Honorary Secretary All India Muslim League *Resolutions of the All India Muslim League May 1924 — December 1936* Muslim League Printing Press Daryaganj Delhi n d pp 65 69

Resolution No 7

Resolved that a committee of the following members be formed in order to revise and amend the Constitution and Rules of the All India Muslim League in order to bring it to the present day requirements of the Musalmans of India and present their report at the next meeting of the Council of the League The Secretary of the League will be convener of this committee 1 The Hon Syed Hossain Imam 2 Maulvi Sir Muhammad Yakub Kt 3 Mr Abdul Matin Choudhri and 4 Mr Ali Bahadur Khan

Proposed by	Mr Ali Bahadur Khan, Bombay
Seconded by	Kazi Kabiruddin Ahmad Saheb, Bombay

Resolution No 8

Resolved that the All India Muslim League enters its emphatic protest against forcing the Constitution as embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935 upon the people of India against their will and in spite of their repeated disapproval and dissent expressed by various parties and bodies in the country

The League considers that having regard to the conditions prevailing at present in the country the Provincial scheme of the Constitution be utilised for what it is worth in spite of the most objectionable features contained therein, which render the real control and responsibility of the Ministry and the Legislature over the entire field of the Government and the administration nugatory

The League is clearly of the opinion that the All India Federal Scheme of the Central Government embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935 is fundamentally bad It is most reactionary retrograde injurious and fatal to the vital interests of British India *vis a vis* the Indian States and it is calculated to thwart and delay indefinitely the realization of India's most cherished goal of complete responsible government and is totally unacceptable

The League considers that the British Parliament should still take the earliest opportunity to review the whole situation afresh regarding the Central Scheme before it is inaugurated or else the League feels convinced that it would not bring peace and contentment to the people, but on the contrary it will lead to disaster if forced upon the people and persisted in as it is entirely unworkable in the interest of India and her people

Proposed by	Mr M A Jinnah
Seconded by	Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim Bart Bombay
Supported by	The Hon Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Punjab
"	The Hon ble Hossain Imam Gaya
	Atia Begum Saheba, Bombay
"	Mulla Noorbhai Dadanwalla, Bombay
	Mr Ismail Chundrigar, Ahmadabad
"	Mr Akhtar Hasan, C P

Resolution No 9

Whereas the Parliamentary system of Government which is being introduced in this country with the inauguration of the new constitution, presupposes the formation of parties with a well-defined policy and programme which facilitate the education of the electorate and co operation between groups with proximate aims and ideals and ensures the working of the constitution to the best advantage, and whereas in order to strengthen the solidarity of the Muslim community and to secure for the Muslims their proper and effective share in the provincial governments, it is essential that the Muslims should organise themselves as one party with an advanced and progressive programme it is hereby resolved that the All India Muslim League do take steps to contest the approaching

provincial elections, and for this purpose appoint Mr M A Jinnah to form a Central Election Board under his presidentship consisting of not less than 35 members, with powers to constitute and affiliate provincial election boards in various provinces having regard to the condition of each province, and devise ways and means for carrying out the aforesaid object

Proposed by	The Hon ble Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Punjab
Seconded by	Khan Saheb Haji Rashid Ahmad Saheb, Delhi
Supported by	Maulana Ahmad Said Saheb Delhi
"	Mohammad Yousuf Saheb
"	The Hon ble Hossain Imam, Gaya
"	Muhammad Suleman Cassim Mitha Bombay
"	Mr Abdul Hamid, M L C, Madras
	Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb U P
	Maulana Irfan Saheb Bombay

Resolution No 10

Resolved that Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb, Deputy President U P Legislative Council be elected Honorary Secretary of the All India Muslim League for the next term of three years

Proposed by	Mr M A Jinnah
Seconded by	Maulvi Sir Muhammad Yakub

Resolution No 11

Resolved that the election of 15 Vice Presidents be postponed *sine die* and the question of the abolition or continuance of so many vice presidents be left over for the consideration by the Committee appointed to revise the Constitution and Rules of the League

Proposed by	Mr M A Jinnah
Seconded by	Maulvi Sir Muhammad Yakub

Resolution No 12

Resolved that the election of the two Honorary Joint Secretaries be left to the Council of the League

Proposed by	Mr M A Jinnah
Seconded by	Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

Resolution No 13

Resolved that the election of 1/10th number of the members of the Council to be elected by the open Session be left to the consideration of the Council of the League

Proposed by	Mr M A Jinnah
Seconded by	K B S M Abdullah Delhi

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada), M L A, (U P)
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League

2

Lucknow, 25th Annual Session, 15-18 October 1937, M A Jinnah presided[1]

Resolution No 1

Resolved that this meeting of the All India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow and grief at the sad and sudden demise of Dr M A Ansari, Sir Fazl i-Husain, Sir Ross Masood Shaikh Mahmood Ali and K B Masoodul Hasan The League conveys its heartfelt condolence to the members of their bereaved families (Chair)

Resolution No 2

Resolved that the Report of the Secretary be adopted (Chair)

Resolution No 3

That the All India Muslim League declares in the name of the Musalmans of India that recommendations of the Royal Palestine Commission and the subsequent statement of policy presented by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament conflict with their religious sentiments and in the interests of world peace demands its rescission without further delay

The All India Muslim League calls upon the Government of India to issue instructions to the representatives of India at the Assembly of the League of Nations that in view of the failure of the present mandatory to carry out the terms of the mandate which was never accepted by Arabs and the rest of the Islamic world and in order not to prejudice the civil and religious rights of the Arabs they shall demand the annulment of the mandate and disassociate themselves from any decision tending to perpetuate it and thus to violate the fundamental right of the Arab inhabitants of Palestine to choose the form of Government best suited to their needs and requirements as guaranteed to them under international treaties

The All India Muslim League appeals to the rulers of Muslim countries to continue to use their powerful influence and best endeavours to save the holy places in Palestine from the sacrilege of non-Muslim domination and the Arabs of the Holy land from enslavement of British Imperialism backed by Jewish finance The All India Muslim League places on record its complete confidence in the Supreme Muslim Council and the Arab Higher Committee under the Leadership of His Eminence the Grand Mufti and warns the local administration in Palestine not to aggravate the resentment already created in the Muslim world by a policy of repression as advocated by the Royal Commission against the people of the country ostensibly to uphold law and order but in reality calculated to further the interest of aliens through the scheme of partition

The All India Muslim League expresses its entire confidence in the Leader and Members of the Delegation selected by the Palestine Conference held on September 24 and 25 1937 and appeals to every friend of the Arabs in Palestine to raise a united voice to redress their grievances

This Session of the All India Muslim League warns the British Government that if it fails to alter its present pro-Jewish policy in Palestine the Musalmans of India in consonance with the rest of the Islamic world will look upon Britain as the enemy of Islam and shall be forced to adopt all necessary measures according to the dictates of their faith

[1] Liaquat Ali Khan Honorary Secretary All India Muslim League, *Resolutions of the All India Muslim League, October 1937 — December 1938* Muslim League Printing Press Daryaganj Delhi 1944 pp 1 12

Proposed by Abdur Rahman Saheb Siddiqi Bengal
Seconded by Maulana Karam Ali Saheb Lucknow
Supported by Begum Saheba Muhammad Ali, Delhi
" Maulana Abdul Hamid Saheb Budaun
Begum Saheba Mian Shah Nawaz, Lahore
" The Hon Syed Muhammad Hosain
" Ali Bahadur Habeebullah Saheb, Lucknow
" Muhammad Abdul Sattar Saheb Khairi, Aligarh

Resolution No 4

This Session of the All India Muslim League condemns the present policy of Government of India with regard to Waziristan and is of opinion that the forward policy is against the best economic and political interest of India and calls upon the Government and people of India to change and come back to the close border policy

Proposed by The Hon Hossain Imam Gaya
Seconded by Syed Murtaza Bahadur, M L A , Madras
Supported by Maulana Shaukat Ali Saheb M L A
Sh Sajjad Ahmad Saheb, Abbottabad
Mulla Jan Muhammad Saheb N -W F P
" K B Quli Khan Saheb N W F P
Maulana Abdul Waheed Saheb
" Maqbool Mahmood Saheb Punjab
K B Rashiduddin Saheb U P

Resolution No 5

This Session of the All India Muslim League condemns the wanton demolition of the Shahidganj Mosque at Lahore as a most intolerable interference with the Law of Islam and in view of the fact that this demolition was carried out in broad daylight under the protection of British troops and British guns calls upon the British Government to restore the mosque to its original condition and thus avoid an inevitable conflict between the Muslims of India and the British Government whose representative in the Province failed to perform his elementary duty of protecting an admittedly Muslim mosque

Proposed by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Punjab
Seconded by Prof Malik Enayatulla Saheb Punjab
Supported by Begum Saheba Habibulla U P
Malik Barkat Ali Saheb, Punjab
" Maulana Omar Daraz Beg Saheb U P

Resolution No 6

This meeting of the All India Muslim League strongly condemns the attitude of the Congress in foisting *Bande Mataram* as the National anthem upon the country in callous disregard of the feelings of Muslims and considers this song not merely positively anti Islamic and idolatrous in its inspiration and ideas, but definitely subversive of the growth of genuine nationalism in India

This meeting further calls upon the Muslim members of the various legislatures and public bodies in the country not to associate themselves in any manner with the highly objectionable song

Proposed by Maulana Muhammad Akram Khan Saheb, Calcutta.
Seconded by Maulvi Syed Badruddoja Calcutta
Supported by Muhammad Habibulla Saheb, U P
K B Haji Rashid Ahmad Delhi

Resolution No 7

This meeting of the All India Muslim League deprecates and protests against the formation of Ministries in certain Provinces by the Congress parties in flagrant violation of the letter and the spirit of the Government of India Act 1935 and instrument of instructions and condemns the Governors for their failure to enforce the special powers entrusted to them for the safeguards of the interests of the Musalmans and other important minorities

Proposed by	Malik Barkat Ali Saheb, Punjab
Seconded by	I I Chundrigar Saheb, Bombay
Supported by	Muhammad Ishaq Saheb Bihar
	Seth Haji Abdul Sattar M L A, Madras
"	K B Haji Muhammad Hasan U P

Resolution No 8

Resolved that the object of the All India Muslim League shall be the establishment in India of Full Independence in the form of a federation of Free democratic states in which the rights and interests of the Musalmans and other minorities are adequately and effectively safeguarded in the constitution

Proposed by	Maulana Hasrat Mohani Saheb U P
Seconded by	Maulana Zafar Ali Khan Punjab
Supported by	Shamsul Hasan Saheb Bengal
"	Maulana Mazharuddin Saheb Delhi
	Abdul Waheed Saheb N W F P
"	Maulana Syed Murtaza Bahadur M L A Madras
	Syed Abdur Rauf Saheb, C P
"	The Hon Hossain Imam Bihar
"	M Ghiasuddin Saheb, M L A Punjab
"	Abdurrahman Saheb Siddiqi, Bengal
"	I I Chundrigar Saheb Bombay
	Munshi Azhar Ali Saheb M L A
"	Choudhry Khaliquzzaman Saheb U P

Resolution No 9

That this meeting of the All India Muslim League records its emphatic disapproval of the scheme of the all India Federation as embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935 and is opposed to its introduction and urges upon the British Government to refrain from its enforcement as it considers the scheme to be detrimental to the interests of the people of India generally and to those of the Muslim in particular

Proposed by	The Hon Hossain Imam Bihar
Seconded by	Maulana Hasrat Mohani Saheb, U P
Supported by	I I Chundrigar Saheb, Bombay

Resolution No 10

That this meeting of the All India Muslim League is strongly of the opinion that in the absence of an agreed settlement between the communities the introduction of Joint Electorate in local bodies will be inconsistent with the spirit of the Communal Award and will be injurious to the cause of true representation of Muslims in these bodies, particularly in view of the present strained relations between the communities and calls upon the Muslim Members of the Assemblies to oppose the introduction of Joint Electorate in local bodies in provinces where separate electorate exists at present and to introduce them in provinces where they do not exist today

Proposed by	Muinullah Saheb, Bihar
Seconded by	Zahur Ahmad Saheb, U P
Supported by	Muhammad Momin Saheb Gujarat
"	A S Khan Saheb

Resolution No 11

As the Urdu language was originally an Indian language and was the result of interaction of Hindu and Muslim culture and it was spoken by a greater part of the people of this country it was best suited to develop a united nationality and the attempt to replace it by Hindi might upset the structural basis of Urdu otherwise known as Hindustani and adversely affect the growth of comradeship between the Hindu and Muslim Section, the All India Muslim League calls upon all the Urdu speaking people of India to make every possible endeavour to safeguard the interests of their language in every field of activity with which the Central and the Provincial Governments were concerned and wherever the Urdu language was the language of the area its unhampered use and development should be upheld and where it was not the predominant language adequate arrangement should be made for teaching it as an optional subject and in all Government Offices, Courts Legislatures Railway and Postal departments provision should be made for its use

Efforts should also be made to make Urdu the universal language of India

Proposed by	Raja Amir Ahmad Khan Saheb (Raja Saheb Mahmudabad U P)
Seconded by	Maulana Karimur Raza Khan Saheb U P
	Hasan Riaz Saheb, U P
	Ghulam Hasan Saheb Berar
	S M Hasan Khan Saheb Bombay

Resolution No 12

That this meeting of the All India Muslim League urges upon the British Government to take immediate steps to replace the present arbitrary form of Government in Baluchistan by a democratic one similar to those in other provinces in India

Proposed by	Maulana Zafar Ali Khan Saheb, Punjab
Seconded by	Prof Inayatullah Saheb, Punjab

Resolution No 13

Whereas the system of land settlement in the Province of Assam known as the Line System interferes with interprovincial migration of population infringes the fundamental rights of citizenship and inflicts great hardship on immigrants leading to the creation of a landless class numbering thousands of population [sic] the All India Muslim League resolves that the Line system be immediately abolished

Proposed by	Abdul Matin Choudhri Assam
Seconded by	Maulana Akram Khan Saheb, Bengal

Resolution No 14

This session of the All India Muslim League directs the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League to take immediate steps to frame and put into effect an economic social and educational programme with a view

To fix working hours for factory workers and other labourers

To fix minimum wages

To improve housing and hygienic conditions of the labourers and make

provision for slum clearance

To reduce rural and urban debts and abolish usuary

To grant a moratorium with regard to all debts whether decreed or otherwise till proper legislation has been enacted

To secure legislation for exemption of houses from attachment or sale in execution of decrees

To obtain security of tenure and fixation of fair rents and revenue

To abolish forced labour

To undertake rural uplift work

To encourage cottage industries and small indigenous industries both in rural and urban areas

To encourage use of Swedeshi articles specially handwoven cloth

To establish an industrial board for development of industries and prevention of exploitation by middlemen

To devise means for the relief of unemployment To advance compulsory primary education [sic]

To recognise secondary university education specially scientific and technical

To establish rifle clubs and a military college

To enforce prohibition

To abolish and remove un Islamic customs and usages from Muslim society

To organise a volunteer corps for social service and

To devise measures for attainment of full independence and invite the co operation of all political bodies working to that end

Proposed by	Raja Amir Ahmad Khan Saheb Mahmudabad
Seconded by	Ali Bahadur Habibullah Saheb, U P
Supported by	Maulana Zafar Ali Khan Saheb, Punjab
	Naqi Imam Saheb Bihar
	Maulana Qutubuddin Abdul Wali Saheb, U P
"	Aziz Laljee Saheb Bombay
	Choudhry Khaliquzzaman Saheb, U P

Resolution No 15

Resolved (a) that this session of the All India Muslim League approves and adopts the Constitution amended by the Subject Committee on the report of the Special Committee appointed by the Council of the All India Muslim League by a resolution passed at a meeting held in Delhi on the 21st March 1937, (b) that the amended constitution shall come into effect on the 1st February 1938 (c) that the President be authorised to appoint from amongst the members of the Council of the All India Muslim League Committees in every Province to Organise Provincial, District and Primary Leagues according to the amended constitution by the 31st December 1937 and (d) that all elections of delegates and members of the Council of the All India Muslim League shall be held in accordance with the provisions of the new constitution and shall be intimated to the office of the All India Muslim League by the 20th January 1938 (Passed unanimously)

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada) M L A (U P)
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League

3

Calcutta, (Special Session), 17-18 April 1938, M A Jinnah presided[1]

Resolution 1

This Session of the All India Muslim League places on record its sense of appreciation of the efforts of Huq Ministry in Bengal and Saadulah Ministry in Assam particularly for resisting the machinations of the Congress to break through these fronts and appeals to every Musalman to accord wholehearted support to the Ministries in Bengal and Assam

Proposed by	The Hon Hossain Imam, Bihar
Seconded by	Maulvi Badruddoja, Bengal
Supported by	K B Haji Rashid Ahmad, Delhi
"	Ashrafuddin Muhammad M L A , Assam
	Jafar Imam M L A , Bihar

Resolution No 2

While endorsing the resolution of Council of the All India Muslim League passed at Delhi on the 20th of March 1938, this Special Session of the All India Muslim League, in view of the fact that the Punjab Government has given an assurance to the effect that they are adopting every means for arriving at an honourable settlement of the Shahidganj problem, assures them of its cooperation and assistance in bringing about the settlement and appeals to Musalmans to create and maintain a peaceful atmosphere in order to facilitate that settlement

Proposed by	Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, M L A U P
Seconded by	Ali Bahadur Habibullah, U P
Supported by	Prof Malik Enayatullah Punjab
	Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi M L A , Bengal
	Syed Sultan Muhammad Saheb N -W F P

Resolution No 3

That this Special Session of the All India Muslim League views with alarm the large number of communal riots which are taking place in U P Bihar C P Bombay and other provinces resulting in loss of life and property of the Musalmans In the opinion of the League the Congress governments have signally failed to discharge their primary duty of protecting the Muslim minorities in their provinces and it declares that if immediate steps are not taken to protect the Musalmans by the Congress Governments, the consequences to the country as a whole will be disastrous The League congratulates the Muslims in the villages and towns on patience and forbearance that they have shown during these occurrences This Session calls upon the Provincial Leagues to collect all necessary information about all these incidents and to submit their reports to the Council of the All India Muslim League at an early date

Proposed by	Sh Zahur Ahmad Saheb, M L A , U P
Seconded by	The Hon Hossain Imam Bihar
Supported by	M Iftekhar Ali C P

[1] *Ibid* pp 24 26

Resolution No 4

This Session of the All India Muslim League calls upon the Musalmans of India to take special steps to combat the Congress Anti Muslim activities in the Frontier province

Proposed by Ziauddin Bar at-Law, N -W F P
Seconded by Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, M L A N W F P

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada) M L A, (U P)
Honorary Secretary All India Muslim League

4

Patna, 26th Annual Session, 26-29 December 1938, M A Jinnah presided[1]

Report of the Honorary Secretary was read and adopted A vote of thanks to the Honorary Secretary was moved by the Chair

Resolution No 1

Resolved that this Annual Session of the All India Muslim League expresses its deepest feelings of sorrow and grief at the sad demise of Ataturk Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha whom it acknowledges as a truly great personality in the Islamic world, a great general and a great statesman He rebuilt and revived the Turkish Nation after its defeat and disintegration, and in spite of opposition from the European powers succeeded in defeating the enemies of Turkey and within a short time brought his country to the front rank of nations By establishing a concord and alliance of the Eastern Nations he guided the East to the true goal of political power and prosperity His memory will inspire Muslims all over the world with courage, perseverance and manliness With this expression of its heartfelt grief, the Session of the All India Muslim League wishes to convey its message of sympathy and condolence to the Turkish nation in its great bereavement

Resolution No 2

Resolved that this Session of the All India Muslim League expresses its sincere appreciation of the multifarious services rendered by the late Maulana Shaukat Ali to the nation He exerted himself greatly for the establishment of the Muslim University and he was one of the founders of Khuddam-i Kaba organization The success of the Khilafat movement was to a great extent due to his organising ability and his untiring effort and for this he cheerfully bore all the hardships of imprisonment He gave his energies to saving the Muslims from the peril of the Nehru Report while he worked unceasingly till the very last order to ensure the success of the present organisation of the Muslim League All his activities invariably aimed at winning independence for India and at the establishment of a lasting concord among the various communities of India He had the courage and capacity to suffer patiently, and like a true Muslim he was always ready to sacrifice himself for Islam His name deserves a prominent place in the history of India s struggle for freedom

This Session of the All India Muslim League is overwhelmed with sorrow at the sudden death of the great leader whose personality was an epitome of all the virtues—self-sacrifice high resolution, amiableness and true friendship His death

[1] *Ibid* pp 65-77

is an irreparable national loss and the All India Muslim League offers prayers for the deceased and heartfelt condolence to the bereaved family

Resolution No 3

Resolved that this Session of the All India Muslim League places on record its appreciation of the late Sir Muhammad Iqbal as a sage-philosopher of Islam and a great national poet He urged the Muslims to build their future in consonance with their great past Though he is not among us he lives for ever in his imperishable verses which would continue to inspire the life and actions of the Muslims all over the world

This Session deeply mourns for him and offers fervent prayers to the Almighty that the soul of the deceased may rest in peace

Resolution No 4

That having regard to the atrocities that have been committed and that elementary rights of the Muslims have been trampled upon in a systematic manner in Bihar U P and C P and that the Government of these provinces have failed to redress their grievances or protect even the elementary rights of the Musalmans in these provinces in spite of all constitutional methods adopted so far by the Muslims this session of the All India Muslim League is therefore of opinion that the time has now come to authorise the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League to decide and resort to Direct Action if and when necessary

Proposed by	Aziz Ahmad Khan Saheb M L A , U P
Seconded by	Ashiq Saheb Warsi, Bihar
Supported by	Abdur Rauf Shah Saheb M L A , C P
"	The Hon'ble Sir Sikander Hyat Khan Premier of the Punjab
"	The Hon ble Maulvi Fazlul Huq Premier of the Bengal
"	Abdul Majid Saheb, M L A , Sind
"	Sir A M K Dehalvi, M L A , Bombay
	Latifurrahman Saheb M L A , Orissa
	Abdul Matin Saheb Choudhri M L A Assam
"	Haji Abdu Sathar Haji Essak Sait, M L A Central
"	Sardar Aurangzeb Khan Saheb, M L A N W F P
"	Maulana Zafar Ali Khan Saheb M L A Central Punjab

Resolution No 5

It is the considered opinion of the All India Muslim League that the unjust Balfour Declaration and the subsequent policy of repression adopted by the British Government in Palestine aim at making their sympathy for the Jews a pretext for incorporating that country into the British Empire with a view to strengthen British Imperialism and to frustrate the idea of a federation of Arab States They also want to use sacred places in Palestine as aerial and naval bases for their future military activities The atrocities that have been perpetrated on the Arabs for the attainment of this object have no parallel in history

This Muslim League Session regards those Arabs who are being subjected to all kinds of persecutions and repressions and who are making all sacrifices for preserving their sacred land, protecting their national rights and emancipating their motherland as heroes and martyrs and congratulates them on their bravery sacrifice and warns the British Government that if it does not forthwith stop the influx of Jews into Palestine and does not include in the proposed conference the Grand Mufti, the genuine leaders of the Arabs as well as the representatives of the Indian Musalmans, the conference will be nothing but a farce

This session declares that the problem of Palestine is the problem of the Muslims of the whole world and if the British Government fails to do justice to the Arabs and fulfil the demands of the Muslims of the world the Indian Muslims will adopt any programme and will be prepared to make any sacrifice that may be decided upon by a Muslim International Conference at which the Muslims of India are duly represented in order to save the Arabs from British exploitation and Jewish usurpation

The session of the League warns the British Government that, if they persist in trying to give a practical shape to the idea prevalent among certain sections of the British and the Americans that Palestine be made the national home of the Jews it will lead to a state of perpetual unrest and conflict

Proposed by	Maulana Mazharuddin Saheb U P
Seconded by	Maulana Irfan Saheb Bombay
Supported by	Shah Husain Mian Saheb, Bihar
	Prof Abdus Sattar Saheb Khairi U P
	Abu Said Saheb, Punjab
	Maulana Abdul Hamid Saheb U P
	Malik Abdul Khaliq Saheb Sind
	Prof Enayatullah Saheb Punjab
	Sir Syed Raza Ali M L A Central
	Maulana Karam Ali Saheb, U P
	Maulana Akram Khan Saheb Bengal

Resolution No 6

Whereas it is necessary to afford adequate opportunities to women for their development and growth in order to participate in the struggle for social economic and political emancipation of the Muslim nation in India, this Session of the All India Muslim League resolves that an All India Muslim Women's Sub-Committee be formed of the following members with powers to co opt with the following objects in view

(a) To organise provincial and district women's Sub-Committee under the Provincial and District Muslim Leagues

(b) To enlist larger number of women to the membership of the Muslim League

(c) To carry on intensive propaganda amongst the Muslim women throughout India in order to create in them a sense of greater political consciousness

(d) To advise and guide them in all such matters as mainly rest on them for the uplift of the Muslim society

Punjab
1 Begum Shah Nawaz Saheb
2 Mrs Rashida Latif
3 Lady Jamal Khan
4 Lady Abdul Kadir

Bengal
1 Begum Shahabuddin
2 Mrs M M Ispahani

Bombay
1 Miss Fatima Jinnah
2 Mrs Faiz Tyabji
3 Begum Hafiz-ud din

U P	1 Begum Habibullah 2 Begum Aizaz Rasul 3 Begum Wasim 4 Begum Muhammad Ali 5 Begum Nawab Ismail Khan 6 Miss Rahilla Khatoon
C P	1 Miss Nadir Jehan of Seoni 2 Begum Nawab Siddique Ali Khan
Bihar	1 Lady Imam 2 Begum Akhtar
Assam	1 Mrs Ataur Rahman 2 Miss J Khan
Sind	1 Lady Haroon 2 Lady Hidayatullah 3 Begum Shaban 4 Mrs Hatim Tyabji
Delhi	1 Mrs Hussain Malik 2 Mrs Najmul Hasan 3 Begum Rahman
N W F P	1 Begum Haji Saadulla Khan 2 Mrs Khawaja Alla Bux
Madras	1 Mrs Ayisha Kulhamoro Haji 2 Mrs Qureshi
Proposed by	Begum Habibullah
Seconded by	Begum Wasim
Supported by	Muhammad Farooq Saheb, M L A U P

Resolution No 7

Resolved that the following office bearers be elected Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb Honorary Secretary, Raja Amir Ahmad Khan Saheb, Honorary Treasurer Mr Husain M Malik and K B S M Abdulla Honorary Joint Secretaries

Proposed by Sardar Aurrangzeb Khan, M L A , N W F P (Passed Unanimously)

Resolution No 8

While fully sympathising with the legitimate aspirations of the subject of the Indian States for the constitutional advancement and for obtaining redress of their grievances the Muslim League though it is bound by its present programme and policy to maintain an attitude of non interference in the affairs of the Indian States unequivocally declares that if the Congress or other Hindu organisations do not desist forthwith from their subversive activities in the States actuated by ulterior motives it will be forced to take such action as may be necessary to safeguard the legitimate interests of the Musalmans

Proposed by	The Hon Hossain Imam M C S , Bihar
Seconded by	K B Mushtaq Ahmad Saheb, Gurmani M L A Punjab
Supported by	K S Abdurrahman Saheb, M L A , C P Haji Abdul Qadir Saheb Bihar Muhammad Asghar Saheb C P M A Kashmerwala Delhi

Resolution No 9

Resolved that the following amendments be made in the Constitution and Rules of the All India Muslim League

In Section 6	delete the full stop at the end and add the words within two months'
In Section 11 (i)	after the words their representatives,' substitute 'two' for one
In Section 11 (ii)	in the last sentence before the word 'Secretaries' add the words 'Presidents and'
In Section 12	omit the full stop at the end and add 'and if he or she fails to pay his or her subscription within two months from the date of notice by the Central office he or she shall cease to be a member of the Council
In Section 13	omit the full stop at the end and add 'and they shall also be ex officio members of all the Provincial Council and Working Committee '

Add a new rule 40A as follows

All the members of the Muslim League Parties in the Provincial Legislatures shall be ex officio Delegates at the Annual or Special Session of the All India Muslim League on payment of Delegates' fee '

Proposed by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League (Passed unanimously)

Resolution No 10

The All India Muslim League reiterates its view that the scheme of Federation embodied in the Government of India Act 1935 is not acceptable, but in view of the further developments that have taken place or may take place from time to time, it hereby authorises the President of the All India Muslim League to adopt such course as may be necessary with a view to explore the possibility of a suitable alternative which will safeguard the interests of the Musalmans and other minorities in India

Proposed by	Maulana Zafar Ali Khan Saheb, M L A Central
Seconded by	Abdul Majid Saheb M L A Sind
Supported by	Z H Lari Saheb M L A U P
	Nawab Muhammad Ismail Saheb M L C Bihar
"	Malik Barkat Ali Saheb M L A Punjab
"	Mazhar Imam Saheb, Bihar

Resolution No 11

This Session of the All India Muslim League expresses its deep sympathy with the Indians in general and the Muslims in particular in Burma who have suffered great losses during riots and asks the Government of India to press the Government of Burma for adequate compensation to the Muslims who have in any way suffered during the riots Further this Session requests the All Burma Muslim League to keep the Muslims of India in touch with the general and political affairs of the Burma Muslims

Proposed by	Zahur Ahmad Saheb M L A (U P)
Seconded by	Mahmood Hasan Saheb Madras

Resolution No 12

This Session of the All India Muslim League once more demands that full reforms and a status equal to that of the other provinces in India should be given to British Baluchistan and requests the British Government to take immediate steps in that direction without any further delay

Proposed by K B Mushtaq Ahmad Saheb Gurmani M L A , Punjab
Seconded by Maulana Jamaluddin Abdul Wahab Saheb, U P

Resolution No 13

Whereas the forward policy of the British Government which in the name of Indian Defence aims at the forcible subjugation of the homeland this session of the All India Muslim League is firmly of the opinion that the time now has come for the British Government to reconsider its Frontier Policy in a more statesmenlike manner based upon the universally recognised principle of self determination It further condemns the policy and activities of the Congress in the N W F P by which they have given indications that the tribal areas should become parts of the administered territory

Proposed by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan Saheb M L A Central Punjab
Seconded by Muhammad Ziauddin M L A , N W F P

Resolution No 14

This Session of the All India Muslim League resolves that the present Provincial Parliamentary Boards shall cease to function as soon as Provincial League or Leagues set up a machinery of their own for the purpose of selecting and adopting candidates for their respective legislature and other elected bodies Any machinery that may be so set up by the Provincial Leagues shall be subject to the control and supervision of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League or such Committee as they may appoint for the purpose and the decision of the Working Committee or the special committee so appointed in case of appeal to them shall be final, and further resolves that for the Central Legislature the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League should constitute such machinery for the purpose of elections to the Central Legislature as it thinks proper

Resolution No 15

In view of the fact that the Shariat of Islam strictly prohibits extravagance and having regard to the present depressed economic condition of the Indian Muslims this Session of the All India Muslim League strongly urges the Indian Musalmans to refrain from all wasteful practices to observe Islamic simplicity on all social occasions and to abandon all un Islamic ceremonies and customs

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada), M L A (U P)
Honorary Secretary All India Muslim League

5

Lahore, 27th Annual Session, 22-24 March 1940, M A Jinnah presided[1]

Resolution No 1

While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League as indicated in their resolutions dated the 27th of August, 17th and 18th of September and 22nd of October 1939 and 3rd of February 1940 on the constitutional issue this Session of the All India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of federation embodied in the Government of India Act 1935, is totally unsuited to and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India

It further records its emphatic view that while the declaration dated the 18th of October 1939 made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government is reassuring in so far as it declares that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act 1935 is based will be reconsidered in consultation with the various parties interests and communities in India Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered *de novo* and that no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent

Resolved that it is the considered view of this Session of the All India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle *viz* that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious cultural economic political administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them and in other parts of India where the Musalmans are in a minority adequate effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them

This Session further authorises the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary

Proposed by	The Hon'ble Maulvi A K Fazlul Huq Premier of Bengal
Seconded by	Choudhry Khaliquzzaman Saheb, M L A U P
Supported by	Maulana Zafar Ali Khan Saheb, M L A , Central
	Sardar Aurangzeb Khan Saheb, M L A , N W F P

[1]Liaquat Ali Khan Honorary Secretary All India Muslim League *Resolutions of the All India Muslim League, December 1938 March 1940*, National Printing and Publishing House Daryaganj Delhi n d pp 47 51

" Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon M L A Central
" K B Nawab Ismail Khan Saheb, M L C, Bihar
" Qazi Mohammad Isa Khan Saheb, President of Baluchistan Provincial Muslim League
" Abdul Hameed Khan Saheb, M L A, Madras
" I I Chundrigar Saheb M L A Bombay
Syed Abdur Rauf Shah Saheb, M L A, C P
" Dr Muhammad Alam, M L A, Punjab
" Syed Zakir Ali Saheb U P
" Begum Sahiba Maulana Muhammad Ali
" Maulana Abdul Hamid Saheb Qadri, U P
(carried unanimously)

Resolution No 2

The All India Muslim League views with grave concern the inordinate delay on the part of the British Government in coming to a settlement with the Arabs in Palestine and places on record its considered opinion in clear and unequivocal language that no arrangements of a piecemeal character will be made in Palestine which are contrary in spirit and opposed to the pledges given to the Muslim world and particularly to the Muslims in India to secure their active assistance in the War of 1914 1918 Further, the League warns the British Government against the danger of taking advantage of the presence of large British forces in the Holy land to overawe the Arabs and force them into submission

Proposed by Abdur Rahman Saheb Siddiqi M L A Bengal
Seconded by Sir Syed Raza Ali, M L A Central
Supported by Maulana Abdul Hamid Saheb Qadri, Badaun

Resolution No 3

This Session of the All India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the unfortunate and tragic occurrence on the 19th March 1940 owing to a clash between the Khaksars and the Police resulting in the loss of a large number of lives and injuries to many more and sincerely sympathises with those who have suffered and with their families and dependents

This Session calls upon the Government to forthwith appoint an independent and impartial committee of inquiry, the personnel of which would command perfect confidence of the people with instructions to them to make full and complete investigation and inquiry in the whole affairs and make their report as soon as possible

This Session authorises the Working Committee to take such action in the matter as they may consider proper immediately after the publication of the report of the Committee

This Session urges upon the various governments that the order declaring the Khaksar organisation unlawful should be removed as soon as possible (Chair)

Resolution No 4

Add the following as 28A to the Constitution and Rules of the All India Muslim League

(1) The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League shall control direct and regulate all the activites of the various Provincial Leagues strictly in consonance with the aims, objects and rules of the All India Muslim League

(2) The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League shall be empowered

(a) To take disciplinary action against individual Members of the Council of the All India Muslim League who violate the decisions of the League or act in contravention of its aims and objects, subject to a right of appeal to the Council of the All India Muslim League

(b) To suspend, dissolve or disaffiliate any Provincial League which fails in its duties, infringes or ignores the decisions or directions of the All India Muslim League or hinders the progress of the League in any manner whatsoever subject to a right of appeal to the Council of the All India Muslim League

Proposed by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb
(Passed unanimously)

Resolution No 5

Resolved that Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb and Raja Amir Ahmad Khan Saheb be re elected Honorary Secretary and Honorary Treasurer of the All India Muslim League respectively

Proposed by Sir Syed Raza Ali, M L A, (Central)
Supported by Sardar Aurangzeb Khan Saheb
(Passed unanimously)

Resolution No 6

Resolved that the election of the two Joint Secretaries be entrusted to the Council of the All India Muslim League

Proposed by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb
(Passed unanimously)

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada) M L A (U P)
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League

Muslim League Resolutions, Council Meetings, 1935-40

1

Delhi [Office of the Muslim League, Ballimaran Street], Council Meeting, 26-27 January 1935, M A Jinnah presided[1]

Present

1 M A Jinnah Esqr—in chair
2 The Hon Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan M C S
3 Halimullah S Jung Saheb
4 K B Nawab Ahmad Yar Khan Saheb M C C Punjab
5 K L Gauba Esqr M L A
6 Nawab Mumtaz Hasan Khan Saheb
7 Syed Muhammad Jafri S heb
8 The Hon Sir Malik Feroze Khan Noon Minister
9 K B Hafiz Muhammad Hedayat Hosain Saheb C I E
10 Shah Maswood Ahmad Saheb
11 Abdul Matin Saheb Choudhri M L A
12 K S Hafiz Muhammad Siddiq Saheb Multani
13 Muhammad Aslam Saheb Saifi
14 K S Syed Nawab Ali Saheb
15 K B Syed Bahauddin Saheb
16 K S Abdul Hamid Khan Saheb
17 The Hon Sir Nawab Muhammad Yousuf Minister U P
18 Syed Aizaz Rasool Saheb
19 Kr Haji Ismail Ali Khan Saheb
20 Syed Muhammad Hussain Saheb
21 K S M Farzand Ali Khan Saheb
22 Sir Abdul Hamid
23 T A K Sherwani Saheb M L A
24 Dr Zia Uddin Ahmad M L A
25 Hakim Zaki Ahmad Saheb
26 Maulvi Syed Murtaza Bahadur, M L A
27 K B Sh Rahim Bux Saheb
28 K B S M Abdulla Saheb
29 M Abdul Ahad Saheb
30 K S Rashid Ahmad Saheb
31 Syed Habeeb Saheb
32 K S Khawaja Gul Muhammad Saheb
33 Nawab Aziz Ahmad Khan Saheb
34 Muhammad Usman Saheb
35 A H Ghuznavi Saheb M L A
36 Maulana Mazharuddin Saheb
37 Maulana Hilal Ahmad Zubairi Saheb
38 Muhammad Abdul Hamid Saheb
39 Nawab Saheb Chhattari
40 Maulana Shafi Daoodi Saheb
41 Muhammad Nauman Saheb M L A
42 M Ghiasuddin Saheb M L A
43 Maulana Shaukat Ali Saheb, M L A

[1] Muslim League Documents Vol 220 Council Meetings 1935 pp 6 8

44. Syed Zakir Ali Saheb
45. Dr Shafaat Ahmad Khan
46. Muhammad Azhar Ali Saheb
47. Syed Jalaluddin Saheb Hashmy

Resolution No 1

The All India Muslim League Council having given their most careful and earnest consideration to the Joint Parliamentary Committee Report are of opinion that the constitutional proposal embodied therein are more reactionary than the White Paper proposals which were considered by the Council last on the 2nd April 1934

The Council reiterate their opinion that they accept the Communal Award so far as it goes until a substitute is agreed upon by the various communities concerned and on that basis they express their readiness again to co-operate with any community or party with a view to secure such future constitution for India as would satisfy the people

S Shamsul Hasan
Assistant Secretary All India Muslim League

2

Delhi, [office of the Muslim League, Ballimaran Street] Council Meeting, 16 February 1935, M.A. Jinnah presided[1]

Present

1. M A Jinnah Esqr , M L A—in chair
2. K S Haji Rashid Ahmad Saheb
3. Moulvi Syed Abdul Jabbar Saheb
4. Syed Ghulam Bhik Saheb Nairang, M L A
5. Khawaja Gul Muhammad Saheb, K B
6. K B Sh Rahim Bux Saheb
7. Nawabzada Khurshaid Ali Khan Saheb
8. Syed Habeeb Saheb
9. The Hon Syed Abdul Hafeez Saheb
10. Khawaja Ghulam Samadani Saheb
11. K B Syed Bahauddin Saheb
12. The Hon Nawab Sir Syed Mohammad Yousuf
13. Abdul Matin Saheb Choudhri, M L A
14. Sh Abdul Huq Saheb
15. Maulvi Sir Muhammad Yakub Saheb
16. The Hon Malik Sir Feroze Khan Noon
17. K B S M Abdulla Saheb
18. K S M Farzand Ali
19. K B Nawab Ahmad Yar Khan Saheb
20. Syed Muhammad Hussain Saheb
21. Prof Mirza Muhammad Said Saheb
22. H A Sattar, M L A
23. Umar Ali Shah Saheb, M L A
24. Sardar Habiburrahman Saheb
25. Maulana Habiburrahman Saheb Ludhianwi

[1] *Ibid*, pp 17 19

26 Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb M L C
27 The Hon Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan Saheb
28 Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi Saheb M L A
29 Muhammadally Allabux Saheb
30 Nawab Aziz Ahmad Khan Saheb
31 Syed Muhammad Jafri Saheb
32 The Hon Khawaja Habibullah, M C S
33 The Hon Syed Hossain Imam Saheb, M C S
34 Maulana Shaukat Ali Saheb, M L A
35 Maulana Muhammad Shafi Daoodi Saheb
36 Kh Gul Muhammad Khan Saheb

Resolution No 1

Resolved that the 24th Annual Session of the All India Muslim League be held at Lahore on 20th and 21st April 1935 in Easter Holidays

Resolution No 2

That Mr M A Jinnah be elected President for the Lahore session

Resolution No 3

The Council of the All India Muslim League most emphatically deplores that His Majesty's Government have ignored the repeated demand of Musalmans that Baluchistan should be made separate province and reforms should be introduced in that province or that it should be amalgamated with Sindh

The Council urges upon His Majesty's Government and the Government of India that immediate steps should be taken to provide forthwith

1 Elected members to represent the Baluchistan in Central Legislature
2 Freedom of speech association and press be gauranteed
3 Elected system be introduced in local bodies
4 Codification of Customary Law
5 Reform of jirga system

Resolution No 4

That this Council of the All India Muslim League protests against the continued incarceration of Khan Abdussamad Khan Achakzai and Mr Abdul Aziz and in view of the calm prevailing in the country requests the Government concerned to release these public workers

S Shamsul Hasan
Assistant Secretary, All India Muslim League

3

Lahore, [Nasheman, 11 Davies Road], Council Meeting, 21 April 1935, Nawab Sir Ahmad Said Khan presided[1]

Present

Hon ble Nawab Sahibzada Abdul Qayum of Peshawar, Hon'ble Sir Feroze Khan Noon of Lahore Nawab Shah Nawaz Khan of Lahore, Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah of Bombay, Mr K L Gauba M L A of Lahore, Sheikh Abdul Majid, ex M L C of Sindh, Malik Barkat Ali, Advocate of Lahore, Syed Habib of *Siyasat* Lahore, K B Muhammad Abdullah of Delhi, Nawab Ahmad Yar Khan Daulatana, M L C, of Lahore, Mr Muhammad Ahmad Kazimi M L A K S Gul Muhammad Khan, Advocate of Ferozpore K S Haji Rashid Ahmad of Delhi, Syed Mohsen Shah, Advocate Lahore K B Haji Rahim Bukhsh of Lahore K B Syed Maratib Ali Shah of Lahore, and Pir Taj ud-Din of Lahore

The following resolutions were unanimously carried

1 That this meeting of the Council of All India Muslim League postpones the annual session of the All India Muslim Leauge which was to be held in Lahore during the Easter Holidays for the present in deference to the wishes of Mr M A Jinnah President of the League '[2]

2 'The Council of the All India Muslim League offers its heart felt sympathies to the relatives of those unarmed Muslim members of the funeral procession of the late Abdul Qayum who were killed by firing at Karachi on the 19th of March 1935 and condemns the refusal of the Government to appoint a Committee of enquiry In the opinion of this Council, if the local authorities had shown the necessary patience and foresight, blood could certainly have been avoided We feel it is the duty of the Government to satisfy the public over the conduct of the local authorities and for this we demand that a

[1] *Ibid*, pp 21 22

[2] Earlier the Chairman of the Reception Committee at Lahore wrote to the central League office as follows enclosing the resolution of the Reception Committee on the subject

5, Temple Road, Lahore, dated 13 April 1935

Dear Sir, I am directed by Dr Khalifa Shujaudin Saheb Chairman Reception Committee All India Muslim League Lahore to forward you a copy of the resolution adopted unanimously by the members of the Reception Committee in an emergency meeting of the said committee on Firday the 12th April 1935 for your information and to request you kindly to let this office know of the final decision arrived at by the Council of League I am, Dear Sir, Yours faithfully Ali Asghar —

A meeting of the Reception Committee of the All India Muslim League was held on Friday the 12th April 1935 at 5 p m in the Council Hall of the Anjuman Himayat i Islam, Lahore On account of unavoidable absence of the Chairman Pir Tajuddin presided, and the correspondence between the Chairman Reception Committee and Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Central League Delhi was considered and after some discussion the following resolution was unanimously adopted

That in view of the opinion expressed by Mr Jinnah the Reception Committee will have no objection to postponing the Session of the All India Muslim League announced to be held during Easter 1935 if the Council of the All India Muslim League so decides and that in that event the session be postponed to a date to be fixed by the Council of the All India Muslim League

'It was resolved further that the Reception Committee continue functioning as before

Muslim League Documents, Vol 168, Annual Session at Bombay, 1936, p 12.

committee of enquiry should be appointed forthwith by the Government of India with a majority of the non official elected members of the Legislative Assembly to enquire into the extent, justification and necessity of firing at Karachi as in our opinion no case has yet been established by Government to justify their conduct to resort to firing and the use of the Military on this occasion We also demand that adequate compensation should be paid to the relatives of the deceased and to the disabled, and that on the findings of the committee of enquiry, persons found guilty of negligence be suitably and adequately punished [1]

RAHIM BAKHSH K B
Working Secretary, All India Muslim Conference

4

Delhi, Emergency Council Meeting, 22 June 1935[2]

Resolution No 1

This meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League extends its heartfelt sympathy with the sufferers of Quetta Earthquake and appeals to the Musalmans of India to conserve their energies and money and be prepared when the call comes for help in rebuilding the devastated area The Council congratulates the Muslim community all over India in their spontaneous help to the Earthquake sufferers in general and to their brethren in faith in particular and is confident that the appeal when made, for men and money will be met with utmost generosity The Council also places on record its sincere thanks to the Government and specially to the military authorities in Baluchistan for their sympathy, energy and zeal in saving human lives and in attending the wounded from earthquake Special thanks of the League are due to Lord and Lady Willingdon who are shortly proceeding to affected area to personally scrutinise the situation for the purpose of relief and salvage operations

Resolution No 2

The Council of the League views with apprehension the amended Clause No 299 of the Government of India Bill, as it has passed the House of Commons as it visualises a great danger in it to the Communal Award and the system of Separate Electorate The Council is of opinion that the position in which the Award could be altered by the decisions of the Legislature will never be acceptable to the Musalmans of India, because majority of the Legislatures having a Hindu majority a decision adverse to the best interests of the Muslim community could be regarded a foregone conclusion

The Council urges upon the Government of India and the British Government to so alter the clause in the House of Lords as to remove all causes of Muslim mistrust and fear

The Council has stated times out of number and reiterates it again that only the Muslim community is the best judge as to when the system of Separate Electorate should be given up and how the Communal Award could be altered or amended

[1]For Jinnah s speech on the subject in the Legislative Assembly on 19 March 1935 condemning the government action, see Waheed Ahmad (ed), *Quaid i Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Speeches*, op cit , pp 69 75 Jinnah spoke on K L Gauba s adjournment motion which was carried 67 votes to 52 Jinnah voting for it

[2]Muslim League Documents Vol 220 Council Meetings 1935 pp 30 31

and till such time the Muslim community do not explicitly express its desire in favour of change, the British Government would adhere to the decalration made by the British ministers and incorporated in the Communal Award namely the Award could only be altered by mutual agreement between the parties concerned

The Council therefore resolves to take all legitimate and constitutional steps to have the clause amended in accordance with the Muslim wishes With this aim in view the Council resolves to lead a deputation to His Excellency the Viceroy in conjunction with All India Muslim Conference and authorise K B Hafiz Hedayat Hosain C I E and K B S M Abdulla to arrange a joint meeting in Delhi to give practical effect to this resolution and also requests His Highness the Aga Khan and Mr M A Jinnah to take immediate and emphatic steps in London to ensure amendment in Clause 299 of the Bill in the House of Lords

KHAN BAHADUR S M ABDULLA
Honorary Joint Secretary, All India Muslim League

5

Delhi [Office of the Muslim League, Ballimaran Street], Council Meeting, 21 July 1935[1]

Resolution No 1

That this joint meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League and Working Committee of the All India Muslim Conference while reaffirming the resolution of the emergent meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League held on the 22nd June 1935 relating to the Quetta earnestly appeals for money for relief of the sufferers from the disaster to be paid to the Viceroy's fund

Resolution No 2

That this joint meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League and the Working Committee of the All India Muslim Conference expresses its sympathies with the sufferers from the disastrous fire that destroyed portions of the town of Peshawar and Abbottabad

Resolution No 3

That this joint meeting of the All India Muslim League and the working Committee of the All India Muslim Conference while recognizing the full value of the statements issued by the government of India and utterances of the Secretary of State for India and the other members of the British Cabinet promising full adherence to the Communal Award and repeating the pledge not to deprive any community of the rights conferred under the Award is of opinion that the amendments finally effected in clause 304 do not go far enough to cover the pledges given to the Musalmans

That this meeting again strongly emphasising the necessity of adhering to the Award further urges that no right granted under the Award would be taken away from the community without its consent and without an agreed settlement between the communities concerned

[1] *Ibid*, pp 40 45 and 49 50

Resolution No 4

That this joint meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League and the Working Committee of the All India Muslim Conference views with abhorrence the sacrilgious action of the Sikhs in demolishing Shahidganj Mosque at Lahore for it is bound to create unbridgeable gulf between the relation of the two communities which is detrimental to the peaceful development of the country and the success of the future reforms in the province This meeting also views with much dissatisfaction the action of the Punjab Government in rigorously enforcing the curfew order as against the Muslims while not checking the influx of the Sikh Jathas in Lahore This curfew order is also an unwarranted interference in religion as the Muslims cannot offer their *Maghrib Isha* and morning prayers in *Jamaat* [congregation] This meeting is of opinion that the situation at Lahore was much accentuated by the presence of many Sikh Executive Officers in Lahore and presses upon the Government the desirability of their immediate transfer and stop the reckless shooting of the Musalmans by the order of the said officers

This meeting is of opinion that the Government order against Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and Syed Habeeb Saheb and others [is] unjustified and urges upon the Government the withdrawal of the said order

It further calls upon the Government to restore the site of the mosque to the Muslims and put them in possession of sufficient funds for building the Mosque by recovering the requisite funds from the Sikhs

Resolution No 5

This meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League and the Working Committee of the All India Muslim Conference to correspond with leaders of the Punjab if a deputation to the Viceroy on the Shahidganj Mosque will be useful if so advised, to take all necessary steps for arrangement to [of] deputation

S Shamsul Hasan
Assistant Secretary All India Muslim League

6

Delhi [Office of the Muslim League, Ballimaran Street], Council Meeting, 30 December 1935, M A. Jinnah presided[1]

Present

1 M A Jinnah Esqr—in chair
2 Maulvi Sir Muhammad Yakub, M L A
3 Nawab Saheb Chhatari
4 Syed Muhammad Habib
5 S Mahmud Sher Saheb
6 Maulvi Syed Abdul Jabbar Saheb
7 Maulana Mazharuddin Saheb
8 Zamiruddin Ahmad Saheb Patna
9 Nawabzada Khurshaid Ali Khan Saheb
10 Maulvi Farzand Ali Saheb Ahmadi

[1]*Ibid* pp 71 74

11 Syed Naimul Haq Saheb, Patna
12 Ch Fateh Muhammad Saheb, Lahore
13 Capt Habiburrahman Saheb, C I E
14 Maulvi Shafi Daoodi Saheb
15 S Halimullah S Jung Saheb
16 Sh Habiburrahman Saheb
17 Kh Ghulam Samdani Saheb
18 Hakim Zaki Ahmad Saheb
19 Prof Mirza Muhammad Said Saheb
20 Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb
21 K S Haji Rashid Ahmad Saheb
22 K B S M Abdulla
23 Sh Abdul Haq Saheb
24 Nawab Jamshaid Ali Khan Saheb
25 K B Nawab Ahmad Yar Khan Saheb Daulatana
26 Khawaja Ghulam Sibtain Saheb
27 Nawab Aziz Ahmad Khan Saheb
28 Maulvi Abdul Hai Saheb
29 Syed Muhammad Jafri Saheb
30 Muhammad Abdul Ahad Saheb
31 Syed Mahmud Shah Saheb

Resolution No 1

Resolved that the Council of the All India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow and loss on the sad deaths of K B Haji Hafiz Muhammad Hedayat Hosain Saheb C I E of Cawnpore and Sheriff Dewji Canji Saheb of Bombay and conveys its condolence to the members of the bereaved families

Resolution No 2

Resolved that Mr M A Jinnah be elected President of the All India Muslim League for one year ending April 1937 or till the end of the next Annual Session at the end of 1937

Resolution No 3

Resolved that the 24th Annual Session of the All India Muslim League be held at Bombay on 11th and 12th April 1936 in Easter Holidays

Resolution No 4

Resolved that the Delhi Provincial Muslim League be affiliated to the All India Muslim League

Resolution No 5

Resolved that Maulvi Sir Muhammad Yakub Kt , M L A , be elected Honorary Secretary of the League

Resolution No 6

Resolved that the choice of elected (*sic*) a President of the next Annual Session of the League to be held at Bombay be left to Mr M A Jinnah among the following

1 Sir Fazl i-Husain
2 Begum Saheba Mian Shah Nawaz
3 Sir Sultan Ahmad
4 Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

Resolution No 7

Resolved that the Council of the All India Muslim League having examined the situation created by the Shahidganj Mosque dispute and various incidents that have taken place deeply regret the most unfortunate position created and feels that the Punjab Government have mishandled the situation and request the Government of India to review the situation and order an enquiry by appointing an impartial committee with regard to matters generally

The All India Muslim League Council further appeals to all parties and leaders of the various communities that in the general and larger interest of the people of the Punjab to find a peaceful solution without delay

S Shamsul Hasan
Assistant Secretary, All India Muslim League

7

Delhi, [office of the Muslim League, Ballimaran Street] Council Meeting, 29 February 1936, M.A. Jinnah presided[1]

Present

1 M A Jinnah Esqr—in chair
2 The Hon Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan M C S
3 Muhammad Azhar Ali Saheb, M L A
4 Maulvi Sir Muhammad Yakub, M L A
5 Prof Mirza Muhammad Said Saheb
6 K B Syed Bahauddin Saheb
7 Siddique Ali Khan Saheb M L A
8 Abdul Matin Choudhri Saheb, M L A
9 Maulvi Syed Murtaza Bahadur, M L A
10 Muhammad Anwarul Azim Saheb M L A
11 Maulvi A K Fazlul Huq Saheb, M L A
12 S M Habeeb Saheb
13 Sh Abdul Huq Saheb
14 K B S M Abdulla Saheb
15 K S Haji Rashid Ahmad Saheb
16 M A Ahad Saheb
17 Nawabzada Halim Jung Saheb
18 K B Ahmad Yar Khan Saheb Daulatana
19 The Hon Syed Abdul Hafeez Saheb, M C S
20 Kh Ghulam Samdani Saheb
21 Hilal Ahmad Saheb Zubairi
22 Maulana Shaukat Ali Saheb M L A
23 Nawab Aziz Ahmad Khan Saheb
24 The Hon Syed Hossain Imam Saheb, M C S

Resolution No 1

Resolved that Sir Syed Wazir Hasan be elected to preside over the 24th Annual Session of the All India Muslim League to be held at Bombay on 11th and 12th April 1936

[1]Muslim League Documents Vol 222 Council Meetings 1936 37 pp 2 3

Resolution No 2

This meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League places on record their appreciation of the noble services rendered by Mr M A Jinnah towards the settlement of Shahidganj dispute and wishes him success in bringing about an everlasting peace and goodwill amongst different communities in the Punjab

Resolution No 3

This meeting of the Council also places on record its appreciation of the true Islamic spirit, enthusiasm, discipline and sincerity of the Musalmans of the Punjab in general and Musalmans of Lahore in particular

Resolution No 4

This meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League appreciates that at last friendly gesture has been made by the Punjab Government in the interest of the peace in the country

Resolution No 5

This meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League places on record its sense of sorrow on the sad demise of Mrs Kamala Nehru and expresses its sympathy with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

S Shamsul Hasan
Assistant Secretary, All India Muslim League

8

Bombay, [in the *pandal* of the Muslim League at Ferozeshah Mehta Road] Council Meeting, 12 April 1936[1]

Resolution No 1

Resolved that members of different provinces, list enclosed,[2] be elected to the Council for a period of 3 years under Section 11(5) of the Constitution and Rules of the League and under Resolution No 13 passed at the Annual Session held at Bombay provided they sign the Application Forms of the League and pay their Annual Subscription Rs 12/-

Resolution No 2

Resolved that the election of the two Joint Secretaries be left to the next Council meeting

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada), M L A (U P)
Honorary Secretary All India Muslim League

[1]*Ibid*, p 8

[2]Not available in this volume of Muslim League Documents

9

Delhi, [office of the Muslim League, Ballimaran Street], Council Meeting, 26 April 1936, M A. Jinnah presided[1]

Present

1 M A Jinnah Esqr, M L A—in chair
2 F A Sattar Ahmad M L A
3 Abdul Matin Choudhri M L A
4 Prof Mirza Muhammad Said Saheb M L A
5 Mirza Abdul Qadir Beg Saheb, Advocate Ajmer
6 Syed Abdul Jabbar Saheb, Ajmer
7 K B Muhammad Aslam Saheb Saifi, Meerut
8 Col Nawab Sir Muhammad Ahmad Said Khan Chhattari
9 Hilal Ahmad Saheb Zubairi Delhi
10 Sh Abdul Haque Saheb Delhi
11 Choudhry Khaliquzzaman Saheb Advocate, Lucknow
12 Maulana Enayatullah Saheb, Farangi Mahal, Lucknow
13 Hakim Abdul Haseeb Saheb Lucknow
14 Syed Zakir Ali Saheb, Lucknow
15 Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan Saheb, Meerut
16 The Hon Mahmood Padshah M C S
17 The Hon Hossain Imam Saheb, M C S
18 Halimullah S Jung Saheb
19 Kr Ismail Ali Khan Saheb M L A
20 Maulvi Syed Murtaza Saheb Bahadur M L A
21 K S Haji Rashid Ahmad Saheb
22 K S Farzand Ali Khan Saheb Qadian
23 Sh Zahur Ahmad Saheb Allahabad
24 The Hon Sir Sardar Ghulam Cassim Mitha M C S
25 Siddique Ali Khan Saheb M L A
26 Haji M Aminuddin Saheb Sahrai Lahore
27 K S Muhammad Siddiq Saheb, Multan
28 S M Taqi Saheb Amroha
29 Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan Saheb M L A
30 Dr Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan Allahabad
31 Syed Muhammad Jafri Saheb Delhi
32 The Hon Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan Saheb M C S
33 Syed Muhammad Ashraf Saheb Meerut
34 Syed Muhammad Husain Saheb Allahabad
35 Hakim Zaki Ahmad Saheb Delhi
36 Maulana Shaukat Ali Saheb M L A
37 Nawab Aziz Ahmad Khan Saheb, Delhi
38 M Ghiasuddin Saheb, M L A
39 Nawab Mumtaz Hasan Khan Saheb
40 Iftikhar Ali Saheb, Advocate, C P
41 Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb M L C
42 K B S M Abdullah Saheb
43 Sardar Muhammad Ahmad Khan Saheb, M L A
44 Ch Muhammad Ismail Khan Saheb, M L A
45 Muhammad Nauman Saheb M L A

[1] *Ibid*, pp 43 4

The names of K B S M Abdullah Nawab Jamshaid Ali Khan and Mr Hussain Malik were duly proposed and seconded for the office of Joint Secretaries Nawab Jamshaid Ali Khan's name was withdrawn and K B S M Abdullah and Mr Hussain Malik were duly elected Joint Secretaries

The question about the formation of Central and Provincial Election Board was discussed

The Report of the Committee appointed to suggest changes in the Constitution and Rules of the League was submitted and it was resolved that it may be circulated amongst the members before the next Annual Session

The question of improving the financial condition of the League was postponed for the consideration of the next meeting of the Council

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada) M L A , (U P)
Honorary Secretary All India Muslim League

10

Lahore [Mohammedan Hall], Council Meeting, 9 June 1936, M A Jinnah presided[1]

Resolution No 1

A resolution of condolence was passed all standing on the untimely death of Dr M A Ansari

2 Mr M A Jinnah read to the House a letter received by him from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru about the formation of a Civil Liberties Union in India The Council of the League passed the following resolution

That the Council of the All India Muslim League while fully sympathising and appreciating with the principle underlying India Civil 'Liberties Union, it is at present unable to express any opinion in the absence of further details till it takes a definite shape The letter of Mr Jawaharlal therefore be recorded with thanks and the resolution be communicated to him

3 The following resolution was proposed by Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan but was disallowed by the President on point of order

> Whereas the All India Muslim League passed a resolution in its last Annual Session in Bombay to contest the forthcoming election to the Provincial Assemblies it is hereby resolved that any member of the All India Muslim League against whom it is proved that during the aforesaid election he opposed any of the candidate put by the Election Board, his name shall be removed from the membership of the Muslim League at once '

4 The following gentlemen were elected as members of the Council of the All India Muslim League

Punjab
1 Syed Amjad Ali Saheb
2 Sardar Muhammad Nawaz Khan
3 Mian Ferozuddin Saheb
4 Ch Fateh Muhammad Saheb
5 Sh Hamiduddin Saheb

[1]*Ibid*, pp 49 71 72

6 Mian Abdul Haye Saheb
7 Sh Muhammad Amin Saheb
8 Mir Maqbool Mahmood Saheb
9 Ch Afzal Haq Saheb
10 Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar
11 Ch Abdul Aziz Saheb
12 Kh Ghulam Husain Saheb
13 Ch Ferozuddin Saheb
14 K B Raja Muhammad Akram Khan
15 Sahebzada Nawazish Ali
16 Sh Khurshid Ahmad Saheb
17 Mian Abdul Aziz Saheb
18 Ghulam Rasool Saheb
19 Prof Inayatullah Saheb

U P — 1 Syed Zahid Ali Saheb Sabzposh

Madras — 1 Nawab Ghulam Ahmad Saheb,
2 Shafi Muhammad Saheb

N W F P — 1 Sardar Abdurrab Saheb Nishtar

Bengal — 1 Abdurrahman Saheb Siddiqi
2 I G H Arif Saheb
3 Shamsuddin Ahmad Saheb
4 Raja Karim Saheb
5 Wasimuddin Saheb
6 Mirza Muhammad Shafi
7 Abdullah ulBaqi
8 S A Waseque Saheb
9 S A Zaman Saheb

5 This meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League expresses its sympathy with the Palestine Arabs in their troubles and congratulates on the sacrifices which they are offering for the freedom of their country and protection of their rights This meeting of the Council wants the British Government that its pro jewish policy is causing great excitement among the Musalmans of India who have been feeling that British statesmen by insisting on the continuance of this policy are demonstrating that they want to put insurmountable difficulties in the path of the progress and orginisation of the Arabs in their country The Council therefore earnestly appoints *(sic)* to the Muslims of India to observe 19th of June 1936 as Palestine Day by observing complete suspension of all business and by holding meetings everywhere expressing their sympathy with the Arabs Further the Council appoints a subcommittee of the following members to consider ways and means of carrying this agitation in the country and to take such other steps in the matter which it may consider necessary

Dr Sir Muhammad Iqbal Maulana Mufti Kefayatullah Saheb , Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana Shaukat Ali Saheb Shamsul Ulema Najmul Hasan Saheb Maulana Daood Ghaznavi Saheb Maulana Shaukat Ali Saheb will be the convener

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada), M L A (U P)
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League

11

Delhi, [office of the Muslim League, Ballimaran Street], Council Meeting, 21 March 1937, M.A. Jinnah presided[1]

(List of the Members of the Council who attended the meeting) [2]

Item number 1 and item number 2[3] were taken up jointly Maulana Shaukat Ali stated that all Muslims should unite and decide on one aim and that all should work for that particular aim separately and collectively Thereupon Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan spoke and stated that first efforts should be made to bring together all Muslims and that differences that have been created by the last election should be set aside and removed Prolonged discussions were held regarding ways and means of organising the Muslims and bringing them all into the League General opinion of the House was that more contacts should be established through district and provincial branches of the League

Mr Abdur Rab Nishtar from N W F Province suggested that if the League changed its creed it may attract the Muslim youth

At 1 30 p m the meeting was adjourned and the House met again at 3 00 p m Many members spoke on this part of the suggestion and the general opinion of the house was against it The President, Mr M A Jinnah explained the real nature of the creed of the League He pointed out that the differences between the Hindus and the Muslims were due not to the lack of nationalism among the Muslims but because of the differences between their cultures, and that his creed was national self government and that if the Muslims decided to join in he would give his wholehearted support to them He emphasized that the Muslims must unite as a nation, and then live or die as a united nation

Mr Zakir Ali proposed that immediate steps be taken to revive and establish the Provincial and District branches of the League throughout India and that every member of the Council of the All India Muslim League is expected to help in the revival or establishment of District and Provincial Leagues The resolution was passed unanimously

In respond to the invitation of Choudhry Khaliquzzaman the Council unanimously decided to hold the next Annual Session of the All India Muslim League at Lucknow on the 17th, 18th and 19th of April next

The Hon Nawab Sir Muhammad Yousuf proposed that Mr M A Jinnah be requested to preside over the next Annual Session of the Muslim League Nawab

[1]*Ibid* pp 74 7

[2]Not available in this volume of Muslim League Documents

[3]Agenda comprised the following items

1 To consider the present political situation
2 To consider what steps should be taken to organise the Muslims outside the Legislatures and revive the Provincial Branches of the League
3 To fix the date and place of the Annual Session of the League
4 Election of President for the Annual Session
5 To consider the case of those gentlemen who were elected to the Council and have neither signed the creed nor sent their annual subscription in spite of repeated requests and reminders
6 Any other matter with the permission of the Chair

Liaquat Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League Notice of the Council meeting dated 10 March 1937 *Ibid*, p 73

Ismail Khan seconded the motion which was passed unanimously by the Council, Mr Jinnah graciously accepting

The Honorary Secretary Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan proposed that names of those members of the Council of the League who had not paid their annual subscription of the Council in spite of repeated demands be struck off the list But this proposal was not accepted and instead, on the suggestion of Mr M A Jinnah it was resolved that notices under Postal Certificate should be sent to such members on or before the 1st of April next to pay their subscription on or before the 15th of April next If their subscription are not paid on or before the 15th April their names shall be removed from the list of the members of the Council of the League

The Council resolved that all the members of the Central Legislature should be sent the creed of the League

The Hon ble Muhammad Husain of Allahabad proposed that a small Committee be appointed to revise the Constitution and Rules of the League and its suggestions be put before the Council at Lucknow for the consideration of the League The proposal was accepted and the following were nominated as members of the Committee

President	Nawab Ismail Khan Saheb
Secretary	Muhammad Ashraf
	K B Masudul Hasan Saheb
	The Hon Hossain Imam
	The Hon Muhammad Husain
	Syed Murtaza Saheb Bahadur
	Mian Ghiasuddin Saheb
	The Honorary Secretary of the League (in his absence any of the Joint Secretaries)
	Three members shall form quorum

The Hon Hossain Imam proposed that the Parliamentary Board be dissolved The President pointed out that the Council had no power to dissolve the Board since it was a body independent of the Council

The House unanimously resolved at the instance of Mr A R Nishtar that the Council of the All India Muslim League condemns the present policy of the Government of India with regard to Waziristan and is of opinion that if the forward policy indicated by the Government of India is pursued, it will lead to serious repression throughout India

The House adjourned at 5 45 p m

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada), M L A , (U P)
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League

12

Delhi, [office of the Muslim League], Council Meeting, 30-31 January 1938, M A Jinnah presided[1]

Resolution No 1

Resolved that this meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow and grief at the sad and sudden demise of Nawab Sir Abdul Qayum and Mushir Husain Saheb Kidwai The Council of the League conveys its heartfelt condolence to the members of their bereaved families

Resolution No 2

Resolved that the resignation of Maulvi Sir Muhammad Yaqub be accepted

Resolution No 3

The Council of the All India Muslim League while recognising that the Musalmans throughout India are pledged to the restoration of the Shahidganj Mosque having fully considered the grave situation which has arisen consequent upon the recent decision of the Punjab High Court is of opinion that a Special Session of the All India Muslim League be summoned for that purpose to decide upon the final line of action without delay

Resolution No 4

The Council of the All India Muslim League resolves that Friday the 18th of February 1938 be observed as Shahidganj Day and public meetings be held all over the country to explain the resolution of the Council of the All India Muslim League passed on the 31st of January 1938

Resolution No 5

The Council of the All India Muslim League resolves that the time mentioned in sections (c) and (d) of resolution No 15 passed at the last Annual Session of the All India Muslim League at Lucknow be extended to the 31st March 1938

Resolution No 6

The Council of the All India Muslim League requests the following gentlemen to go as soon as possible to the North West Frontier Province with a view to organise the Musalmans in that province

1 Maulana Shaukat Ali Saheb
2 Maulana Zafar Ali Khan Saheb
3 Maulana Enayatullah Saheb
4 Prof Enayatullah Saheb
5 M Ali Bahadur Habibullah Saheb
6 Mulla Jan Muhammad Saheb
7 Jamal Mian Saheb
8 Muhammad Ali Saheb Manayar
9 Haji Anisuddin Saheb Sahrai

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada), M L A , (U P)
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League

[1]Liaquat Ali Khan, *Resolutions of the All India Muslim League, October 1937—December 1938*, op cit pp 13 14

13

Delhi, [office of the Muslim League], Council Meeting, 20 March 1938, M.A Jinnah presided[1]

Resolution No 1

Resolved that the Special Session of the All India Muslim League be held at Calcutta on the 18th and 19th of April 1938

Resolution No 2

In view of the decision of the Punjab Premier expressing his readiness to resign even if the majority of the Muslim Members give their verdict disapproving of his action foreshadowed in his recent pronouncement with regard to the Shahidganj question the Council realise that the main burden and responsibility rests with the Muslim representatives of the Punjab Legislature and the public generally The Council appreciate that the gravity and the nature of the issues involved are present to the mind of Sir Sikander Hyat and his Government, the assurance given by him in his pronouncement of his making an earnest attempt to bring about an honourable settlement of the question is the best course in the opinion of the Council and in this direction lies the way of restoring and securing a permanent peace and goodwill between the two great sister communities Muslims and Sikhs whose moral responsibility to each other, whose interests and the welfare, and the larger interest of the Province and the country, demand that, with their great history, religion and tradition behind them, they should rise above the verdicts of Judicial Tribunals and the decisions of Legislatures and Government, and rise to the occasion and come to an honourable settlement of their own, that failing such a desideratum of mutual agreement of the parties concerned which will be most unfortunate Council note with great satisfaction the determination of the Punjab government that it will not fail to explore and exhaust all constitutional avenues open to them to find a satisfactory and just solution of the problem to which, Council are glad, they are already applying themselves, and that while the final decision as to the policy and the line of action can only be decided by the All India Muslim League the Council in the meantime are willing and ready to render all the assistance and help they can towards the solution of the matter

Resolution No 3

This Council recommends to the Session of the League to be held at Calcutta on the 18th and 19th of April 1938 that the following new rule be added to the Constitution as Rule 40 A

Every Muslim Member of a Provincial Legislature shall be Ex-officio Delegate at the Annual or Special Session of the League provided he or she is already a member of some branch of the All India Muslim League and also is a Member of the Muslim League Party in the Provincial Legislature

Resolution No 4

Resolved that a committee of the following members be formed to consider and decide the applications for affiliation that have already been received or that may be received hereafter from various provinces

[1] *Ibid*, pp 15 18

1 Nawab Ismail Khan Saheb (Chairman)
2 Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb
3 K B S M Abdullah Saheb
4 Hussain M Malik Saheb
5 Col A Rahman
(Quorum 3)

The decision of the Committee will be subject to confirmation by the Council

Resolution No 5

Whereas numerous complaints have reached the Central Office of the hardship, ill-treatment and injustice that is meted out to the Muslims in various Congress Government Provinces and particularly to those who are workers and members of the Muslim League, the Council resolve that a special Committee be appointed consisting of the following members to collect all information, make all necessary enquiries and take such steps as may be considered proper and to submit their report to the President and the Council from time to time

1 Raja Syed Muhammad Mehdi Saheb (Chairman)
2 Mr Ali B Habibullah (Secretary)
3 K B Haji Rashid Ahmad Saheb
4 Syed Ashraf Ahmad
5 Maulvi Abdul Ghani Saheb, M L A
6 Mian Ghiasuddin Saheb M L A
7 Syed Zakir Ali Saheb
8 Syed Hasan Reyaz Saheb
9 Syed Taqi Hadi Saheb

Resolution No 6

Resolved that the Muslim League Flag which was unfurled at the last Annual Session of the All India Muslim League at Lucknow is to remain the Flag of the League i e Green Flag with Crescent and Star in white

Resolution No 7

Resolved that the Volunteer Corps under League organisation all over the country be called 'The Muslim National Guard of India" and the uniform shall be green shirt or coat with a badge consisting of Crescent and Star in white

Resolution No 8

Resolved that the President be authorised to take all necessary steps to form a Muslim League party in the Central Legislature at an early date with power to the party so formed to coalesce with any other party or group whose policy and programme is approximately the same as that of the All India Muslim League

Resolution No 9

Resolved that this meeting of the Council be adjourned till the 3rd of April 1938 to elect members to the Council in the event of provincial League failing to do so by the 31st of March 1938, the time prescribed

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada), M L A, (U P)
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League

14

Delhi, [office of the Muslim League], Council Meeting, 3 April 1938, M A. Jinnah presided[1]

Resolution No 1

Resolved that the report of the Sub Committee appointed by the Council of the All India Muslim League for the purpose of affiliation of Provincial Muslim League be adopted

Resolution No 2

Resolved that except in the case of C P and Ajmer the existing members of the Council of the All India Muslim League from Provinces whose applications for affiliation have not yet been received or accepted by the Council be adopted and vacancies be filled in by the Council

Resolution No 3

Resolved that election of the additional members for the Council of the All India Muslim League from Bombay, Sind, Madras, N -W F P and Baluchistan be left to a Sub Committee of the following members

1 Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan
2 Husain M Malik
3 K B S M Abdulla
4 Waheeduddin Ahmad
5 Maulana Mazharuddin
(Quorum 3)

Resolution No 4

Resolved that for the membership of the Council from Punjab C P and Ajmer the agreed names submitted by the members of the Council from these provinces be adopted

Resolution No 5

Resolved that in the opinion of the Council the proposal of Mr Hossain Imam and Mr Muhammad Abdul Ghani that the complete list of the names sent by the Bihar Provincial Muslim League for the membership of the Council from Bihar be adopted was not practicable It was further resolved that the existing members of the Council from Bihar should continue to be members and for the one vacancy Zamiruddin Saheb be elected

Resolution No 6

Resolved that the election of the members of the Council of the All India Muslim League from Bengal Orissa and Assam be postponed till the next meeting of the Council

Resolution No 7

Resolved that in compliance with the request of the Bengal Presidency Muslim League, the dates of the Special Session to be held in Calcutta on 18th and 19th of April be changed to 17th and 18th (and if necessary) 19th of April 1938

[1] *Ibid*, pp 19 21

Resolution No 8

Resolved that a Sub Committee of the following members of the Council of the All India Muslim League be appointed to enquire into the question of the Asansol mosque and submit their report to the Council of the League as soon as possible

1 Maulana Shaukat Ali Saheb M L A
2 The Hon Hossain Imam M C S
3 Husain M Malik Saheb Bar at Law

Resolution No 9

Resolved that a committee of the following members be appointed to draft an exhaustive programme on the lines chalked out in Resolution No 14 of the last Annual Session regarding economic social and educational matters and submit their report in the next meeting of the Council

1 The Hon Hossain Imam
2 Syed Ghulam Bhik Saheb Nairang
3 Syed Hasan Reyaz
4 Nawabzada Khurshid Ali Khan
5 The Hon Haji Muhammad Husain (Convenor)

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada) M L A (U P)
Honorary Secretary All India Muslim League

15

Calcutta, [Muslim Institute], Council Meeting, 17 April 1938, M A. Jinnah presided[1]

Resolution No 1

Resolved that the following Provincial Muslim Leagues be affiliated to the All India Muslim League

1 Bihar Provincial Muslim League
2 N W F Provincial Muslim League
3 Ajmer Provincial Muslim League

Resolution No 2

Resolved that the application of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League be considered by the Affiliation Committee

Resolution No 3

Resolved that a copy of the complaints against the Delhi Provincial Muslim League by some Members of the Council of the Delhi Provincial Muslim League and others be sent to the President of the Delhi Provincial Muslim League for such explanation as they may think proper and that the matter be placed before the next meeting of the Council

Resolution No 4

Resolved that the following be elected as members of the Council of the All India Muslim League

[1] *Ibid*, pp 22 23

(List omitted)

Resolution No 5

Resolved that the report regarding economic, social and educational matters submitted by the Committee that was appointed under resolution No 9 of the Council passed at its meeting on the third of April, 1938, be considered at the next meeting of the Council

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada), M L A, (U P)
Honorary Secretary All India Muslim League

16

Delhi, [office of the Muslim League], Council Meeting, 30-31 July 1938, M A Jinnah presided[1]

Resolution No 1

Resolved that the invitation of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League to hold the next Annual Session in Bihar be accepted and that the Session be held at Patna during Xmas holidays The Bihar Provincial Muslim League be informed that as regards its request for a share in the Visitors and Delegates' fees the matter will be considered by the Council and an equitable adjustment made

Resolution No 2

Resolved that an Industrial Exhibition be held on the occasion of the Annual Session of the League at Patna and Raja Saheb Pirpur be appointed to organise the Exhibition

Resolution No 3

Resolved that (a) a Sub Committee be appointed for propaganda and Publicity (b) a Fund Committee be appointed for the purpose of raising funds and the Council directs the Working Committee to select the personnel of these two committees

Resolution No 4

Resolved that a Sub Committee of the following persons be appointed to examine the scheme of the Muslim National Guard and to submit their report to the Working Committee within one month

1. Nawab of Chhattari
2. Capt Sir Sher Muhammad Khan
3. Abdul Kadir Shaikh,
4. Sardar Aurangzeb Khan Saheb,
5. Capt Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan,
6. Syed Eizaz Rasul Saheb,
7. Rashid Hosain Qidwai and
8. M M S Ispahani, Convener of the Committee
(Quorum 3)

[1] *Ibid*, pp 33 36

Resolution No 5

Resolved that 'Palestine Day' be observed throughout India on Friday the 26th of August and the Council requests all the Muslim League organisations and appeals to the Musalmans to hold meetings condemning the unjust, repressive and inhuman policy that is pursued by the British Government and offer prayers for the complete success of our Arab brethren in their honourable and just struggle for the freedom of their country

The Council further appoints a committee consisting of the following members to consider the question of sending an influential deputation abroad specially to Palestine and England and directs the Committee to consider the ways and means by which an effective pressure can be brought to bear upon the British Government and also advise the Council with regard to the question of the boycott of British goods

1 Maulana Shaukat Ali Saheb,
2 Maulana Zafar Ali Khan Saheb,
3 Abdurrahman Saheb Siddiqi,
4 Maulana Kutubuddin Abdul Wali Saheb
5 Maulana Hasrat Mohani Saheb
6 Maulana Mazharuddin Saheb and
7 Aziz Ahmad Khan Saheb, Convener of the Committee

Resolution No 6

The Council of the All India Muslim League finds from the Press reports that efforts are being made in England between the British Government and some of the leaders of Indian opinion to bring about certain modifications in the Federal Scheme embodied in the Government of India Act 1935 in order that India may work the Federal Constitution The Muslim League therefore, wishes to make it clear that it will not be bound by any adjustment that may be arrived at without its approval and consent and further warns the British Government against such an action being taken without consulting and ascertaining the views of the Musalmans of India and of the consequences that may follow

Resolution No 7

Resolved that the scheme as proposed by the Congress for the Constituent Assembly is not acceptable as the Council considers it most injurious and detrimental to the interests of Musalmans

Resolution No 8

The Council of the All India Muslim League condemns the action of the N W F P Government in imposing a fine of Rs 2,500 on all the inhabitants of Mardan in consequence of the murders of a few persons and request the said Government to set aside its order at earliest opportune moment

Resolution No 9

Resolved that the complaint against the Provincial Muslim League Delhi together with the explanation of the President of the said League be referred to the Working Committee for such action as it may deem proper

Resolution No 10

Resolved that the question of disciplinary action against K B Haji Rashid Ahmad be referred to the Working Committee for such action as it may consider proper

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada) M L A , (U P)
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League

17

Delhi, [Office of the Muslim League], Council Meeting, 4 December 1938, M.A. Jinnah presided[1]

Resolution No 1

Resolved that this meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League expresses its deepest feelings of sorrow and grief at the sad demise of Ataturk Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha whom it acknowledges as a truly great personality in the Islamic world a great general and a great statesman He rebuilt and revived the Turkish Nation after its defeat and disintegration and, in spite of opposition from the European powers succeeded in defeating the enemies of Turkey and within a short time brought his country to the front rank of nations By establishing a concord and alliance of the Eastern Nations he guided the East to the true goal of political power and prosperity His memory will inspire Muslims all over the world with courage, perseverance and manliness With this expression of its heartfelt grief the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League wishes to convey its message of sympathy and condolence to the Turkish Nation in its great bereavement

Resolution No 2

Resolved that this meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League expresses its sincere appreciation of the multifarious services rendered by the late Maulana Shaukat Ali to the nation He exerted himself greatly for the establishment of the Muslim University, and he was one of the founders of Khudam i-Kaba organization The success of the Khilafat movement was to a great extent due to his organising ability and his untiring effort, and for this he cheerfully bore all the hardships of imprisonment He gave his energies to saving the Muslims from the peril of the Nehru Report while he worked unceasingly till the very last in order to ensure the success of the present organisation of the Muslim League All his activities invariably aimed at winning independence for India and at the establishment of a lasting concord among the various communities of India He had the courage and capacity to suffer patiently and like a true Muslim he was always ready to sacrifice himself for Islam His name deserves a prominent place in the history of India's struggle for freedom

This meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League is overwhelmed with sorrow at the sudden death of the great leader whose personality was an epitome of all the virtues — self sacrifice, high resolution amiableness and true friendship His death is an irreparable national loss and the Council offers prayers for the deceased and heartfelt condolence to the bereaved family

Resolution No 3

Resolved that the Council of the All India Muslim League places on record its appreciation of late Sir Mohammad Iqbal as a sage, philosopher of Islam and a great national poet He urged the Muslims to build their future in consonance with their great past Though he is not among us, he lives for ever in his imperishable verses which would continue to inspire the life and actions of the Muslims all over the world

This meeting of the Council deeply mourns for him and offers fervent prayers to the Almighty that soul of the deceased may rest in peace

[1] *Ibid* pp 50 58

Resolution No 4

Resolved that this meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League gives expression to its sincere sorrow at the death of Nawab Sir Muhammad Muzzamullah Khan and records its appreciation of the great services which he has rendered to the cause of Muslim education and of his generous help in various other spheres of national life

Resolution No 5

Resolved that the report of the Affiliation Sub Committee regarding the affiliation of the Bombay Presidency Muslim League be confirmed

The consideration of the question of the National guard on all India basis was deferred

The Report of the Palestine Committee was placed before the Council and noted

Resolution No 6

Resolved that the Report of the Sub-Committee regarding Economic Programme be sent to various Provincial Muslim Leagues for their opinion

Mr M A Jinnah was unanimously elected President of the All India Muslim League for the next year

Resolution No 7

Resolved that the election of the members for the Council of the All India Muslim League from provinces which have failed to make [hold] elections within the prescribed time be left to the President and the Secretary of the All India Muslim League

Resolution No 8

Resolved that this meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League appoints a committee consisting of the gentlemen noted below who shall report on the following points at the next meeting of the League at Patna

1 Whether the Wardha Scheme would have the effect of preventing or circumscribing the progress of the Urdu Language and Urdu script and whether it would tend to obliterate or weaken the religious traditions and culture of the Indian Muslims so that they might lose their separate national identity and be moulded according to the political ideals of the Congress

2 Whether it is essential that the Muslims should have their own separate organisation for education which should be under their own control and how this could be effected

It was further resolved that within three months the Committee shall submit to the All India Muslim League an educational scheme[1] which should provide such education for Muslim boys and girls as would create in them an Islamic mentality, strengthen the Islamic characteristics and at the same time, fully equip them to meet the exigencies of the present age

1 Dr Zafarul Hasan
2 Dr Kadri
3 Syed Nawab Ali Saheb
4 Maulana Zafar Ali Khan
5 Dr Khalifa Shujauddin
6 Karimurraza Khan Saheb
7 Maulana Burhanul Haq Saheb
8 Raja Saheb Pirpur Convener of the Committee

[1]See Council Meeting Resolutions No 4 25 December 1938 (appendix XVIII 18) and No 3 8 April 1939 (appendix XVIII 19)

Mr Z H Lari moved the following resolution which was seconded by Mr Abdul Waheed Khan

> 'The All India Muslim League Council declares that the speech of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan at Simla assuring the British government of unconditional support in men and money in case of war does in no way reflect the opinion of the Musalmans of India and warns responsible members of the Muslim League against making pronouncements of such a nature without reference to the League '

The Hon Sir Sikander Hyat Khan opposed the resolution Mr M A Jinnah the President of the League, intervened in the debate The resolution was by leave of the Council withdrawn

Resolution Nos 2 and 3 standing in the name of Z H Lari were not moved

Resolution No 10

Resolved that a committee of the following gentlemen — Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon (Chairman) 2 Nawab Sahib Mamdot 3 Raja Saheb Mahmudabad, 4 Mr Aurangzeb Khan — be appointed to give effect to the following resolutions

(with power to co opt)

1 That deputation of Ulama and well known leaders of Muslim minority provinces U P , Bihar, Orissa, C P and Madras, etc , be organised to tour through the Punjab N -W F Province and Sind in order to acquaint the Muslims of these provinces of the repressive policy of the Congress Ministries towards the Muslim minorities

2 A second deputation be organised to tour throughout the Islamic countries to remove the misunderstanding created by the Congress leaders that the Muslims of India are not patriots and that they are betraying the interest of their motherland

3 A third deputation be organised to put the real conditions in India before the various nations and expose the Congress attitude towards the minorities of India

Resolution Nos 1 and 2 standing in the name of Maulana Sibghatullah Saheb were not moved

Resolution No 11

Resolved that Committee consisting of Sir Syed Riza Ali, Mr Barkat Ali, Mr Ghulam Imam, Maulana Jamaluddin , Abdul Wahab Saheb, Maulana Zafar Ahmad Saheb and Mr Ashraf (Convener), (Quorum 4) be appointed to examine the Muslim Dissolution of Marriage Bill now pending before the Central Legislative Assembly and send their opinion and recommendation to the President and the Secretary of Muslim League Party in the Central Legislative Assembly

Resolution No 12

Resolved that any member of Muslim League who is associated with any party whose general policy is opposed to the Muslims should not be allowed to become or remain a member of the Muslim League [1] The decision in this regard

[1] About the same time the Congress Working Committee meeting at Wardha (11 16 December 1936) by a resolution declared the Muslim League along with Hindu Mahasabha, a communal organization and debarred 'members of any elected Congress Committee from becoming a member of the League See appendix XXII 26

will rest with the Executive Council of the Provincial Muslim League subject to appeal to the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League

Resolution No 13

In Central or Provincial Legislatures where parties have been formed all those members who are members of the Muslim League should be asked to join the League parties [1] If any member refuses to join the League party in a Provincial Legislature the Provincial Muslim League may take such disciplinary action as it thinks proper In the case of Central Legislature, the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League may take such disciplinary action as it may deem proper

Resolution No 14

Resolved that every endeavour should be made to secure in accordance with the new Constitution, the right of Separate Election for the Muslims in all Municipal Committees, District Boards District Council and other local bodies

Resolution No 15

Resolved that the following proposed resolutions be forwarded to the Propaganda and Publicity Committee for such action as it thinks proper

That in order to counteract the Muslim Mass Contact Movement launched by the Congress, the following measures be adopted

(i) In every province and district where the spiritual influence of the Ulama could be utilized for the purpose, brief Fatwas and manifestoes should be issued on behalf of the Ulema in which the Muslims should be warned against joining the Congress and the disadvantages from the religious point of view of any association with the Congress should be clearly and emphatically explained to them These Fatwas should be published under the authority of the All India Muslim League through the agency of the local League in the language of each province or district

(ii) In consultation with Ulema some suitably qualified Muslims should be appointed to address Friday Congregations and other Muslim gatherings and also meetings held in rural areas on the subject of the religious turpitude and secular harm which is likely to result for the Muslims by their joining the Congress

(iii) Having regard to the fact that in certain public offices, undue pressure is put on Muslim subordinates by their official superiors in order to make them join the Congress and similarly in certain Mills and Workshops, with Congressite owners and managers, Muslim workmen and labourers are compelled to join the Congress, the Council of the All India Muslim League should direct influential and leading members of the League to move Government officers responsible for the maintenance of law and order to check such unlawful abuse of power

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada), M L A , (U P)
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League

[1]Following this Jinnah s Independent Party in the Indian Legislative Assembly formed soon after his entry into it in 1924 ceased to exist its Muslim members joined the Muslim League Parliamentary Party Jinnah was himself elected to the Assembly as a Muslim League candidate in the 1945 elections, whereas he used to be elected to the same body as an Independent till 1934 See Waheed Ahmad (ed), *Quaid i Azam M A Jinnah Speeches*, op cit Introduction pp vii xv

18

Patna, Council Meeting, 25 December 1938, M.A. Jinnah presided[1]

Resolution No 1

Resolved that the resolutions of the Working Committee be confirmed

Resolution No 2

Resolved that the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council with the following amendment be confirmed

Add the following in the proceeding regarding resolution No 9

'The House enunciated the principle that in future any announcement or statement on a vital matter by any prominent member of the League particularly by the members of the Working Committee should not be made without the authority of the Working Committee or in a case of emergency in consultation with the President

Resolution No 3

Resolved that the Report of the Affiliation Sub Committee regarding the affiliation of the C P and Berar Provincial Muslim League and Sind Provincial Muslim League be confirmed

Resolution No 4

Resolved that the Sub Committee appointed to examine the Wardha Scheme of Education be given another three months for submission of its report to the Council

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada) M L A (U P)
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League

19

Delhi, [office of the Muslim League], Council Meeting, 8 April 1939, M A Jinnah presided[2]

Resolution No 1

This meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow and grief at the sad and sudden demise of His Majesty Shah Ghazi of Iraq The Council conveys its sincere sympathy and condolence to the members of the Royal family and the people of Iraq in their tragic loss

This meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League places on record its abhorrence at the outrageous murder of Alhaj Maulana Mazharuddin Saheb and

[1] Liaquat Ali Khan *Resolutions of the All India Muslim League, October 1937 December 1938*, op cit pp 61 62

[2] Liaquat Ali Khan *Resolutions of the All India Muslim League December 1938—March 1940*, op cit pp 5 9

expresses its deep sorrow at his sad and untimely death The council conveys its sincere condolence to the members of the bereaved family

Resolution No 2

Resolved that the President and the Secretary of the All India Muslim League be authorised to fill up vacancies in the Council

Resolution No 3

Resolved that copies of the report of the Sub Committee appointed to examine the Wardha Scheme of Basic Education be sent to all the members of the Council forthwith with a request to send in their opinions on or before the 15th of May 1939

It was further resolved that the Working Committee be requested to examine the report in the light of the opinions received and formulate their definite proposals as early as possible

Resolution No 4

Regarding the report of the Economic Programme Committee it was resolved that the opinions of the members of the Council of the All India Muslim League be sent to the Central office on or before the 15th of May 1939

Further resolved that the Working Committee be requested to examine the report in the light of the opinions received and formulate their proposals

Resolution No 5

Resolved that the resolutions of the Working Committee held on the 27th of December 1938 at Patna and on the 26th of March 1939 at Meerut be confirmed

The Honorary Secretary was requested to get a report from Organising Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League of its activities and the progress made by it so far

Resolution No 6

Resolved that this meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League is of opinion that at present as a first step the Muslim National Guard should be formed and organised in each province under the direct supervision and authority of the Presidents of the Provincial Leagues Further resolved that a committee of the following members be appointed to examine and formulate a uniform basis for forming and organising Muslim National Guards all over India and make their report to the Working Committee on or before the 15th of June 1939

1 Raja of Mahmudabad (Convener)
2 Mr Ziauddin N W F P
3 Mr Yousuf Haroon, Sindh
4 Syed Amjad Ali Saheb Punjab

Resolution No 7

Resolved that the Working Committee be authorised to decide the venue and dates of the next Annual Session

Resolution No 8

The following resolution was moved by S Naimul Haq and was discussed and ultimately withdrawn with the permission of the Council

Whereas a very large number of communal riots have occurred in recent months specially in the Provinces of United Provinces and Bihar resulting in the loss of various Muslim lives, and whereas the Congress Governments of the provinces concerned are lacking in the adoption of any definite policy and programme in the matter of civil liberties, this Council of the All India Muslim League resolves that a Sub Committee consisting of

1 The President
2 Hon ble Khawaja Sir Nazimuddin of Bengal
3 The Hon ble Sir Sikander Hyat Khan of the Punjab
4 Maulana Qutubuddin Abdul Wali Saheb of Lucknow
5 Syed Abdul Aziz of Patna
6 The Honorary Secretary All India Muslim League

be appointed to frame a scheme of civil liberties in India with special reference to the question of (1) Cow sacrifice by Muslims (2) Playing of music before mosques by Hindu (3) Hoisting of flags on public buildings and (4) Singing of *Bande Mataram* or other songs in educational and other institutions The Sub Committee is directed to submit its report before the next meeting of this Council The Honorary Secretary of the All India Muslim League will be the Convener of the Sub Committee

Resolution No 9

This meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League deplores the action of Mr Gandhi in launching upon his 'fast unto death' on a matter of political issue involving amongst others the inclusion of two Muslim representatives on the Rajkot Constitutional Reforms Committee already nominated by the Thakur Saheb This meeting therefore most earnestly urges upon the Thakur Saheb and H E the Viceroy who has thought fit to intervene as representing the Paramount Power thereby creating a dangerous precedent that in no case these two Muslim members who are the truly chosen representatives of the Muslims of Rajkot should be displaced now by the nominees of Mr V Patel And it urges upon the Muslims of Rajkot and the Muslim Council to do all in their power to resist any change with regard to their representation already declared as the Muslim League is of opinion that any such change would be highly detrimental to the vital interests of the Muslims of Rajkot

Resolution No 10

Resolved that this meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League is of opinion that Musalmans who have migrated from Jaipur should be persuaded to return to their homes as it is in their own interests to do so and they should not be misled by anyone who advises them to the contrary Further resolved that the Council advises the Muslims of Jaipur to organise themselves and appoint a committee of chosen leaders and press for their demands in an organised manner The Council fully sympathises with their deeply wounded feelings with regard to the firing resulting in the loss of life and injury to many innocent people and will do everything to help them in pressing their grievances and demands

Resolution No 11

(1) In view of the revolutionary unrest that is stalking the land as a result of the intensive propaganda launched by the National Congress and its henchmen to establish Hindu hegemony all over India in utter disregard of the just and natural aspirations of Indian Musalmans, this Council trusts, that while giving the fullest protection to the Musalmans of the Deccan who constitute the main strength of Islam in His Exalted Highness's Dominions, H E

Highness s Government will provide for adequate representation of millions of depressed classes in the impending scheme of Constitutional Reforms and take effective steps to emancipate these voiceless millions from the bondage of high caste Hindus who have hitherto monopolised all Administrative and Executive power in the rural areas throughout the Dominion

(2) This Council views with grave alarm the united onslaught of the Arya Samajists, the Hindu Mahasabhaites and their Congress friends on His Exalted Highness s Dominion on the unreal pretext that Hindu religion and Hindu civil liberty are in danger of extinction in those dominions and is firmly of the opinion that the indefensible policy of the Paramount Power in refusing to stop this subversive movement in British India against His Exalted Highness the Nizam, who is their 'Faithful Ally' has already resulted and will go on resulting in inter-communal clash for which the main responsibility lies on their shoulders

In view of the fact that Gandhiji s direct interference in the affairs of the Indian States has for its main object the extinction of the sovereign prerogatives of the Indian rulers and the overlordship of the Congress ridden majority popular front which is overwhelmingly Hindu as evidenced by the Rajkot episode and other activities of the Congress in Indian States, the Council urges upon H E Highness's Government not to recognise outside agencies and further emphatically calls upon the British Government to stop these mischievous and dangerous activities as they are already creating communal tension and hatred and would lead to serious and disastrous consequences

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada), M L A , (U P)
Honorary Secretary All India Muslim League

20

Delhi, [Anglo-Arabic College Hall], Council Meeting, 27-28 August 1939, M A Jinnah presided[1]

Resolution No 1

Resolved that the resolutions of the Working Committee passed at its meeting on the 2nd and 3rd of July 1939 be approved

Resolution No 2

(a) Resolved that persons who have ceased under Section 12 of the Constitution to be members of the Council, be elected to fill up vacancies in the Council from the various Provinces except Baluchistan

The Council recommends to the various Provincial Leagues not to elect any person to the Council of the All India Muslim League who fails to pay his subscription for the year 1938-39 before the next elections to the Council

(b) Further resolved that the following persons be elected as members of the Council from Baluchistan

1 Nawab Mahrab Khan Bugti, Ainuddin Road, Quetta
2 K B Arbab Karam Khan Village Sheikhan Quetta
3 Sardar Ghulam Muhammad Khan Tarin Pishin
4 K B Abdullah Jan Panizai, Bostan
5 K S Haji Abdul Ghaffar Khan Achakzai Gulistan

[1] *Ibid*, pp 17 23

Resolution No 3

Resolved that the Bengal Provincial Muslim League be affiliated

Resolution No 4

Resolved that the Baluchistan Provincial Muslim League be affiliated

Resolution No 5

Resolved that if any Provincial Muslim League fails to send its contribution, as laid down under Section 37 of the Constitution and Rules of the All India Muslim League, by the 31st of October 1939 it shall not be entitled to elect any representatives to the Council of the All India Muslim League for the next year

Resolution No 6

Mr Ashiq Hussain withdrew the following resolutions on the assurance that the allegations contained in them will be placed before the Working Committee by the Honorary Secretary for such action as it may deem proper

Resolution No 1

Whereas the Hon Nawabzada Khurshid Ali Khan, M C S Sir Sher Muhammad Khan M L A and K B Nawab Muzaffar Khan M L A Punjab, are members of the Council of the All India Muslim League as well as of the Organising Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and whereas Mr M A Jinnah President of the All India Muslim League definitely declared that it was not in the interests of the country for any member of the Muslim League to serve on the Army Indianisation Committee this Council strongly condemns the action of the aforesaid three members of the Council of the All India Muslim League in accepting the membership of the Army Indianisation Committee, which action is highly subversive of discipline in the League and resolves that the names of Nawabzada Khurshid Ali Khan Sir Sher Muhammad Khan and K B Muzaffar Khan be removed from the list of the members of the All India Muslim League Council the Organising Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and of any Primary League of which they may be members in the Punjab

Resolution No 2

This Council notes with deep concern that Sir Sikander Hyat Khan who is a member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League in his speech in the Punjab Legislative Assembly on the 24th of April 1939 made a statement in connection with the Indo British Trade Agreement contrary to the declared policy of the All India Muslim League on the subject (as repeatedly enunciated by Mr M A Jinnah) and records that this action of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan is subversive of all discipline in the League and resolves that disciplinary action be taken against him

Resolution No 7

Whereas the Organising Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League which was nominated by the President Mr M A Jinnah, on the 17th of April 1938 in Calcutta to establish and organise Provincial, District and Primary Leagues in the Punjab has (despite reminders from the All India Muslim League)

so far failed in the discharge of its duties, and whereas it is most urgent that a Provincial Muslim League be organised in the Punjab at the earliest possible moment the Council resolves that if the Organising Committee fails to establish a Provincial League by the 15th of November 1939 it shall be deemed to have been dissolved, and that the President be authorised to take such action as he may consider necessary for the purpose of establishing a Provincial Muslim League in the Punjab

Resolution No 8

(a) Resolved that this Council, while deploring the policy of the British Government towards the Muslims of India by attempting to force upon them against their will a constitution and in particular Federal Scheme as embodied in the Government of India Act 1935 which allows a permanent hostile communal majority to trample upon their religious, political, social and economic rights and the utter neglect and indifference shown by the Viceroy and the Governors in the Congress governed provinces in exercising their special powers to protect and secure justice to the minorities and towards the Arabs in Palestine in refusing to meet their demands, holds the view that in these circumstances if the British Government desires to enlist the support and the sympathy of the Muslims of the world and particularly of the Indian Muslims in future contingencies it must meet the demands of the Muslims of India without delay

(b) The Council considers it premature at present to determine the attitude of the Muslims in the event of a World War breaking out

(c) The Council meanwhile directs the Muslim League if necessary to get in touch with Islamic countries and ascertain their views

(d) In case any sudden contingency arises the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League shall have the power to decide this issue

Resolution No 9

Resolved that the opinions and sentiments expressed by the Hon ble Sir Sikander Hyat Khan in his statement to the press on the 25th of August 1939 in no way represent the views of the Musalmans of India

Resolution No 10

The Council of the All India Muslim League views with alarm the unceasing recurrence of communal disturbances throughout India arising out of the question of music before mosque, ending in many cases in disastrous consequences to the Muslim community and urges upon the Government of India to take such steps as may be necessary to arrive at a decision on this question particularly because the communities concerned have been unable to come to a settlement among themselves The Council of the All India Muslim League records its deliberate opinion that in case a solution of this question is not arrived at which can be accepted by the communities as a satisfactory solution, there is a grave menace to public peace and tranquillity which would render ordered Government impossible in India

Resolution No 11

This meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League declares that unless separate electorates are introduced in the election of members to the local bodies, district boards etc , fair Muslim representation is not possible for the reasons already elaborately discussed and pointed out in the fundamental principles laid down by the All India Muslim League and it further resolves that in places where the separate electorate is not in force and is keenly

demanded by Muslims, the local Muslim Leagues be authorised to achieve this civic right

Resolution No 12

The Council of the All India Muslim League views with grave concern the persistent attempts made to overawe the Muslims of Cawnpore and trample upon their civil liberties and elementary rights of citizenship as instanced by recent events culminating in the firing on Muslims on June 19, 1939

The Council condemns the absolutely unwarranted and onesided firing resorted to by the Police on unarmed and unresisting Muslims near the Moulganj mosque in Cawnpore, the Council further strongly protests against the desecration of the Moulganj Mosque and warns the Government against the disastrous consequences of such sacrilegious acts

The Council deeply deplores the callous and provocative tone of the U P Premier's speech made in reply to the adjournment motion on the firing in the U P Legislative Assembly and his refusal to concede the just demand of an impartial and independent inquiry into the firing

The Council further condemns the action of the U P Government in instituting cases under Section 107 C P C against the workers of the Muslim League of Badaun in connection with the happenings on the occasion of last Moharram and in proposing to impose a Punitive Tax of Rs 25 000 on the Musalmans alone The Council expresses its deep sympathy with the Musalmans of Badaun in their sad plight

Resolution No 13

This meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League is of opinion that it is high time to make a general and all round survey of the progress of work done by all the Provincial Muslim Leagues in their respective spheres and with this purpose in view a committee of five members be appointed which will make necessary enquiry into activities of all the Provincial Muslim Leagues and submit its report before the next Annual Session and the committee is also empowered to make suggestions and recommendations for improvement if it thinks it necessary and expedient The following be elected as members of the Committee with power to add one more to their number

1 Maulana Muhammad Akram Khan Saheb Convener
2 The Hon Hossain Imam, M C S
3 Haji Abdul Sathar Haji Essak Sait Saheb, M L A
4 Syed Ali Muhummed H Rashidi Saheb

Resolution No 14

Resolved that Muslim festivals such as *Id, Bakrid, Barawafat* etc , should be celebrated in such a manner as to promote political unity and social solidarity among the Muslims of India, and that these occasions should be utilized for some useful and practical work in support of the Muslim League With this object in view it is further resolved that the 27th of Rajab next (the day of the Prophet s Miraj) should be observed as Palestine day The programme to be observed on this day should include mass meetings and processions and a vigorous effort should be made to collect subscriptions for the Palestine Arabs Relief fund under the control of the Palestine Fund Committee appointed by the Working Committee in July last

Resolution No 15

This Session of the All India Muslim League Council condemns the Government of India Act Amending Bill now before the House of Commons

as being further destruction of provincial autonomy and demands its withdrawal

Resolution No 16

This Council places on record its deep appreciation of the courage and high sense of justice shown by Mr Hofmeyr and Mr Blackwell in refusing to acquiesce in the Union Government s anti-Indian policy by resigning from the United Party and hopes that the Union Government will consider the question of holding a Conference between the Governments of India and South Africa with regard to the removal of disabilities to which Indian settlers are at present subject Further this Council fully sympathises with the Indians in South Africa in their struggle against the imposition of the further disabilities and there is ample justification in the Council's opinion for Indians joining the common non European front the object of which is to fight against racialism and colour bar which are the greatest handicap to advancement by non-Europeans in South Africa who constitute an overwhelming majority of the population of that country

Resolution No 17

This meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League heartily congratulates the Indian Princes in general and His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad in particular on the brave stand they have taken against the introduction of the Federal Scheme in the interest of their Governments, the people of India, and the Musalmans and earnestly appeals to the Indian States to continue to oppose the Federal Scheme and save India from a grave political crisis This Council appeals to His Exalted Highness the Nizam, as Ruler of premier Muslim State to help the Musalmans of India at this critical juncture

Resolution No 18

This meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League strongly condemns the policy of the British Government that in spite of continuous and repeated demands of the Muslim League it has, in consideration of its military requirements, so far deprived the people of Baluchistan of their political rights which have already been granted to the rest of the provinces in British India

The Council further deplores the fact that the people of Baluchistan are also being denied all those facilities for their educational advancement which are enjoyed by the rest of India

This meeting strongly demands that the Province of Baluchistan should be granted Provincial Autonomy and also that a first-rate college be established in the said Province for purposes of educational advancement

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada), M L A, (U P)
Honorary Secretary All India Muslim League

21

Delhi, [office of the Muslim League], Emergency Council Meeting, 9 January 1940, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan presided[1]

Proceedings of the Emergency meeting (under section 35)[2] of the members of the Council present at the headquarters held in the office of the All India Muslim League on the 9th of January 1940 at 5 P M under the Presidentship of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb

Present

1. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb, in chair
2. Syed Abdul Mohi Saheb
3. Din Muhammad Saheb
4. Husain M Malik
5. Syed Saghir Ali Qadri Saheb
6. Abdul Salam Saheb
7. Abdul Wahid Saheb Qureshi
8. Sh Anwarul Haque Saheb
9. Maulana Hasan Reyaz Saheb
10. K B S M Abdullah Saheb
11. Waheeduddin Saheb

Resolution No 1

Resolved that the dates for the 27th Annual Session of the All India Muslim League to be held at Lahore be fixed as the 22nd 23rd and 24th of March 1940

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada), M L A (U P)
Honorary Secretary All India Muslim League

[1]Muslim League Document Vol 284 Council Meetings 1940 p 21

[2]Section 35 read as follows

'The Honorary Secretary in case of emergency and relating to matters not affecting the fundamental principles of the constitution and rules of the All India Muslim League may call a meeting of the members of the Council present at the headquarters, and they will be competent to take such action on behalf of the Council as they deem expedient. The resolutions passed at such a meeting shall subsequently be laid before an ordinary meeting of the Council for confirmation *The Constitution and Rules of the All India Muslim League (as amended up to date)* passed at the Sessions at Lucknow on 18 October 1937 Saxon Presss Fort Bombay, n d , pp 14 15

22

Delhi, [central office of the Muslim League, Daryaganj], Council Meetings, 25 February 1940, M.A. Jinnah presided[1]

Resolution No 1

Resolved that the resolutions of the Working Committee passed on the 18th of September, 22nd of October 1939 and 3rd and 4th of February 1940 be confirmed

Resolution No 2

Resolved that the following resolution passed at an Emergency Meeting of the Council held on the 9th of January 1940 be confirmed

> 'Resolved that the dates for the 27th Annual Session of the All India Muslim League to be held at Lahore be fixed as the 22nd 23rd and 24th of March 1940 '

Resolution No 3

Resolved that Mr M A Jinnah be elected President of the All India Muslim League for the next year

Resolution No 4

Resolved that the Assam Provincial Muslim League be affiliated and the following be elected as members of the Council from Assam

1. Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan M L A Khagmari Fakerganj P O Dist Goalpara
2. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Nuruddin, Nowgong
3. Maulvi Wajid Ali, B L Laktakia Gauhati P O
4. Maulvi Syed Abul Rauf, M L A , Barpeta, P O Dt Kamrup
5. Maulvi Abul Hasnat Ahmad, L L B , M L A Jorhat
6. Maulvi Jahan Uddin Ahmed Dhubri, P O
7. Maulvi Amjad Ali M L A , Goalpara, P O
8. M A Razzaque, 6, Rawdon Street Calcutta
9. Maulvi Badaruddin Ahmed, M L A Mongaldoi P O Dt Darrang
10. Maulvi Badrulhuq Chowdhry, Karimganj P O Dt Sylhet
11. Maulvi Abdul Hamid B L Akhalia Sylhet P O
12. Maulvi Momtaz Ahmad C/o Maulvi Nurul Hossain Khan Pleader Habiganj, P O Dt Sylhet
13. Maulvi Dewan Abdul Basit, Rajnagar, P O Dt Sylhet
14. Maulvi Abdur Rahman Singkapani, Maulvibazar, P O Dt Sylhet
15. Maulvi Munawar Ali, M L A , Shillong
16. Maulvi Makabbir Ali Mazumdar, B L Silchar Dt Cachar
17. Maulvi Maqbul Hossain Chowdry, M L A , Binnakali, Tahirpur, P O Dt Sylhet.
18. Maulvi Syed Badrul Hasan, Kaula, Kulaura, P O Dt Sylhet
19. Maulvi Mayeenuddin, L L B , Maulvibazar, Dt Sylhet
20. Maulvi Ashrafuddin Chowdry M L A , Sylhet, P O
21. Maulvi Sakhawatul Ambia, Jugaveri Office, Sylhet

[1]Liaquat Ali Khan *Resolutions of the All India Muslim League, December 1938 March 1940*, op cit pp 37 41

22 Maulvi Muhammad Abdullah, Baniaching P O Dt Sylhet
23 Maulvi Abdul Hye B L, Habiganj, Dt Sylhet
24 Maulvi Haji Abdul Salam, Sylhet, P O

Resolution No 5

Resolved that the Orissa Provincial Muslim League be affiliated and the following be elected as Members of the Council from Orissa

1 Khan Bahadur Ahmad Bukhsh, M L A Nimusahi Cuttack
2 Maulvi Abdus Sobhan Khan, Advocate, M L A, Cuttack
3 Maulvi Fazle Huq Saheb, M L A Tinnconia Bagioha, Cuttack
4 Maulvi Mirza Taher Baig Saheb, B L, Durgha Bazar Cuttack
5 Maulvi S Abdul Jalil Saheb, Buxi Bazar, Cuttack
6 Maulvi Latifur Raheman, M L A, Puri
7 Maulvi Salahuddin Saheb, Balasore
8 Maulvi Tofail-un Nabi Balasore
9 Maulvi Syed Hilaluddin Saheb, Bhadrak Balasore

Resolution No 6

Resolved that the Sub Committee consisting of Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan Saheb, Raja of Mahmudabad and Choudhry Khaliquzzaman Saheb which was appointed by the Working Committee, on the 4th of February 1940, be given full powers to decide the question of establishment and affiliation of the Provincial Muslim League in the Punjab and announce its decision on or before the 15th of March 1940

Resolution No 7

Resolved that the casual vacancies in the Council from the Provinces of Baluchistan and Bihar be filled up by the following persons

Baluchistan 1 K S Yar Muhammad Khan Saheb
2 Haji Jan Muhammad Khan Saheb

Bihar 1 Syed Jafar Imam Saheb M L A

Resolution No 8

Resolved that the existing members of the Council of the All India Muslim League from Ajmer and the Punjab be re elected as Members of the Council for the next year

Resolution No 9

In view of the fact that the Muslims of India as well as some other classes of people living in the country have clearly demonstrated by their observance of the Day of Deliverance on December 22 1939 that the scheme of Provincial autonomy as worked in the Congress governed provinces was a complete failure and detrimental to the interests of the Muslims and the country as a whole, the Council of the All India Muslim League expresses its dissatisfaction with the speech of H E Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy of India, delivered on January 10, 1940, at the Orient Club, Bombay, wherein he speaks of the success of the scheme of provincial autonomy in the Bombay Presidency

This Meeting of the Council of the League further places on record its sense of bitter resentment at the statement of the Under Secretary of State for India, wherein he gave the reasons of His Majesty's Government for not accepting the proposal for a Royal Commission of Inquiry put forward by the President of the League to inquire into complaints of oppression in Congress-governed provinces and deeply deplores the colossal ignorance of conditions prevailing in India on the part of the Under Secretary of State

Resolution No 10

The Council of the All India Muslim League views with grave alarm the recent decision of the British Government which creates the impression that it is intended to annex Waziristan the homeland of the independent Pathan tribes, with whom a war on a miniature scale is being at present waged on what is known as the Ahmedzai salient across the Kohat-Bannu line While the Council condemns the action of the Border tribes in carrying raids into British area it has no hesitation in once more declaring that these raids are inspired by the fear that the British Government is bent upon depriving the Border tribes of their freedom which they love more than their lives In view of the international situation in Europe and the danger of war spreading to Near and Middle East the Council calls upon the British Government to reconsider its Forward policy and take immediate steps to pacify the Border tribes and assure them that the British Government is not inimical to Islam and is anxious to restore peace and order on its borders by friendly co-operation with the Border tribes

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada), M L A , (U P)
Honorary Secretary All India Muslim League

23

Lahore, [*pandal* of the Muslim League] Council Meeting, 21 March 1940, M A Jinnah presided[1]

Resolution No 1

Resolved that the following persons be elected to fill up vacancies in the Council from the various provinces

U P	Begum Saheba Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan, Meerut
Punjab	Dr Muhammad Alam Mian Ferozuddin Saheb
N -W F P	Mr Sajjad Ahmad
Bihar	Begum H Khan
Orissa	Syed Ghulam Rab Saheb Mulla Muhammad Abrarul Haque Saheb Sheikh Hafizullah Saheb
Assam	Mr Mujiburrahman
Ajmer	Syed Israr Ahmad Saheb

Resolution No 2

Resolved that the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League be authorised to appoint a Propaganda and Publicity Committee

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada), M L A , (U P)
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League

[1]*Ibid* p 43

Muslim League Resolutions, Executive Committee (Working Committee) Meetings, 1938-40

1

Bombay, (Jinnah's residence, Little Gibbs Road), Working Committee Meeting, 4-5 June 1938, M A. Jinnah presided[1]

The following all members of the Committee were present except Sir Syed Saddulla, Premier of Assam

1 M A Jinnah Esq, the President of the All India Muslim League
2 Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb, Honorary Secretary All India Muslim League
3 Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon, Karachi
4 Maulana Shaukat Ali Saheb U P
5 Shaikh Abdul Majid Saheb Sindhi, Karachi
6 Syed Abdul Rauf Shah Saheb C P
7 Malik Barkat Ali Saheb, Punjab
8 Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim Bart, Bombay
9 Sirdar Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan Saheb N W F P
10 K B Saadullah Khan Saheb N-W F P
11 The Hon Sir Sikander Hyat Khan Premier of the Punjab
12 Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan Saheb U P
13 Raja Amir Ahmad Khan Saheb, U P
14 Choudhry Khaliquzzaman Saheb U P
15 Haji Abdul Sathar Haji Essak Sait, Madras
16 The Hon Abdul Matin Choudhri Assam
17 Sir A M K Dehlvi Bombay
18 The Hon Maulvi A K Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal
19 Abdur Rahman Saheb Siddiqi, Bengal
20 The Hon Sir Nazimuddin Bengal
21 Syed Abdul Aziz Saheb, Bihar
22 Mohammad Ashique Warsi Saheb Bihar

Resolution No 1

The Executive Council of the Muslim League resolves that the following note be sent to Mr Subhas Bose President of the Congress in reply to his letter dated the 15th of May 1938 with a covering letter by the President

Copy of the letter of Mr M A Jinnah, the President of the All India Muslim League, addressed to Mr S Bose, the President of the All India Congress Committee

Bombay, 5th June 1938

Dear Mr Bose,

I am enclosing herewith the unanimous opinion of the Executive Council of the All India Muslim League as promised by me in my letter dated the 16th

[1]Liaquat Ali Khan *Resolutions of the All India Muslim League* October 1937 December 1938 op cit pp 27 32

of May with reference to the note given to me by you on behalf of the Congress and your letter of the 15th of May 1938

Yours sincerely,
M A Jinnah

Resolution No 1

The Executive Council of the All India Muslim League has considered the note handed over by the President, Mr S Bose, on behalf of the Congress to Mr Jinnah, the President of the All India Muslim League, on the 14th May and his letter of the 15th May 1938 and find that it is not possible for the All India Muslim League to treat or negotiate with the Congress the question of Hindu-Muslim settlement except on the basis that the Muslim League is the authoritative and representative organisation of the Musalmans of India

Resolution No 2

The Council have also considered the letter of Mr Gandhi dated the 22nd May 1938 and are of opinion that it is not desirable to include any Muslim in the personnel of the proposed Committee that may be appointed by the Congress

Resolution No 3

The Executive Council wish to make it clear that it is the declared policy of the All India Muslim League that all other minorities should have their rights and interests safeguarded so as to create a sense of security amongst them and win their confidence and the All India Muslim League will consult the representatives of such minorities and any other interests as may be involved, when necessary

Copy of letter from Mr Bose to Mr Jinnah dated Bombay May 15th 1938

Dear Mr Jinnah

Last night I gave you a note explaining our position You asked me what constructive proposals we had to make I think the note is self explanatory Having made known the Congress reaction to your suggestion according to us, it remains now to proceed to the next stage namely appointment of respective committees which will jointly settle the terms of understanding

Yours sincerely,
Subhas C Bose

Copy of the note handed over by Mr Bose to Mr Jinnah

In the course of the talks between the Congress President and Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, Mr Jinnah suggested that any agreement that might be arrived at should be based on a clear understanding of the position of the Congress and that of the Muslim League He proposed that the conversations should proceed on the following basis

"The All India Muslim League as the authoritative and representative organisation of the Indian Muslims and the Congress as the authoritative and representative organisation of the solid body of Hindu opinion, have hereby agreed to the following terms by way of a pact between the two major communities and as a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question"

After further consideration a somewhat different wording was suggested by him as follows

'The Congress and the All India Muslim League as the authoritative and representative organisations of the Musalmans of India have hereby agreed to the following terms of a Hindu Muslim settlement by way of a pact '

The second statement, though shorter, apparently embodies the same idea which is given in the first, that is, that the Congress should represent the Hindus and the Muslim League the Musalmans

The Congress cannot possibly consider itself or function as if it represented one community only, even though that might be the majority community in India Its doors must inevitably be open to all communities and it must welcome all Indians who agree with its general policy and methods It cannot accept the position of representing one community and thus itself becoming a communal organisation At the same time the Congress is perfectly willing to confer and cooperate with other organisations which represent minority interests

It is obvious that the Musalmans of India, though a minority in the whole country, form a very considerable part of the population and their wishes and desires must be considered in any scheme affecting India It is also true that the All India Muslim League is an organisation representing a large body of Muslim opinion which must carry weight It is for this reason that the Congress has endeavoured to understand the viewpoint of the League and to come to an understanding with it The congress, however, would be bound to consult other existing Muslim organisations which have cooperated with the Congress in the past Further in the event of other group or minority interests being involved it will be necessary to consult representatives of such interests

Copy of letter from Mr Jinnah to Mr Bose

Dated Bombay, 16th May 1938

Dear Mr Bose

I acknowledge the receipt of a note you handed over to me on behalf of the Congress on the 14th and also I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 15th of May 1938 The matter will be placed before the Executive Council and the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League at a meeting to be called in the first week of June and I will communicate to you the decision as soon as possible

Yours sincerely
M A Jinnah

Resolution No 2

Resolved that Sir A M K Dehlavi requested to go to Sind to study the situation there and to report to the President

Resolution No 3

Resolved that Maulana Shaukat Ali Saheb be requested to go to the N W F P within one week with such co workers as he may select

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada) M L A (U P)
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League

2

New Delhi, [Gul-e-Raana], Working Committee Meeting, 30-31 July 1938, M A. Jinnah presided[1]

Resolution No 1

Resolved that following letter on behalf of the Executive Council be sent to Mr Bose, President of the Congress in reply to his letter dated Wardha 25th July 1938 addressed to Mr M A Jinnah the President of the All India Muslim League

Copy of the letter of Mr M A Jinnah, the President of the All India Muslim League, addressed to Mr S Bose, the President of the Congress

2nd August 1938

Dear Mr Bose

I placed your letter dated the 25th of July 1938 before the meeting of the Executive Council of the All India Muslim League

The Executive Council gave its earnest attention and careful consideration to the arguments which were urged in your letter for persuading it not to claim the status it has done in its resolution No 1 already communicated to you I am desired to state that in defining the status the Council was not actuated by any motive of securing an admission but had merely stated an accepted fact

The Council is fully convinced that the Muslim League is the only authoritative and representative political organisation of the Musalmans of India This position was accepted when the Congress League Pact was arrived at in 1916 at Lucknow and ever since till 1935 when Jinnah Rajendra Prasad conversation took place, it has not been questioned The All India Muslim League therefore, does not require any admission or resolution of the Executive Council passed at Bombay But in view of the fact that the position—in fact the very existence—of the League had been questioned by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the President of the Congress, in one of his statements wherein he asserted that there were only two parties in the country, *viz* the British Government and the Congress it was considered necessary by the Executive Council to inform the Congress of the basis on which the negotiations between the two organisations could proceed

Besides, the very fact that Congress approached the Muslim League to enter into negotiations for a settlement of the Hindu Muslim question, it presupposed the authoritative and representative character of the League and as such its right to come to an agreement on behalf of the Musalmans of India

The Council are aware of the fact that there is a Congress coalition government in N -W F P and also that there are some Muslims in the Congress organisation in other provinces But the Council is of opinion that these Muslims in the Congress do not and cannot represent the Musalmans of India, for the simple reason that their number is very insignificant and that as members of the Congress they have disabled themselves from representing or speaking on behalf of the Muslim community Were it not so, the whole claim of the Congress alleged in your letter regarding its national character would fall to the ground

[1]*Ibid* pp 37 44

As regards 'the other Muslim organisations' to which reference has been made in your letter, but whom you have not even named, the Council considers that it would have been more proper if no reference had been made to them If they collectively or individually had been in a position to speak on behalf of the Musalmans of India the negotiations with the Muslim League for a settlement of the Hindu Muslim question would not have been initiated by the Presidents of the Congress and Mr Gandhi However, so far as the Muslim League is concerned it is not aware that any Muslim political organisation has ever made a claim that it can speak or negotiate on behalf of the Muslims of India It is therefore very much to be regretted that you should have referred to 'other Muslim organisations in this connection

The Council is equally anxious to bring about a settlement of the much vexed Hindu Muslim question' and thus hasten the realization of the common goal but it is painful to find that subtle arguments are being introduced to cloud the issue and retard the progress of the negotiations

In view of the facts stated above the Council still hopes that the representative character of the Muslim League will not be questioned and that the Congress will proceed to appoint a Committee on that basis

With reference to the second resolution, the Council wishes to point out that it considered undesirable the inclusion of Musalmans in the Committee that might be appointed by the Congress because it would meet to solve and settle the Hindu Muslim question and so in the very nature of the issues involved they would not command the confidence of either Hindus or the Muslamans and their position indeed would be most embarrassing The Council therefore request you to consider the question in the light of the above observations

With reference to the third resolution, it was the memorandum of the Congress referred to in your letter dated the 15th of May 1938 in which mention of other minorities was made and the Muslim League expressed its willingness to consult them if and when it was necessary in consonance with its declared policy

As regards your desire for the release of the correspondence including this letter, for publication the Council has no objection to your doing so

Yours sincerely,
M A Jinnah

Copy of the Letter of Mr Subhas Chandra Bose, President, All India Congress Committee, addressed to Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League

Wardha, 25th July 1938

Dear Mr Jinnah,

The Working Committee has given all the attention it was possible for it to give to the resolutions of the Muslim League you were good enough to enclose with your letter of the 6th June 1938 The first resolution of the League Council defines the status of the League If it means that, before we proceed to set up a machinery for considering the terms of settlement of the communal question, the Congress should recognise the status as defined in that resolution there is an obvious difficulty Though the resolution does not use the adjective only , the language of the resolution means that the adjective is understood Already the Working Committee has received warnings against recognising the exclusive status of the League There are Muslim organisations which have been functioning independently of the Muslim League Some of them are staunch supporters of the Congress Moreover,

there are individual Muslims who are Congress men, some of whom exercise no inconsiderable influence in the country Then there is the Frontier Province which is overwhelmingly Muslim and which is solidly with the Congress You will see that in the face of these known facts, it is not only impossible but improper for the Congress to make the admission which the first resolution of the League Council apparently desires the Congress to make It is suggested that the status of organisations does not accrue to them by any defining of it It comes through the service to which a particular organisation has dedicated itself The Working Committee therefore hopes that the League Council will not ask the Congress to do the impossible Is it not enough that the Congress is not only willing but eager to establish the friendliest relations with the League and to come to an honourable understanding over the much vexed Hindu Muslim question?

At this stage it may perhaps be as well to state the Congress claim Though it is admitted that the largest number of persons to be found on the numerous Congress registers are Hindus Congress has a fairly large number of Muslims and members of other communities professing different faiths It has been an unbroken tradition with the Congress to represent all communities, all races, and classes to whom India is their home From its inception it has often had distinguished Muslims as Presidents and as General Secretaries who enjoyed the confidence of the Congress and of the country The Congress tradition is that though a Congress man does not cease to belong to the Faith in which he is born and bred up, no one comes to the Congress by virtue of his faith, he is in and of the Congress by virtue of his endorsement of the political principles and policy of the Congress The Congress therefore is in no sense a communal organisation In fact it has always fought the communal spirit because it is detrimental to the growth of pure and undefiled nationalism But whilst the Congress makes this claim and has sought with more or less succeess, to live up to the claim, the Working Committee asks for no recognition from the League Council The Committee would be glad if your Council would come to an understanding with the Congress in order that we might achieve national solidarity and wholeheartedly work for realising our common destiny

As to the second resolution of the Council I am afraid that it is not possible for the Working Committee to conform to the desire expressed therein

The third resolution, the Working Committee is unable to understand So far as the Working Committee is aware, the Muslim League is purely a communal organisation in the sense that it seeks to serve Muslim interests and its membership too is open only to Muslims The Working Committee also has all along understood that so far as the League is concerned it desires and rightly a settlement with the Congress on the Hindu Muslim question and not on questions affecting all minorities So far as the Congress is concerned, if the other minorities have a grievance against the Congress it is always ready to deal with them as it is its bounden duty to do, being by its very constitution an organisation representative of all India without distinction of caste or creed

In views of the foregoing I hope that it will be possible for us to take up the next stage in our negotiations for reaching settlement

It is suggested that as the previous correspondence has already been published, it would be wise to take the public into confidence and publish the subsequent correspondence between us If you are agreeable these documents will be immediately released for publication

Yours sincerely,
Subhas Bose

Resolution No 2

Resolved that in pursuance of the resolution passed by the Council of the All India Muslim League on the 30th and 31st of July 1938, the following be appointed as members of the Propaganda and Publicity Committee

1 Maulana Shaukat Ali Saheb

2 Col A Rahman, M L A (Central)

3 The Honorary Secretary of the All India Muslim League, Convener of the Committee

Resolution No 3

Resolved that in pursuance of the resolution passed by the Council of the All India Muslim League on the 30th and 31st of July 1938 the following be appointed as members of the Fund Committee

1 Raja Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan Saheb Convener of the Committee 2 Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim Bart, 3 Nawab Shah Nawaz, Nawab of Mamdot 4 Nawab Ismail Khan Saheb 5 Raja Saheb Pirpur, 6 Khan Saadullah Khan Saheb 7 Jamal Muhammad Saheb 8 Maulana Shaukat Ali Saheb 9 Nawab of Dacca 10 Ahmad Ispahani Saheb 11 Nawab Musharraf Hosain Saheb 12 K B S M Abdullah Saheb, 13 Sardar Muhammad Nawaz Khan Saheb 14 The Hon H Shaheed Suhrawardy 15 Sir Abdoola Haroon, 16 S A Aziz Saheb 17 Mr Ashiq Warsi 18 Raza Iman Saheb, 19 Lady Imam, 20 Syed Abdul Rauf Saheb 21 Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan Saheb, 22 Abu Baker Beg Muhammad Saheb 23 Sir Rahimtoola Chinoy 24 Sardar Aurangzeb Khan Saheb with power to coopt

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada) M L A , (U P)
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League

3

Karachi [Sir Abdoola Haroon's residence], Working Committee Meeting, 8-10 October 1938, M A Jinnah presided[1]

Resolution No 1

Resolved that Raja Saheb Mahmudabad and Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim be appointed as Treasurers of the Fund Committee and hold in Trust the Funds that may be collected by the Committee until further instructions

Resolution No 2

Resolved that Report of the Palestine Committee be placed before the Council of the All India Muslim League

Resolution No 3

The Executive Council considered the letter of the Congress President and authorised the President Mr M A Jinnah to send the following reply

[1] *Ibid* pp 45 49

Copy of the letter of Mr M A Jinnah, the President of the All India Musiim League, addressed to Mr Bose, the President of the Congress

Little Gibbs Road,
Bombay,
10th October 1938

Dear Mr Bose,

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 2nd of October which was placed before the Executive Council I am authorised to state in reply as follows

The Executive Council of the All India Muslim League regret very much that the Working Committee of the Congress should have entirely misread my letter dated the 2nd of August 1938 which is quite clear and does not require any elucidation or further interpretation The Muslim League are still ready to proceed with the negotiations for settlement of the Hindu Muslim question on the basis defined by my letter referred to above and would appoint its representatives to meet the Committee that may be appointed by the Congress on the footing indicated by us in our three resolutions of the 5th of June 1938 already communicated to you

As all the correspondence so far in this connection has been published I am issuing this to the Press

Yours sincerely
M A Jinnah

Copy of the Letter of Mr Subhas Chandra Bose, the President of the Congress, addressed to Mr M A Jinnah, the President of the All India Muslim League

Calcutta 2nd October 1938

Dear Mr Jinnah,

Your letter of the 2nd August, 1938 has been placed before the Working Committee After due deliberation it has resolved to reply as follows

'Though there are inaccuracies in your letter no purpose will be served by dwelling on them The substance of your letter seems to be that the League does not expect the Congress whether implicitly or explicitly, to acknowledge its status as the authoritative Muslim organisation of India If this view is accepted by the League, I am authorised to state that the Working Committee will confer with the Committee that may be appointed by the League to draw up the terms of settlement '

'The Working Committee will be represented by at least five of its members at the sitting of the Conference '

As the previous correspondence has already been released for publication, I am taking the liberty of issuing this to the Press '

Yours sincerely,
S Bose

The Executive Council considered the situation in Assam and resolved the following

Resoution No 4

Having considered the recent situation created in Assam, the Executive Council of the All India Muslim League urges upon the Governor to exercise his powers

and summon the Legislative Assembly immediately as the Assembly was adjourned *sine die* by the Speaker at the instance of the Leader of the Congress Party who now occupies the position of Chief Minister, with an ulterior motive, and as it is against all the canons and principles of constitutional Government that a minority Government should be kept in office in the manner in which it is sought to be done

The Executive Council is of opinion that the Speaker has failed in his duty in adopting the course he has done by adjourning the Assembly, as it seems to the Council it can only be intended to help the Congress Party to continue in office as long as possible, though in a minority and condemns Mr Bardoloi and the Congress Party for adopting such tactics on threshold of accepting office and shirking the no confidence motion when 56 members, constituting the majority of the Assembly have tabled a no confidence motion

The Executive Council of the All India Muslim League appeals to the Musalmans of Assam and every member of the Assembly to stand solid and united to defeat machination of the Congress Party who have no right, constitutional or moral, to continue in office when they know that they have not the support and confidence of the majority in the Legislature The Executive Council fervently hopes and expects every Muslim member in the Legislature to stand loyally by Sir S iddulla, the Leader of the Muslim League Party and support the Coalition United Assam Party

Resolution No 5

Resolved that the report of the Committee regarding the National Guard be placed before the Council at its next meeting

Resolution No 6

The Executive Council considered the complaints against the Delhi Provincial Muslim League and the reply of the President of the Provincial League It authorises the Honorary Secretary to deal with the matter

Resolution No 7

Resolved that the matter of Disciplinary Action against K B Haji Rashid Ahmad be put up at the next meeting of the Executive Council and in the meantime Haji Saheb be informed that if he has any explanation to offer he should do so without delay

Resolution No 8

Resolved that Prof Mirza Muhammad Said be appointed as a member of the Propaganda Committee

Resolution No 9

The Executive Council considered the situation in C P and resolved as follows

The Executive Council of the All India Muslim League places on record its appreciation of the brave fight that the Muslim League Party in the C P and Berar Assembly the Nagpur Jubbulpore and other Muslim League and several Muslim institutions in the province have been putting up against the *Vidya Mandir* Scheme and other meassures of the Congress government that are highly detrimental to the interests of the Muslims and calls upon all the Muslims in the Province to unite under the banner of the Muslim League for the solution of their religious linguistic, cultural and political rights and is of opinion that they should not resort to any direct action or unlawful activity without the sanction of the Executive Council of the All India Muslim League

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada) M L A, (U P)
Honorary Secretary All India Muslim League

4

New Delhi, [Gul-i-Raana, 8B, Hardinge Avenue], Working Committee Meeting, 5 December 1938, M. A. Jinnah presided[1]

Resolution No 1

The Executive Council considered the serious situation that has arisen in the Central Provinces and Berar with regard to the introduction of the *Vidya Mandir* Scheme and its repercussions all over India and also considered the request of the C P Provincial Muslim League to launch Civil disobedience as the Musalmans of the Province have exhausted all constitutional methods to secure redress of their grievances The Executive Council resovled that Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, M L A, Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League, be deputed to go to the Central Provinces and examine the situation and submit his report before the Annual Session of the All India Muslim League at Patna

Resolution No 2

While the All India Muslim League fully sympathises with the aspirations of State subjects for their constitutional advance, it deprecates the changed attitude on the part of the Congress whose main objective in championing the cause of the States people is only to secure the establishment in the Indian States of an elective system enabling their representatives to be returned to the Federal Legislature irrespective of anything else, in the hope that it might get a majority in the Federal Legislature The Council therefore views with grave apprehension the recent pronouncement of Mr Gandhi which threatens the extinction of the ruling princes and the British Government with disastrous consequences if they did not meet the demand of the Congress

The Muslim League is already opposed to the Federal scheme embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935 for reasons it has repeatedly made clear, and it warns the British Government that, if the methods of coercion and intimidation resulted in the British Government yielding to the Congress, the Musalmans will not hesitate to resort to the most extreme measures in their opposition to such a position where their most vital interests would stand to be sacrificed

Resolution No 3

Resolved that a committee of the following gentlemen Sir Abdoola Haroon, the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad and Nawab Ismail Khan Saheb be appointed to select and adopt a candidate on behalf of the Muslim League who they may think suitable for the vacancy created in the Central Legislative Assembly by the death of Maulana Shaukat Ali Saheb

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada), M L A, (U P)
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League

[1] *Ibid* pp 59 60

5

Patna, Working Committee Meeting, 27 December 1938, M.A. Jinnah presided[1]

1 The Honorary Secretary explained the position regarding his visit to Nagpur in connection with the *Vidya Mandir* Scheme which was noted

The Committee resolved that the Honorary Secretary be authorised to attend the proposed meeting between the Premier and the Muslim M L As of C P as desired by the C P Premier

2 Mr S A Aziz and Mr Muhammad Ashique Warsi members from Bihar, brought the matter of the cow sacrifice and slaughter of kine to the notice of the Committee and explained their grievances against the unsatisfactory manner in which the local Government was dealing with it The Committee was of opinion that the Bihar Provincial Muslim League should pursue all constitutional channels available to them and report the result to the Committee

3 Malik Barkat Ali had given notice of the following resolution which he however did not move

'That the organising Committee appointed at Calcutta to set up and establish the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and its branches under the new constitution be dissolved and a new organising Committee consisting of the following gentlemen be set up for the same purpose '

(Names to be communicated later)

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada) M L A (U P)
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League

6

Meerut, [Mustafa Castle], Working Committee Meeting, 26 March 1939, M A Jinnah presided[2]

Resolution No 1

The Honorary Secretary made his report regarding his visit to Nagpur in connection with the *Vidya Mandir* Scheme which was recorded As a result of the settlement between the Government of C P and the Muslim League regarding the proposed *Vidya Mandir* Scheme the Working Committee note with satisfaction that C P Muslims are taking practical steps to advance Muslim education and it appeals to every Musalman to assist the association which is being formed for the purpose

[1] *Ibid* pp 63 4

[2] Liaquat Ali Khan *Resolutions of the All India Muslim League December 1938—March 1940* op cit pp 1 3

Resolution No 2

Resolved that the matter of Palestine should stand over till the British proposals are known

Resolution No 3

In view of the set policy of the Congress and other Hindu organisations to achieve Hindu supremacy and their persistence in resorting to coercive and subversive methods in the Indian States the Muslim League is gravely concerned with regard to the fate of the Musalmans in various States and therefore earnestly advises them to effectively organise themselves forthwith in order to protect their liberties, rights and interests and assures them of its fullest support and assistance in their struggle

Resolution No 4

Whereas the All India Muslim League is opposed to the Scheme of Federation embodied in the Government of India Act 1935 and whereas the working of the provincial part of the Constitution has created grave apprehensions amongst Muslims and other minorities regarding their future because the Provincial scheme has utterly failed to safeguard even the elementary rights of the Muslim minorities in various provinces and whereas by a resolution passed at the Patna Session in December 1938 the President of the All India Muslim League was authorised to adopt such course as may be necessary with a view to explore the possibility of a suitable alternative which will safeguard the interests of the Musalmans and other minorities the President with the concurrence of the Working Committee hereby appoints a committee of the following gentlemen to examine various schemes already propounded by those who are fully versed in the constitutional developments of India and other countries and those that may be submitted hereafter to the President and report to the Working Committee their conclusions at an early date

1 M A Jinnah (President)
2 The Hon Sir Sikander Hyat Khan
3 Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan Saheb
4 Syed Abdul Aziz Saheb
5 Sir Abdoola Haroon
6 The Hon Sir Kh Nazimuddin
7 Abdul Matin Choudhri Saheb
8 Sardar Aurangzeb Khan Saheb
9 Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb (Convener)

Resolution No 5

Regarding the question of the Madras Presidency Muslim League, it was decided to await the reply to the letter sent by the Honorary Secretary to K T M Ahmed Ibrahim Saheb on 11th of March 1939 In the meantime Haji Abdul Sathar Haji Essak Sait was requested in collaboration with other leaders to do what he can for the establishment of the Presidency Muslim League in Madras

With regard to the Provincial Muslim League in Orissa, Syed Abdul Aziz Saheb was requested to get in touch with the leaders in Orissa and see what could be done

Resolution No 6

(a) Resolved that the Imperial Bank of India, be and are hereby appointed Bankers to the All India Muslim League

(b) That all cheques on the Banking account be signed and all bills, notes, and other negotiable instruments be drawn, accepted and made on behalf of the All India Muslim League by Raja Muhammad Amir Ahmad Khan Saheb, the Honorary Treasurer

(c) That cheques, bills, notes and other negotiable instruments payable to the All India Muslim League may be endorsed for the All India Muslim League by the Secretary

(d) That a copy of these resolutions, signed by the chairman, be handed to the Bank together with specimens of the necessary signatures

Resolution No 7

The Budget for the year 1939 was passed

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada), M L A, (U P)
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League

7

Bombay, [Jinnah's residence, Little Gibbs Road], Working Committee Meeting, 2-3 July 1939, M.A Jinnah presided[1]

Resolution No 1

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League considered the correspondence that has passed between Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Syed Abdur Rauf Shah Saheb regarding the appointment of a Muslim Minister in C P The committee was of opinion that no individual Province should negotiate or come to any settlement with the Congress with regard to the Hindu Muslim question in their provinces and if any such proposals are received from the Congress intimation should be sent to the effect that the matter should be referred by the Congress to the President or the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League

Resolution No 2

Resolved that the next Annual Session of the All India Muslim League be held at Lahore on the 28th 29th and 30th December, 1939

Resolution No 3

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League expresses its full sympathy with Indian nationals in South Africa in their struggle against the obnoxious and unjust segregation measure and extends to them all possible help

[1]*Ibid*, pp 11 16

Resolution No 4

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League strongly urges upon the Government of India to take prompt steps for the protection of the rights of Indians in Ceylon

Resolution No 5

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League urges upon the Government of India to take immediate action to secure justice and fair treatment to the Indian nationals in Belgian Congo

Resolution No 6

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League having examined the White Paper on Palestine and having heard the Muslim League delegates, are of opinion that the proposals embodied in the White Paper are most unsatisfactory and disappointing and are totally unacceptable

The Committee urges upon the British Government to meet the Arab demands and redeem the solemn pledges made to the Arabs and the Musalmans of India who stood by them solidly in the Great War

Resolution No 7

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League hereby resolves that a Palestine Fund be opened forthwith for the relief of the dependents of those who lost their lives or suffered in the struggle for independence and for the protection of the First Qibla of Musalmans The following Committee with powers to co opt, is appointed to devise ways and means of collecting money for the Palestine Fund and remitting the same to Palestine through the President of the All India Muslim League

1. Sir Abdoola Haroon
2. Abdur Rahman Siddiqui
3. Haji Abdul Sathar Haji Essak Sait
4. Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim
5. Choudhry Khaliquzzaman (Convener)

Resolution No 8

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League appreciates the services rendered by Messrs Abdur Rahman Siddiqui and Choudhry Khaliquzzaman who went to Cairo London and Near East in connection with the Palestine Question

Resolution No 9

Resolved that the Madras Provincial Muslim League be affiliated to the All India Muslim League

Resolution No 10

The consideration of the report of the Economic Programme Committee was postponed

Resolution No 11

The question of Muslim National Guard could not be considered as the report of the Committee appointed by the Council in this connection was not received It was decided that the Committee be requested to submit their report, the latest by the end of September 1939

Resolution No 12

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League considered the explanation of Sir Abdul Halim Ghaznavi regarding his resignation from the Muslim League Party in the Central Assembly The Working Committee declined to consider the acceptance of his resignation from the Council of the All India Muslim League as it was sent by Sir A H Ghaznavi after the receipt of the notice by the Honorary Secretary calling for an explanation as to why disciplinary action should not be taken against him regarding his conduct in resigning from the Muslim League Party in the Central Assembly and defying the resolutions of the Council of the All India Muslim League The Committee resolved after giving full consideration to all papers, documents and evidence that the name of Sir A H Gaznavi be removed from the Council of the All India Muslim League and further, that he should be disqualified for the membership of the League organisation for the next four years from 3rd July 1939

Resolution No 13

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League has received reports and representations of maltreatment and injustice being done to the Musalmans in the various Indian States namely Jaipur, Jodhpur Bhavanagar Cutch and Patiala The Committee most earnestly urges upon the rulers of the States concerned to redress the grievances and protect the lives honour properties and liberties of their Muslim subjects thereby creating a sense of security amongst them and preventing the situation from taking a serious turn

Resolution No 14

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League has every sympathy with the Muslim Muhajirin from Jaipur who have been undergoing great hardship and suffering since they left their homes The Committee urges upon the Jaipur Darbar to meet the just demands of the Jaipur Muslims without further delay so that the situation that has been created may not worsen and at the same time advises the Muslims of Jaipur to suspend civil disobedience and organise themselves effectively as their salvation lies in their own inherent strength

Resolution No 15

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League views with grave concern the situation that is being created by the mischievous activities and propaganda of the Arya Samajists and Hindu Mahasabhaists all over India in organising and despatching *jathas* [organized gangs] to Hyderabad, with the ostensible object of vindicating their religious rights in order to coerce the State Administration The Working Committee warns the Arya Samaj and the Mahasabha organisations that the offensive bearing of these *jathas* and shouting of provocative slogans has created intense bitterness among the Muslims and unless these provocative *jathas* are stopped forthwith, there is a grave danger of sporadic clashes developing into widespread intercommunal strife throughout the country The Working Committee urges upon the provincial Governments and the Paramount Power to take immediate and adequate action in order to stop this michief which seriously threatens the peace and tranquillity of the country

Resolution No 16

Apart from its origin conception and communal aspect, there are fundamental objections to the Wardha Scheme of Basic Education, and the Working Committee disapproves the Wardha Scheme and the textbooks which have been prepared in this connection on the following grounds, among others

1 The Scheme is calculated to destroy Muslim culture gradually but surely and to secure the domination of Hindu culture

2 It imposes the Congress ideology and aims at inculcating, among others, the doctrine of *ahimsa*

3 Its objective is to infuse the political creed, policy and programme of one party, namely the Congress, into the minds of the children

4 It has neglected the question of providing facilities for religious instruction

5 Under the guise of name Hindustani the scheme is meant to spread what is highly Sanskritised Hindi and to suppress Urdu which is really the lingua franca of India at present

6 The textbooks prescribed and provisionally sanctionedby some Provincial Governments, are highly objectionable from the Muslim point of view in that they are not only offensive to the feelings and sentiments of the Muslims, but they are mainly devoted to the praises of Hindu religion, philosophy and heroes, and minimise the Islamic contribution to the world and India in particular ignore Muslim culture history and heroes and speak of them with scant courtesy

Resolution No 17

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League considered the request of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League to launch civil disobedience against the Wardha Scheme of Basic Education The Committee decided that, in the first instance, the Bihar Provincial Muslim League should send a memorial representing their complete case against the Wardha Scheme to the Governor General, the Governor and the Prime Minister of Bihar, and report to the Working Committee the result of these representations The Working Committee in this connection advises all other Provincial Leagues also to do likewise

Resolution No 18

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League views with grave apprehension the resolutions, as reported in the Press, passed at the recent Home Ministers Conference held at Simla particularly the resolution number one, which runs as follows 'It is recommended to all Provincial Governments that they should undertake a concerted campaign against propaganda of a communal nature and against incitement to violence of any kind whatever,' as it is likely that in the absence of any authoritative explanation as to what is meant by the phrase 'propaganda of a communal nature,' the Congress Ministries, which are opposed to the Muslim League movement, will abuse the opportunity that is afforded to them by victimising the Muslim League organisation, the Muslim Press and stifling the Muslim public opinion on any and every pretext The Working Committee while requesting the Home Department, Government of India to issue a public statement explaining what the Home Ministers conference meant by the phrase, 'propaganda of a communal nature', warns Congress Ministries of grave consequences which will follow any move on their part that is likely to misuse or abuse the decisions of the Home Ministers conference in order to muzzle the legitimate public opinion in their provinces

Resolution No 19

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League considered the position of Muslims in Congress governed Provinces and, as full representations have already been made to the Governor General recently, the Committee decided to postpone this matter till next October Before taking any definite step it was decided to await the action of the Governor-General The Committee

hopes that the Governor-General would consider the representations that have been made to him and will not fail to discharge his obligations, as required by the Statute, in safeguarding the rights and interests of Muslims

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada), M L A (U P)
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League

8

New Delhi, [Gul-i-Raana, Hardinge Avenue], Working Committee (Emergency) Meeting, 17-18 September 1939, M.A. Jinnah presided[1]

1 The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League appreciate the course adopted by H E the Viceroy in inviting Mr M A Jinnah President of the All India Muslim League and apprising him regarding the international situation resulting in war and his own views, to be conveyed to the Muslim League The Working Committee have given their most earnest consideration to H E the Viceroy's views conveyed to them by the President and also to the pronouncement made by the Viceroy since the declaration of war by Great Britain as also His Excellency s address to the Members of the Central Legislature on the 11th of September 1939[2]

2 The Committee are of opinion that the views expressed by the Council of the All India Muslim League by its resolution No 8 of the 27th of August 1939 in the following words 'while deploring the policy of the British Government towards the Muslims of India by attempting to force upon them against their will a constitution, and in particular the Federal Scheme as embodied in the Government of India Act 1935 which allows a permanent hostile communal majority to trample upon their religious, political social and economic rights and the utter neglect and indifference shown by the Viceroy and the governors in the Congress governed provinces in exercising their special powers to protect and secure justice to the minorities, and towards the Arabs in Palestine in refusing to meet their demands holds the view that in these circumstances if the British Government desires to enlist the support and the sympathy of the Muslims of the world and particularly of the Indian Muslims in future contingencies it must meet the demands of the Muslims of India without delay', are the true sentiments and opinions of the Musalmans of India

3 The Working Committee appreciate the declaration of H E the Viceroy, which is in the interest of India and particularly the Musalmans, that the Federal Scheme embodied in the Government of India Act 1935 has been suspended They wish that instead of it being suspended it had been abandoned completely and desire to convey to His Majesty's Government that they should do so without further delay The Committee desire to make it clear that they do not endorse the 'Federal objective' of His Majesty s Government referred to by His Excellency in his address to the Members of the Central Legislature and strongly urge upon the British Government to review and revise the entire problem of India's future constitution *de novo* in the light of the experience gained by the working of the present provincial Constitution of India and developments that have taken place since 1935 or may take place hereafter

[1]*Ibid*, pp 25 28

[2]Appendix XIII

4 The Committee in this connection wish to point out that Muslim India occupies a special and pecular position in the polity of India and for several decades it had hoped to occupy an honourable place in the national life, government and administration of the country and worked for free India with Free and Independent Islam in which they could play an equal part with the major community with complete sense of security for their religious, political, cultural, social, and economic rights and interests, but the developments that have taken place, and especially since the inauguration of the provincial Constitution based on the socalled democratic parliamentary system of government, and the recent experiences of over two years have established beyond doubt that it has resulted wholely in a permanent communal majority and the domination of the Hindus over the Muslim minorities whose life and liberty property and honour are in danger and even their religious rights and culture are being assailed and annihilated every day under the Congress Governments in various provinces

5 That while Muslim India stands against exploitation of the people of India and has repeatedly declared in favour of 'Free India' it is equally opposed to the domination of Hindu majority over Musalmans and other minorities and vassalization of Muslim India and is irrevocably opposed to any 'federal objective' which must necessarily result in a majority community rule under the guise of democracy and parliamentary system of government Such a constitution is totally unsuited to the genius of the peoples of the country which is composed of various nationalities and does not constitute a national state

6 The Muslim League condemns unprovoked aggression and the doctrine that might is right' and upholds the principles of freedom of humanity and 'that the will of the strongest irrespective of right and justice cannot be allowed to prevail ' The Committee express their deep sympathy for Poland, England and France The Committee however feel that real and solid Muslim cooperation and support to Great Britain in this hour of her trial cannot be secured successfully if His Majesty s Government and the Viceroy are unable to secure to the Musalmans justice and fair play in the Congress governed provinces where today their liberty person, property and honour are in danger and even their elementary rights are most callously trampled upon The Committee strongly urge upon His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy and Governor General to direct the Governors to exercise their special powers where any Provincial Ministry fails to secure justice and fair play to the Musalmans or where they resort to oppression or interference with their political economic social, and cultural rights, in accordance with the sacred promises assurances and declarations repeatedly made by Great Britain in consequence of which these special powers were expressly embodied in the Statute The Committee regret to say that so far these special powers have remained dormant and obsolete and the Governors have failed to protect the rights of the Musalmans under the threat by the 'High Command' of the Congress that exercise of these special powers on the part of the Governors will lead to crises in all the Congress governed provinces, where they are in a solid majority

7 While the Muslim League stands for the freedom of India, the Committee further urge upon His Majesty's Government and ask for an assurance that no declaration regarding the question of constitutional advance for India should be made without the consent and approval of the All India Muslim League nor any constitution be framed and finally adopted by His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament without such consent and approval

8 The policy of the British Government towards the Arabs in Palestine has wounded deeply Muslim feeling and sentiment and all representations in that behalf have had no real effect so far The Committee once more urge upon His Majesty's Government to satisfy the Arab national demands

9 If full, effective, and honourable co-operation of the Musalmans is desired by the British Government in the grave crisis which is facing the world today and if it is desired to bring it to a successful termination, it must create a sense of security and satisfaction amongst the Musalmans and take into its confidence the Muslim League which is the only organisation that can speak on behalf of Muslim India

10 At this critical and difficult juncture the committee appeal to every Musalman to stand solidly under the Flag of the All India Muslim League with a solemn and sacred determination to make every sacrifice for on it depend the future destiny and the honour of the 90 millions of Musalmans in India

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada), M L A, (U P)
Honorary Secretary All India Muslim League

9

New Delhi, [Gul-i-Raana, Hardinge Avenue]Working Committee (Emergency) Meeting, 22 October 1939, M.A. Jinnah presided[1]

Resolution No 1

After careful examination of the statement of His Excellency the Viceroy dated the 17th October, 1939,[2] the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League appreciate that His Majesty s Government have emphatically repudiated the unfounded claim of the Congress that they alone represent all India and note with satisfaction that His Majesty's Government recognise the fact that the All India Muslim League alone truly represents the Musalmans of India and can speak on their behalf, also, that the rights and interests of the minorities and other important interests concerned have been duly recognised

The Committee, however, feel constrained to state that the points of vital importance raised by the Muslim League in their statement dated September 18 1939[3] are not precisely and categorically met The Committee, therefore, venture to suggest that in order to secure cooperation on equal footing, as desired by His Excellency, further clarification and discussion of those matters that are left in doubt and have not been met satisfactorily are necessary, with a view to arrive at a complete understanding, which alone would enable the Muslim League to cooperate in the matter which concerns not only the Musalmans of India, but the country at large

The Committee cannot wholly accept the narration of facts culminating in the enactment of the Government of India Act, 1935, as given in the statement of His Excellency, but do not think it is necessary to enter into a controversy regarding those inaccuracies historic and otherwise The opposition of the Muslim League is not merely to the 'details' of the plans embodied in the Act of 1935 and the reconsideration thereof, but their demand is that the entire problem of India's future constitution should be wholly examined and revised *de novo* The Committee reiterate emphatically that no future plan of India's Constitution will be acceptable to the Muslim League unless it meets with their full approval

[1]*Ibid*, pp 29-31
[2]Appendix XIV
Appendix XIX 8

The Committee also considered the proposal of His Excellency the Viceroy for the establishment of a 'consultative group', but cannot at present express any opinion with regard to it until its status constitution powers scope and function are fully known but welcome further consultation regarding this matter as proposed by His Excellency in his statement

In view of the urgency of the matter, the Committee hereby authorise the President to take such steps as he may consider proper to have the doubts removed and secure complete clarification of His Excellency's statement and if the President is fully satisfied, the Committee empower him to give assurance of cooperation and support on behalf of the Musalmans of India to the British Government for the purpose of prosecution of the war

Resolution No 2

The Working Committee hereby empower the President to advise, guide and issue instructions to Muslim League Parties in the various Provincial Legislatures in the event of some sudden emergency arising

The Muslim League Parties shall give effect to or carry out such instructions as may be given by the President

Resolution No 3

The Working Committee regret that the Sind Government has failed so far to meet the reasonable demands of the Musalmans to hand over possession of the Manzilgah Mosque to them notwithstanding their repeated representations now for a considerable time and have delayed the matter from time to time which has ultimately forced the people to resort to direct action The Working Committee hope that the Government of Sind will without delay settle the matter to the satisfaction of the Musalmans of Sind

The Working Committee further regret that the Sind Government should have thought fit to pass a special Ordinance and thereby resort to repressive executive methods for which there appears no justification as there is no evidence that the application of the normal machinary of the law had proved inadequate and trust that they will withdraw the Ordinance as soon as possible to restore public confidence

Resolution No 4

Resolved that the Annual Session that was to be held on the 28th, 29th, 30th of December 1939 be postponed till the end of March 1940 The dates to be fixed later

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada), M L A (U P)
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League

10

Delhi [Gul-i-Raana, Harding Avenue], Working Committee Meeting, 3-6 February 1940, M.A. Jinnah presided[1]

Present

1. Mr M A Jinnah, President
2. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary
3. Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim Bart Bombay
4. Raja Muhammad Amir Ahmad Khan Saheb U P
5. Malik Barkat Ali Saheb Punjab
6. Abdul Matin Saheb Choudhri, Assam
7. Khan Saadullah Khan Saheb Peshawar
8. Sardar Muhammad Aurangzeb Khan Saheb, Peshawar
9. Sir Haji Abdoola Haroon
10. The Hon Maulvi A K Fazlul Huq Bengal
11. Haji Abdul Sathar Haji Essak Sait, Madras
12. The Hon K Nazimuddin, Bengal
13. Choudhry Khaliquzzaman Saheb, U P
14. Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan Saheb, U P
15. The Hon Sir Sikander Hyat Khan Punjab
16. Syed Abdurraoof Shah Saheb, C P
17. Abdur Rahman Saheb Siddiqi Bengal

The Committee considered the correspondence that passed between the President and the Viceroy in connection with the last resolution of the Working Committee on war The President also gave a gist of his talks with the Viceroy The Committee passed the following resolution

Resolution No 1

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League considered the correspondence that has passed between Mr M A Jinnah, the President, and His Excellency the Viceroy ending with his final reply dated the 23rd of December 1939 The Committee are of opinion that the reply of His Excellency is not satisfactory, as certain important points still require further clarification and elucidation The Committee, therefore, empower the President to place the views of the Working Committee before His Excellency and request him to reconsider the matter regarding the assurances asked for in the resolutions of the Working Committee dated the 18th of September and the 22nd of October 1939 and thereby remove all doubts and apprehensions from the mind of Muslim India

2 The committee considered the applications for affiliation to the All India Muslim League from the Punjab, Assam and Orissa Provincial Muslim Leagues and passed the following Resolution

Resolution No 2

A Committee consisting of the following members is hereby appointed to examine the applications for affiliation to the All India Muslim League from the Punjab Assam and Orissa Provincial Muslim Leagues and report to the Committee 1 Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan Saheb, 2 Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman Saheb 3 Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad

[1]Muslim League Documents Vol 129 Council Meetings, 1940, pp 30 37

3 The Committee considered the statement of Mr Abdur Rahman Siddiqi regarding the Day of Deliverance and passed the following Resolution

Resolution No 3

The Committee considered the statement of Mr Abdur Rahman Siddiqi regarding the Day of Deliverance Mr Siddiqi expressed his deep regrets at the language of his statement and for any reflection on the personality of the President contained in it The Committee are of opinion that no member of the Working Committee should give public expression to his views against a decision of the Committee or the President while still remaining a member of the Committee

4 The Committee considered the telegram received from Syed Abdul Aziz Saheb of Patna resigning from membership of the Working Committee The following resolution was adopted

Resolution No 4

The Working Committee accept with regret the resignation of Syed Abdul Aziz due to his appointment as Law Member of H E H the Nizam's Government and place on record their appreciation of his great services rendered to the All India Muslim League and in particular, to the Province of Bihar and the Working Committee of which he was a member The Committee are glad to note that Syed Abdul Aziz will continue to take abiding interest in the progress of the All India Muslim League and wish Syed Abdul Aziz every success in his great and responsible office in Nizam s Government

5 The Committee examined the accounts for the year 1939 and the Budget for the first four months in 1940 and passed the following resolution

Resolution No 5

Resolved that the accounts for the year 1939 be passed subject to their being audited by Sir Abdoola Haroon and Haji Abdul Sathar Haji Essak Sait It is further resolved that the Budget presented from the 1st of January to the 30th of April 1940 (four months) be sanctioned

6 The Committe considered the question of sending a delegation on behalf of the League to England and passed the following resolution

Resolution No 6

Resolved that a delegation on behalf of the All India Muslim League consisting of the Hon Mr Fazlul Huq the Hon Sir K Nazimuddin the Hon Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and Choudhry Khaliquzzaman Saheb should visit England as soon as possible in order to put the case of Muslim India before the British people, Parliament and His Majesty s Government

It was decided that a sum of Rs 20,000 be collected from the provinces as follows

Bombay	Rs 5,000 0 0
Bengal	Rs 5,000 0 0
Punjab	Rs 5 000 0 0
N W F	Rs 2,500 0 0
Sind	Rs 2,500 0 0
Total	Rs 20 000 0 0

7 The Committee considered the appeal of Kunwar Abdussalam Khan against the decision of the U P Provincial Muslim League regarding the election of the

U P Legislative Council from Bulandshehar Kunwar Saheb sent a request to the Committee that he should be given an opportunity of putting his case personally before the Committee The Committee granted his request and consequently Kunwar Saheb together with his legal adivsor Mr Anis Khan, Vakil, appeared before the Committee The Committee after giving full hearing and careful consideration decided as follows

Resolution No 7

The Working Committee having carefully examined the ground of appeal against the decision of the U P Provincial Muslim League regarding the election to the U P Lagislative Council from Bulandshaher filed by Kunwar Abdussalam Khan and having heard in person the Kunwar Saheb together with his legal adviser are of opinion that the decision of the Working Committee of the U P Provincial Muslim League should be confirmed and the parties concerned be informed to act accordingly

8 The Committee considered the resolutions which were referred to it by resolution No 6 of the Council passed on the 28th of August 1939 and adopted the following resolution

Resolution No 8

The Committee considered the resolution No 6 of the Council passed on the 28th of August 1939 and resolved that according to the Constitution and Rules of the All India Muslim League no disciplinary action can be taken in the matter

9 The Committee considered the case of firing by Police on Musalmans at Burhanpur C P on the 15th of January 1940 and adopted the following resolution

Resolution No 9

The Working Committee deplore the firing by Police on Musalmans at Burhanpur C P on the 15th of January 1940[1] The Committee urge upon H E the Governor of C P to appoint an impartial tribunal to enquire into the incidents and take such steps as may be necessary for the conduct of an impartial and fair enquiry

10 The Committee decided to postpone the consideration of the Report of the National Guards Committee and adopted the following

Resolution No 10

Resolved that the consideration of the Report of the National Guards Committee be postponed till the next meeting of the Working Committee

In this connection some members raised the question of the Khaksars and wanted that some definite statement in this connection should be issued on behalf of the Committee as there was a great misunderstanding regarding the activities of the Khaksars It was mentioned in the course of the discussion that on account of the attitude of the Muslim League not being definitely clear, the Muslim League work was suffering in some parts of the country as the Khaksars are doing some propaganda which was not in the interest of the League The Committee decided not to take any action or make any statement at present

11 The Committee considered the letter of Sh Shujaul Haq Saheb, General

[1]The trouble had started over playing of music before a mosque in the city by Sikhs In the police firing following rioting one person was reportedly killed and twelve injured See reports in *Star of India* 16 and 17 January 1940

Secretary of Jaipur Muslim Relief Committee, asking monetary help from the League for the payment of certain outstanding bills in connection with the stay of Jaipur Mohajirin in Delhi The Committee regretted that the funds of the League did not permit them to give any monetary assistance

12 The Committee considered the letter of the Editor of the *Wahdat* regarding the security of Rs 1,000/ demanded by the local Government from the paper The matter was entrusted to Haji Abdul Sathar Haji Essak Sait to be dealt with by the Muslim League party in the Central Assembly

13 The Committee considered the question of publication by the League of the History of the All India Muslim League written by Mr Noman Mr A Siddiqi was requested to go through the manuscript and send his opinion about it to the Honorary Secretary It was decided that if the President and the Secretary after getting the views of Mr Siddiqi were of opinion that the History should be published the Honorary Secretary could do so [1] The estimated cost of 1,000 copies of the History is about Rs 1,500/

14 The Committee considered the question of Muslim demands and future constitution of India The following broad outline were agreed to

1 Musalmans are not a minority in the ordinary sense of the word They are a nation

2 British system of democratic parliamentary party system of government is not suited to the genius and condition of the people of India

3 Those zones which are composed of majority of Musalmans in the physical map of India should be constituted into Independent Dominions in direct relationship with Great Britain

4 In those zones where Muslims are in minority their interests and those of other minorities must be adequately and effectively safeguarded and similar safeguard shall be provided for the Hindus and other minorities in the Muslim zones

5 The various units in each zone shall form component parts of the Federation in that zone as autonomous units

15 It was resolved that Choudhry Khaliquzzaman Saheb should be appointed a member of the Constitution Sub-Committee in place of Syed Abdul Aziz

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada), M L A , (U P)
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League

[1] The work was eventually published —Mohammad Noman, *Muslim India Rise and Growth of the All India Muslim Leauge,* Kitabistan, Allahabad 1942

11

Lahore, [Momdot Villa], Working Committee Meeting, 22 March 1940, M A Jinnah presided[1]

The following members of the Committee were present

1 M A Jinnah Esq , the President of the All India Muslim League
2 Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb, Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League
3 The Hon'ble Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab
4 The Hon ble Sir K Nazimuddin, Bengal
5 Abdurrahman Saheb Siddiqi, M L A , Bengal
6 Muhammad Ashique Warsi Saheb, Bihar
7 Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan Saheb, U P
8 Begum Saheba Maulana Muhammad Ali
9 Malik Barkat Ali Saheb, Punjab
10 Sardar Aurangzeb Khan Saheb, N W F P
11 Khan Saadullah Khan Saheb N -W F P
12 Sir Abdoola Haroon, M L A Central
13 Syed Abdur Rauf Shah Saheb, C P
14 Haji Abdul Sathar Haji Essak Sait, M L A Central

Resolution No 1

The Committee prepared the draft of a resolution regarding the future Constitution of India for submission to the Subjects Committee

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (Nawabzada), M L A , (U P)
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League

[1]Liaquat Ali Khan *Resolutions of the All India Muslim League, December 1938 March 1940* op cit pp 45

Indian National Congress Resolutions, Annual Sessions, 1935-40

1

Lucknow, 49th Annual Session, 12-14 April 1936, Jawaharlal Nehru presided[1]

Condolence

The Congress expresses its sense of sorrow and loss at the deaths of Sriyuts B N Sasmal, M V Abhyankar, A T Gidwani, V A K Sherwani, Arif Hasvi, Deep Narayan Singh, Shapurji Saklatwala, Sir Dinshaw Wacha Nabin Chandra Bardolai, Shrimati Kamala Nehru, Syts Mohanlal Pandya Seth Nathmal Choradia, Ganpatrao Tikekar T V Venkataram Iyer Aga Muhammad Safdar and Mahadeo Prasad Seth

Greeting to Prisoners

The Congress sends its greeting to the thousands of Indians whom British imperialism keeps in prison, in detention and in exile, and who suffer in silence and with brave endurance in the cause of India's freedom In particular the Congress sends affectionate greetings to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, a member of the Working Committee and offers its earnest sympathy to the people of the North West Frontier Province, and of Midnapore district and other parts of Bengal, who have long had to endure the fiercest repression under a regime approximating to Martial Law

Subhas Chandra Bose's Arrest

This Congress has learnt with indignation of the arrest under Regulation III of 1818 of Shri Subhas Bose on his return to India after long exile when he was on his way to attend this session of the Congress This congress considers it a further and significant proof of how British imperialism continues to use its full apparatus of repression to prevent normal political and personal life in India To Shri Subhas Chandra Bose the Congress sends its warm greetings and sympathy

Suppression of Civil Liberties

The Congress draws public attention again to the widespread and intensive suppression of civil and, in many instances, personal liberties in India by the British Government with the object of crushing the national and labour and peasant movements In particular, to the banning of hundreds of Congress and other national organisations, and labour and peasant unions, and political and other groups, seizure and continued possession by the Government of many *Ashrams* [hermitage] and other educational institutions, the continuation of the Ordinance regime by the certification and passage of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, even after its rejection twice by the Assembly, and the enactment of similar provincial Acts, the proscription and banning of books and periodicals, the numerous laws and censorship resulting in the suppression of 348 newspapers in recent years and the forfeiture of large sums deposited as securities, the detention of large number of people for indefinite periods without charge or trial, the

[1]A M Zaidi and S G Zaidi (eds), *The Encyclopaedia of Indian National Congress Combating an Unwanted Constitution,* Vol XI 1936 1938, Indian Institute of Applied Research New Delhi, 1980, pp 113 120

numerous special and additional disabilities under which the people of the Frontier Province have to suffer; the many encroachments on personal liberty in parts of Bengal, the restriction by externment, internment and otherwise to the free movement of persons within the country, thus preventing them from carrying on their usual occupations and business, and even obstructing humanitarian and relief work, the application of measures like the Criminal Tribes Act and the Foreigners Act to political workers, indiscriminate and widespread searches of houses, the difficulties placed in the way of Indians going abroad and the barriers to the return home of many Indians in foreign countries, who have thus to live in exile far from their own people and their motherland

The Congress notes that at no period since the great Revolt of 1857 has the suppression of civil and personal liberties and the repression of the Indian people which is the normal feature of British administration in India today, been so great as it is now While recognising that this extraordinary suppression and repression are measures of the strength and success of India's struggle for freedom, the Congress desires to point out that such is the background to the Constitution Act in spite of the statements made by representatives of British Government that constitutional progress is being made in India

Further, the Congress deeply regrets that in the Indian States there is a similar suppression of civil and personal liberties and in many of them conditions in this respect are even worse than in the rest of India and almost every kind of liberty is non existent, that in some States even the Congress has been banned and normal peaceful work of organization prevented, and insult offered to the National Flag The Congress realises that the effective power behind the States is that of the British Government and many of the States are under the direct control of British officers Howsoever the responsibility for this deplorable state of affairs might be shared between the British Government and the rulers of the States the Congress declares that it can recognise no differentiation in personal, civil and democratic liberties as between the States and the rest of India

The Congress expresses the determination of the Indian people that notwithstanding this attempt to paralyse national growth and activity they will continue to face the situation with courage and fortitude and will carry on the struggle for freedom till independence is achieved

Foreign Department

The Congress authorises and directs the Working Committee to organize a foreign department of the AICC office to work under the general superintendence of the Working General Secretary and with such special staff as may be necessary, with a view to create and maintain contacts with Indians overseas, and with international national labour and other organisations abroad with whom cooperation is possible and is likely to help in the cause of Indian freedom

World Peace Congress

This Congress, having considered the invitation of Monsieur Romain Rolland Honorary President of the World Committee of struggle against War and Fascism, to participate in the World Congress for peace to be held in Geneva in September next conveys its greetings to the organisers of the Peace Congress and assurances of its full sympathy and cooperation in the great work of ensuring peace in the world based on national and social freedom The Congress is convinced that such peace can only be established on an enduring basis when the causes of war are removed and the domination and exploitation of nation by nations is ended

War Danger

The Congress, at its sessions held in Madras in 1927 drew the attention of the country to the danger of imperialist war and the possibility of India being made

tool in such a conflict for imperialist purposes, and declared the right of the Indian people to refuse to participate in any such war without their express permission That danger has become more evident and urgent since then with the growth of fascist dictatorships, the Italian attack on Abyssinia, the continuing Japanese aggression in North China and Mongolia, the rivalries and conflicts of the great imperialist powers and the feverish growth of armaments, and vast and terrible war threatens the world In such a war an attempt will inevitably be made to drag in and exploit India to her manifest disadvantage and for the benefit of British imperialism The Congress therefore reiterates its old resolve and warns the people of the country against the danger, and declares its opposition to the participation of India in any imperialist war

Sympathy for Abyssinia

The Congress expresses the sympathy of the Indian nation for the Ethiopian people who are so heroically defending their country against imperialist aggression and considers Abyssinia's fight as part of the fight of all exploited nations for freedom

The Congress condemns the great powers and the League of Nations for their policy in regard to the Italo-Abyssinian war

Government of India Act

Whereas the Government of India Act, 1935, which is based on the White Paper and Joint Parliamentary Report and which is in many respects even worse than the proposals contained in them in no way represents the will of the nation is designed to facilitate and perpetuate the domination and exploitation of the people of India and is imposed on the country to the accompaniment of widespread repression and the suppression of civil liberties, the Congress reiterates its rejection of the new constitution in its entirety

The Congress, as representing the will of the Indian people for national freedom and a democratic state, declares that no constitution imposed by outside authority and no constitution which curtails the sovereignty of the people of India and does not recognise their right to shape and control fully their political and economic future can be accepted In the opinion of the Congress such a constitution must be based on the independence of India as a nation and it can only be framed by a Constituent Assembly elected on adult franchise or a franchise which approximates to it as nearly as possible The Congress therefore reiterates and stresses the demand for a Constituent Assembly in the name of the Indian people and calls upon its representatives and members in legislatures and outside to work for the fulfillment of this demand

In view of the fact that elections for their Provincial legislatures under the new Act may, according to official statements, take place before the next session of the Congress, this Congress resolves that in such an event candidates should be put forward on its behalf to contest such seats in accordance with the mandate of the Congress and in pursuance of its declared policy Such candidates must be chosen from those who fully support the Congress objective of Indian Independence and pledge themselves to carry out its policy in regard to the legislatures

The AICC shall place before the country prior to the election a manifesto explaining the political and economic policy and programme of the Congress in conformity with the resolutions passed by it from time to time The Provincial Congress Committee may further supplement the manifesto by adding thereto specific items which have special application to their respective provinces All provincial manifestos must be approved by the Working Committee of the AICC

Resolved further that the functions of the Parliamentary Board be discharged

in future by the Working Committee of the AICC The Working Committee is authorised to appoint such Boards or Committees as may be necessary to organise elections to legislatures as well as to guide coordinate and control the activities of Congress members in legislatures Accordingly the Parliamentary Board need not be reconstituted hereafter

The question of acceptance or non acceptance of office by Congress members elected to the legislatures under the constitution having been agitated in the country, the Congress in view of the uncertainties of the situation as it may develop, considers it inadvisable to commit itself to any decision at this stage on the question and leaves it to be decided at the proper time by the AICC after consulting the Provincial Congress Committees

Indians Abroad

This Congress reiterates its sympathy for the Indian settlers in South Africa, East Africa Zanzibar and the Fiji Islands and deplores the continuing deterioration in their status and the privation of personal and property rights in spite of past agreements and declarations of Local and British Governments and assures them of its readiness to take such action as may be within its power to ameliorate their condition

Congress and Mass Contacts

The Congress is of opinion that it is desirable to develop closer association between the masses and the Congress organisation so that they may take greater share in the shaping of Congress policy and in its activities and the organisation might become even more responsive to their needs and desires With a view to this, and further to bring about closer co operation with other organisations of peasants workers and others, which aim at the freedom of the Indian people and to make the Congress a joint front of all the anti imperialist elements in the country this Congress appoints a committee consisting of Sriyuts Rajendra Prasad, Jairamdas Daulatram and Jayprakash Narayan to make recommendations in this behalf including proposals for such amendment of the constitution as may be considered necessary The Committee shall report to the AICC through the Working Committee by the end of July 1936 and its report shall be then circulated to provincial and district committees for opinion The final recommendations of the AICC on this report shall be placed before the next session of the Congress

Agrarian Programme

This Congress is of opinion that the most important and urgent problem of the country is the appalling poverty, unemployment and indebtedness of the peasantry fundamentally due to antiquated and repressive land tenure and revenue systems and intensified in recent years by the great slump in prices of agricultural produce The final solution of this problem inevitably involves the removal of British imperialistic exploitation, a thorough change of the land tenure and revenue system and a recognition by the State of its duty to provide work for the rural unemployed masses

In view however, of the fact that agrarian conditions and land tenure and revenue systems differ in the various Provinces, it is desirable to consult the Provincial Congress Committees and such present organizations as the Working Committee considers fit, in the drawing up of a full All India Agrarian Programme as well as a programme for each province This congress, therefore, calls upon each Provincial Congress Committee to make recommendations in detail to the Working Committee by August 31, 1936, for being considered and placed before the All India Congress Committee having particular regard to the following matters

1. Freedom of organization of agricultural labourers and peasants
2. Safeguarding of the interests of peasants where there are intermediaries between the State and themselves
3. Just and fair relief of agricultural indebtedness including arrears of rent and revenue
4. Emancipation of the peasants from feudal and semifeudal levies
5. Substantial reduction in respect of rent and revenue demands
6. A just allotment of the State expenditure for the social, economic and cultural amenities of village
7. Protection against harassing restrictions on the utilisation of local natural facilities for their domestic and agricultural needs
8. Freedom from oppression and harassment at the hands of Government officials and landlords
9. Fostering industries for relieving rural unemployment

Indian States

This Congress while re-affirming the resolution regarding Indian States passed in the Calcutta Session of 1928, and expressing its approval of the policy laid down in the statement issued by the AICC in Madras in October 1935 desires to make it clear that, in its opinion, the people of the State should have the same right of self-determination as those of the rest of India, and that the Congress stands for the same political, civil and democratic liberties for every part of India The Congress, however, desires to point out that the struggle for liberty within the States has, in the very nature of things to be carried on by the people of the States themselves

Amendment to Constitution

A number of amendments to the Congress constitution were passed

Next Congress

Resolved that the next session of the Congress be held in Maharashtra

2

Faizpur (Bombay Presidency), 50th Annual Session, 27-28 December 1936, Jawaharlal Nehru presided[1]

Condolence

This Congress expresses its sense of sorrow and loss at the deaths of Dr M A Ansari, Shri Abbas Tyabji, Dr M K Sambasivam Shri V O Chidambaram Pillai, Shri Krishna Kumar Mittra, Dr B Subramaniam, Pandit Pyarey Mohan Dattatreya and Shri Waman Rao Naik

[1] *Ibid* pp 201 14

World Peace Congress

The Congress having considered the report of Shri V K Krishna Menon on the World Peace Congress, records its appreciation of the part he took in this Congress as its representative It supports wholeheartedly the objective of the Peace Congress to ensure world peace by removing the causes of war and offers its full co-operation to it in this urgent and vital task The National Congress will willingly associate itself with the organization which the Peace Congress has established in this behalf The Congress, however, wishes to emphasise that imperialism itself is a continuing cause of war and its elimination is essential in the interests of world peace The President is authorised and directed to take necessary steps in this behalf

Burma

The Congress directs the All India Congress Committee to consider what, if any changes in the Congress constitution are necessitated by the political separation of Burma from India. The fate of the two countries has been linked together for ages past by strong cultural bonds and for many years they have struggled together for freedom against British Imperialism The political separation that is being enforced now against the wishes of a large body of Burmese opinion and in the interests of British Imperialism cannot weaken the old bonds and must not be permitted to come in the way of our joint struggle Any decision about the place of Burma in the Congress constitution must be arrived at after consultation with the people of Burma, and for this purpose the Working Committee should arrange for a representative to visit Burma

In the event of any changes in the constitution in regard to Burma being considered desirable the All India Congress Committee is authorised to incorporate them in the constitution and to give effect to them

Spain

The Congress has followed with the deepest sympathy and anxiety the struggle that is going on in Spain between the people of Spain and a military group aided by foreign mercenary troops and Fascist Powers in Europe The Congress realises that this struggle between democratic progress and Fascist reaction is of great consequence to the future of the world and will affect the future of imperialism and India The Congress has noted without surprise that in this struggle the policy of non intervention followed by the British Government has been such as to hamper in many ways the Spanish Government and people in fighting the Fascist rebels and has thus in effect aided these rebels who are being openly backed and helped by the Fascist Powers

The Congress on behalf of the people of India, sends greetings to the Spanish people and the assurance of their solidarity with them in this great struggle for liberty

Excluded Areas

This Congress is of opinion that the creation of Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas and Chief Commissioners Provinces, including British Baluchistan, from the 1st January 1937 and covering the area of 207,900 square miles and inhabited by 13 million people is yet another attempt to divide the people of India into different groups with unjustifiable and discriminatory treatment and to obstruct the growth of uniform democratic institutions in the country

This Congress is further of opinion that the separation of these Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas is intended to leave a larger control of disposition and exploitation of the mineral and forest wealth in those areas and keep the inhabitants of those areas apart from the rest of India for their easier exploitation and

suppression This Congress holds that the same level of democratic and self-governing institutions should be applicable to all parts of India without any distinction

Natural Calamities

The Congress has noted with deep sorrow that an unprecedented number of natural calamities has ravaged our country during the past year and flood and drought and famine and cyclone have brought intense suffering to vast numbers of our people, whom poverty and unemployment have already reduced to such dire straits The Congress expresses its deep sympathy with victims of those calamities and its appreciation of the fortitude displayed by the people in facing them It congratulates those individuals and non official agencies who, by their loving service and assistance, have helped to alleviate distress

The Congress feels that no sufficient effort has been made so far by the Government to institute scientific inquiries into the causes of the floods, which are becoming more frequent and widespread, and that it should certainly be possible to control such floods to a large extent or prevent water from accumulating by measures taken in that behalf especially by an examination of the effect of building numerous railway embankments without a sufficient number of culverts to allow free passage of water

The Congress is of opinion that the widespread misery caused by the various calamities should be relieved by state action on an adequate scale in particular, by a total remission of rent and revenue and water and other rates of the current year in the worst affected area and a substantial reduction in the partly affected area, and by a moratorium of arrears of rent revenue and agriculturists' debts Interest free loans and other help free or at reduced rates, should also be given to enable those who have been rendered destitute, to start life afresh

War Danger

The Congress has drawn repeated attention in the past to the danger of imperialist war and has declared that India can be no party to it Since the last session of the Congress the crisis has deepened and fascist aggression has increased the fascist powers forming alliances and grouping themselves together for war with the intention of dominating Europe and the world and crushing political and social freedom The Congress is fully conscious of the necessity of facing this world menace in cooperation with the progressive nations and peoples of the world, and especially with those peoples who are dominated over and exploited by imperialism and fascism In the event of such a world war taking place there is grave danger of Indian manpower and resources being utilised for the purposes of British imperialism, and it is, therefore necessary for Congress to warn the country again against this and prepare it to resist such exploitation of India and her people No credits must be voted for such a war and voluntary subscriptions and war loans must not be supported and all other war preparations resisted

Frontier Policy

In the opinion of the Congress the policy pursued by the Government of India on the North-West Frontier has been a total failure and has caused great injury both to the interests of India and the transborder tribes This policy has been pursued in the interests of imperialism and mostly with the object of justifying the heavy military expenditure in India and of providing training under semi-war conditions for otherwise idle troops maintained for imperial purposes Any policy that necessitates inhuman and barbarous methods, like bombing from the air, and which leads to frequent military raids across the Frontier is to be condemned In addition to this the policy has signally failed in establishing peace on the Frontier and has often resulted in making friendly transborder tribes unfriendly and hostile

Both the foreign and domestic interests of India require peace on the Frontier and friendship with our neighbours And the Congress believes that these friendly relations and peace can be established without much difficulty if the transborder tribes are treated as friends and good neighbours and are not interfered with on the pretext of spreading civilization, or by making military roads under the guise of rendering economic assistance, or otherwise If such a policy is pursued they will become a valuable source of strength and lessen the burden of military expenditure of India The Congress believes that the charge laid against the Frontier Pathan tribes as being untamed, fierce, truculent and aggressive is without foundation and appears to be made with the object of justifying unwarranted interference and a heavy permanent military expenditure

The Congress declares that the people of India desire the friendship of all their neighbours and are willing to cooperate with them in the great tasks which promote peace and human well being

The Congress condemns the last punitive measures in the transfrontier area which seem to be yet another instance of the futile and dangerous experiments of the Government of India on the North West Frontier which lead only to suffering and leave a trail of ill will behind them

In the opinion of the Congress the right way to deal with the Frontier situation is for an inquiry to be made into the economic political and military situation with a view to settle finally and peacefully the problem of the Frontier in cooperation with the border tribes

Detenus

The Congress records its emphatic condemnation of the unjust and inhuman policy of the British Government in India in keeping thousands of Indians in detention for indefinite periods without charge or trial and holds that this policy has been resorted to with the object of paralysing the national movement of freedom The Congress voices the demand of Indian people that the persons now in detention without charge or trial be released forthwith and that the various orders of restraint withdrawn The Congress sends its warm greetings and sympathy to the detenus who have been suffering in silence and with brave endurance in the cause of India's freedom

The Congress has learnt with alarm and concern that three detenus in Bengal have committed suicide within the last four weeks The Congress considers that the fact that such acts of suicide have taken place is a significant indication that the conditions in which they are kept are intolerable and scandalous The Congress demands a public enquiry into the causes which led to the said acts of suicide as well as into the conditions in which the detenus are being kept The Congress sends its condolences to the bereaved families of the three detenus

The Congress records its condemnation of the action of the Government in preventing any non official and independent enquiry into the conditions in which the detenus are kept like the one proposed by the Committee appointed by the Congress Party in the Legislative Assembly

The Congress condemns the revival of the prison in the Andamans which had been abandoned as a result of its condemnation by a committee appointed by the Government In the opinion of the Congress the conditions prevailing therein particularly those relating to interviews with prisoners, segregation and lack of facilities for intellectual entertainment of educated political prisoners, are intolerable and the transportation of political offenders to the Andamans should be discontinued and those already transported should be brought back to India forthwith

Indians Overseas

The Congress sends greetings to our fellow-countrymen overseas and its assurance of sympathy and help in their distressful condition and in the continuing deterioration in their status in the territories in which they have settled The Congress is ready and willing to take all action within its power to ameliorate their condition, but desires to point out that radical amelioration in their status must ultimately depend on the attainment by India of independence and the power effectively to protect her nationals abroad

Colliery Disasters

The Congress notes with sorrow and alarm the frequent occurrence of accidents in the collieries of Bengal and Bihar, resulting in every case in the loss of numerous human lives, widespread misery among survivors and irreparable waste of a great deal of India s mineral wealth In the opinion of the Congress such accidents are preventable and demonstrate the inefficiency of the State and utter incompetence of the owners and managers of these collieries and their indifference to human suffering It is necessary that effective measures be immediately undertaken by further legislation and the stricter and more vigilant enforcement of rules and regulations to prevent such accidents The owners of collieries should be made liable to exemplary damages to be paid to sufferers from such accidents and their heirs

B N Railway Strike

The Railway workers on the State owned Railways, and their organisations supported by the public have been demanding a court of inquiry into the question of Railway retrenchment in general and the question of the reduction of the pay of the lower grades of Railway service in particular The Government and the Railway Board have persistently ignored this just and legitimate demand This Congress is of opinion that even now if such a court of inquiry is instituted the present strike on the B N Railway can be amicably settled

This Congress congratulates the workers of the B N Railway on their solidarity and the brave stand they have made against the repeated invasions on their rights The Congress hopes that the public will extend to the strikers their full support and sympathy

The Congress Constitution and Mass Contacts

The Congress wishes to stress again the desirability of increasing the association of the masses with the Congress organization and of giving opportunities to the primary members to initiate and consider Congress policies and programme With a view to bring this about, a Committee consisting of the President, Shri Rajendra Prasad, Shri Jairamdas Daulatram Shri Jayaprakash Narayan and the General Secretary is appointed with the General Secretary as convener to consider the introduction of suitable changes in the constitution, and to report to the AICC by the 30th April 1937 This Committee will consider inter alia the report of the Mass Contacts Committee of the Lucknow Congress

The Congress is of opinion that, even pending such reorganization, Provincial Congress Committees should organise their provinces on the following basis

1 Primary committees should, as far as possible, be established in villages and in mohallas or wards of towns

2 Members of primary committees should meet together, at least twice a year to review their own work, consider local problems and grievances and further to consider the policy and programme before the Congress, and send their report and recommendations to their higher committees A

specified number of members of primary committees should further have the right to requisition a meeting of the primary committee to consider a specific question

3 The subscription of four annas per annum may be collected locally in kind

In order to give effect to the above directions and further to make the Congress organization more efficient and more responsive to the needs and desires of the masses, the Congress directs the Working Committee to appoint an organising secretary, and each Provincial Congress Committee also to appoint such organising secretaries The Congress trust that Congress men in general will cooperate fully in this task of bringing our national organization in close touch with the daily lives and struggle of the people

Authority to AICC

The AICC is authorised, if it so chooses to make changes in the Congress constitution to enable the next session of the Congress to be held in a month other than December

Suppression of Civil Liberties

The Congress again draws attention to and condemns the suppression of civil liberties in India which continues intensively and prevents normal public life interferes even with personal liberties and crushes the present generation in India Hundreds of Congress Committees continue to be banned as also labour and peasant unions and other organisations the Ordinance laws function in addition to the widespread and punitive use of the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure to suppress public activities and even the expression of opinion, the press laws and censorship muzzle the newspapers, books and periodicals are banned or stopped under the Sea Customs Act, free movements are restricted by externment and internment, concentration camps of detenus detained without trial continue the Criminal Tribes Act is a menace to peaceful citizens and further this Act as well as the Foreigners Act are applied to political workers passports are not issued to Indians for the purpose of going abroad and many Indians in foreign countries are not allowed to return home and have to live in exile In Bengal and the N W Frontier Province additional restrictions put an intolerable burden on public work and private activities

The Congress further deeply regrets to note that many of these and in some cases additional disabilities and suppression of civil liberties prevail in the Indian states

The Congress stands for full personal, civil and democratic liberties in the whole of India including the States and will continue to struggle for the establishment of such liberties But the Congress realises that political freedom is essential for this purpose and the nation's energies must therefore be directed to the attainment of independence

Elections and Constituent Assembly

This Congress reiterates its entire rejection of the Government of India Act of 1935 and the constitution that has been imposed on India against the declared will of the people of the country In the opinion of Congress any co-operation with this constitution is a betrayal of India's struggle for freedom and a strengthening of the firm hold of British Imperialism and a further exploitation of the Indian masses who have already been reduced to direst poverty under imperialist domination The Congress therefore repeats its resolve not to submit to this constitution or to co operate with it, but to combat, both inside and outside the legislatures, so as to end it The Congress does not and will not recognise the right of any external power or authority to dictate the political and economic structure of India, and every such attempt will be met by organised and uncompromising opposition of the Indian

people The Indian people can only recognise a constitutional structure which has been framed by them and which is based on the independence of India as a nation and which allows them full scope for development according to their needs and desires

The Congress stands for a genuine democratic State in India where political power has been transferred to the people as a whole and the Government is under their effective control Such a State can only come into existence through a Constituent Assembly, elected by adult suffrage, and having the power to determine finally the Constitution of the country To this end the Congress works in the country and organizes the masses, and this objective must ever be kept in view by the representatives of the Congress in the legislatures

The Congress endorses the Election Manifesto of A I C C and calls upon all the candidates standing on its behalf to carry on their election campaign strictly on its basis and, after election, to conduct their work in the legislatures in accordance with it Congress members of the legislatures should take the earliest opportunity to put forward in the new Assemblies the demand for a Constituent Assembly elected by adult suffrage and this demand should be supported by a mass agitation outside to enforce the right of the Indian people to self-determination

The question of acceptance or non acceptance of office by Congress members elected to the legislatures under the new constitution will be decided by the AICC as soon after the provincial assembly elections as is practicable Immediately after the elections the various Provincial Congress Committees will take steps to consult all their district and other local Committees and send their own recommendations on this subject so that the AICC may be assisted in deciding this issue by the opinion of the mass of Congress men and the country

Convention

This Congress resolves that after the elections to the provincial legislatures a convention shall be held consisting of Congress members of the various provincial and central legislatures, the members of the All India Congress Committee and such other persons as the Working Committee might decide upon This convention shall put the demand for the Constituent Assembly in the forefront, shall determine all feasible methods for ending the constitution in the provinces and for opposing the introduction of the Federal Structure of the new Act, and will consider what other steps should be taken in the legislatures to give effect to the policy laid down in the Congress Election Manifesto, Congress resolutions, and the decisions of the All India Congress Committee

The Working Committee shall take all necessary steps for the calling of this convention and shall lay down the procedure governing it

Appeal to Voters

The Congress invites the attention of the nation to the general election that will take place soon in all the provinces, and in which over one thousand Congress candidates have been put up to uphold Congress principles and programme in accordance with the policy laid down in the election manifesto In this contest the Congress has to face the opposition of reactionary and imperialistic forces and groups entrenched in places of power and possessed of vast material resources The Congress appeals to the millions of voters men and women, to vote for the candidates standing in its name and for the Independence of India trusts that they will stand for this great cause in the elections and in the greater struggle to follow

The Congress, at its last session, being fully conscious of the fact that the most important and urgent problem of the country is the appalling poverty unemployment and indebtedness of the peasantry, called upon the Provincial

Congress Committees to make recommendations to enable the All India Congress Committee to draw up an All India Agrarian Programme Many PCCs have not yet submitted their recommendations for such a programme The Congress regrets this delay but realises that the subject is a vast and intricate one requiring close study and investigation It trusts that such PCCs as have not reported so far will take early steps to send in their recommendations

The Congress convinced that the final solution of this problem involves the removal of British imperialistic exploitation and a radical change in the antiquated and repressive land tenure and revenue systems It feels, however that the deepening crisis has made the burden on the peasantry an intolerable one and immediate relief is urgently called for Pending the framing of an All India Agrarian Programme therefore the following steps are necessary

1 Rent and revenue should be readjusted having regard to present conditions and there should be substantial reduction in both
2 Uneconomic holdings should be exempted from rent or land tax
3 Agricultural incomes should be assessed to income tax like all other incomes on a progressive scale subject to a prescribed minimum
4 Canal and other irrigation rates should be substantially lowered
5 All feudal dues and levies and forced labour should be abolished and demands other than rent should be made illegal
6 Fixity of tenure with heritable rights along with the right to build houses and plant trees should be provided for all tenants
7 An effort should be made to introduce cooperative farming
8 The crushing burden of rural debt should be removed Special tribunals should be appointed to inquire into this and all debts which are unreasonable or beyond the capacity of peasants to pay, should be liquidated Meanwhile a moratorium should be declared and steps should be taken to provide cheap credit facilities
9 Arrears of rent for previous years should generally be wiped out
10 Common pasture lands should be provided, and the rights of the people in tanks wells, ponds forests and the like recognised and no encroachment on these rights should be permitted
11 Arrears of rents should be recoverable in the same manner as civil debts and not by ejectment
12 There should be statutory provision for securing a living wage and suitable working conditions for agricultural labourers
13 Peasant unions should be recognised

King's Coronation

The Congress, pledged as it is to the independence of India and the elimination of all imperialist control and exploitation of the Indian people, has for many years consistently followed a policy of not participating in any function or activity which is meant to or which tends to strengthen the hold of British Imperialism or add to its prestige This policy must be adhered to by all Congress men In particular the Congress wishes to declare that Congress men cannot participate in any way in any celebrations or functions that might be held in India in connection

with the new King's coronation and trusts that the nation will abstain from participation in all such functions The Congress, however, desires to make it clear that this is in no way intended to express any ill will or discourtesy to the King's person

***Hartal* on April 1, 1937**

In order to demonstrate effectively the will of the Indian people to resist the imposition of the unwanted Constitution and as an earnest of their determination to launch a powerful mass movement for its destruction, the Congress issues a call for a nationwide *hartal* or general strike on April 1, the day on which the new Constitution is to be inaugurated

Next Congress

Resolved that the next Session of the Congress be held in Gujarat

3

Delhi, All India National Convention, 19-20 March 1937, Jawaharlal Nehru presided[1]

In pursuance of the resolution of the Faizpur congress in this behalf the All India Convention met at Delhi on March 19 and 20 The Convention consisted of the members of the AICC and the members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures belonging to the Congress party There were 215 members of the AICC and about 500 members of the different legislatures

A Subjects Committee as directed by the Working Committee was formed to discuss the procedure and to draft the resolutions for the open session of the Convention This Committee met twice in the morning and the night of March 19

Open Session

The Convention assembled at 5 p m on March 19 Shri Jawaharlal Nehru the President of the Congress presided

The proceedings commenced by the singing of the national song

The Chairman of the Reception Committee then read a short speech welcoming the members of the Convention and other guests to the historic city of Delhi

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru delivered his Presidential speech lasting for an hour and a half

The President thereafter administered the oath of allegiance to the members of the Convention It was an impressive and solemn ceremony The members stood up and repeated the following oath after the President sentence by sentence, in Hindustani They also afterwards signed their names in a register The following is the text of the pledge This signed register is kept in the AICC office

[1]Nripendra Nath Mitra (ed) *The Indian Annual Register An Annual Digest of Public Affairs of India January June 1937*, Vol I The Annual Register Office Calcutta n d pp 181-8

Text of the Pledge

I, a member of this All India Convention, pledge myself to the service of India and to work in the legislatures and outside for the independence of India and the ending of the exploitation and poverty of her people I pledge myself to work under the discipline of the Congress for the furtherance of Congress ideals and objectives to the end that India may be free and independent and her millions freed from the heavy burdens they suffer from

Thereafter the Convention adjourned to meet again the next day
The Convention met again on March 20 at 2 p m
The following resolutions were passed

1 The National Demand

This convention reiterates the opinion of the people of India that the Government of India Act of 1935 has been designed to perpetuate the subjection and exploitation of the Indian people and so strengthen the hold of British Imperialism on India

The Convention declares that the Indian people do not recognise the right of any external power or authority to dictate the political and economic structure of India The Indian people will only accept a constitutional structure framed by them and based on the independence of India as a nation and which allows them full scope for development according to their needs and desires

The Convention stands for a genuine democratic state in India where political power has been transferred to the people as a whole Such State can only be created by the India people themselves through the medium of a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage and having the power to determine finally the constitution of the country

The electorate has in overwhelming measure set its seal on the Congress objective of independence and the rejection of the new constitution The constitution therefore stands condemned and utterly rejected by the people through the selfsame democratic process which had been invoked by the British Government and the people have further declared that they desire to frame their own constitution based on national independence through the medium of a Constituent Assembly The Convention therefore calls upon all Congress Parliamentary parties to take the earliest opportunity to put forward in the name of the nation a demand in their respective legislatures that the Government of India Act of 1935 be withdrawn so that the people of India may frame their own constitution

2 Congress Policy in the Legislatures

This Convention draws the attention of the various Congress Parliamentary parties to the resolution relating to the Congress policy in the legislatures passed by the Working Committee at Wardha and adopted by the AICC at Delhi on March 18 and calls upon them to be guided by that resolution in their work within the legislatures

3 Extra Parliamentary Activities of the Members of the Legislatures

The Convention desires to remind all Congress members of the legislatures that their sphere of activities is not confined to the legislatures but includes their constituencies All effective work in the legislatures must have the sanction of the people behind it and, therefore, all work in the legislatures must be coordinated with Congress activity outside Every Congress member must therefore keep in constant touch with the people of his constituency and should consult them and report to them from time to time, and give such help to them as he can in their day to day struggles He should further keep in touch with the primary and other local Congress Committees in his constituency and share the responsibility of keeping

the Congress organisation in the area in efficient working condition and in touch with the masses it seeks to represent

The Congress Parliamentary Party in each province should consult the Provincial Congress Committee concerned and report to it from time to time

The proceedings came to an end at 6 p m and the Convention adjourned *sine die*

4

Haripura (Gujarat), 51st Annual Session, 19-21 February 1938, Subhas Chandra Bose presided[1]

Condolence

This Congress expresses its sense of sorrow and loss at the deaths of Shrimati Swarupram Nehru, Sir Jagdish Chandra Bose Shri Sarat Chandra Chatterji, Shri Manilal Kothari and Shrimati Parvati Devi, Shri Jogendra Nath Barua, Shri Harendranath Munshi Shri Buchi Sunder Rao Shri Arya Dutt Jogdan Shri Adi Narayan Chettiar Shri Jaishankar Prasad Shri Ram Das Gaur, Shri Kshirode Chandra Deb Shri Gulzar Singh Pt Narayan Rao Khare, Shri Himanshu Bose, Smt Sarnada Tyagi and Shri Heramba Chandra Maitra

Guidallo of Assam

This Congress demands the immediate release of Guidallo, the heroic Naga woman who raised the banner of freedom in the distant forests of Assam in 1932 and who has now been suffering imprisonment for more than six years

British Guiana

This Congress sends its greetings to the Indians of British Guiana on the occasion of the celebration of the centenary of the arrival of the first Indian settlers in this South American colony and sends them its good wishes for their advancement and progress

Indians Overseas

This Congress views with alarm the rapidly growing deterioration in the status, position and rights enjoyed by the Indians in South and East Africa including Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika Zanzibar and also in the islands of Mauritius and Fiji

This Congress condemns the new economic policy now being pursued by British Imperialism for intensifying its exploitation of the Colonies and Dependencies which is exemplified in the formation of the monopolist Clove-Grower's Association in Zanzibar and in such measure as the Tanganyika Native Produce Bill, East Africa Transport Projects, the reservations of the highlands in Kenya for the white population and the degrading treatment of Indians in Mauritius and Fiji

This Congress wholeheartedly associates itself with the struggles of overseas Indians to maintain even their present position and status in the territories in which they have settled

[1]A M Zaid and S G Zaidi (eds), *The Encyclopaedia of Indian Congress* Vol XI, op cit pp 424 40

This Congress assures its fellow-countrymen overseas of its full sympathy and help and expresses its readiness to take all actions within its power to ameliorate their condition

This Congress further wishes to assure the original inhabitants of South and East Africa that the demand of the Indian settlers is not conceived in any spirit of hostility towards them but is put forward to prevent the common exploitation of both the Africans and the Indian settlers by British Imperialism

Indians in Zanzibar

The Congress expresses its appreciation of the response of the Indian people to the appeal made on behalf of the Congress to refrain from the use of cloves and that the boycott of trade in cloves in Zanzibar by the Indian merchants has been complete and satisfactory The Congress congratulates the Indians in Zanzibar and the clove merchants in India on the manner in which they maintained this boycott

The Congress however regrets that the question of the rights of Indians in Zanzibar for internal and export trade has not yet been satisfactorily solved The Congress repeats its request to the Indian people to continue the disuse of cloves and presses upon the attention of the merchants the desirability of continuing the boycott of trade in cloves and trusts that by these measures the Zanzibar Government would be compelled in the near future to do justice to the Indian traders in Zanzibar by rescinding the objectionable decrees

Indians in Ceylon

The Congress is deeply concerned over the thereatened estrangement of feelings between the people of Ceylon and the Indian population in the Island consequent on certain legislation in regard to local administration, and apprhensions as to discriminatory measures that may be further undertaken The Congress urges on the Government of Ceylon and her public men not to adopt any policy directly or indirectly aimed at discrimination against the Indians living and carrying on their avocations in Ceylon In particular, the Congress notes with regret that laws have been recently framed so as to deny the Indian labourers, who have helped and are helping in the development of the resources of the Island, the franchise in the local administration and to make the Indian residents apprehend further restrictions on their civil rights and to feel that they are to be relegated to an inferior political status The Congress hopes that such measures will not be undertaken and that any legislation that has created such a feelings will be so modified as to make India feel that, in spite of being separate governments, Ceylon and India are one and inseparable so far as the people are concerned

China

The Congress has viewed with anxious concern the aggression of a brutal imperialism in China and the horrors and frightfulness that have accompanied it In the opinion of the Congress this imperialist invasion is fraught with the gravest consequences for the future of world peace and of freedom in Asia The Congress sends its deepest sympathy to the people of China in their great ordeal and expresses its admiration for the heroic struggle they are conducting to maintain their freedom and integrity It congratulates them on achieving national unity and coordination in the face of danger, and assures them of the solidarity of the Indian people with them in the common task of combating imperialism and achieving freedom

As mark of India's sympathy with the Chinese people, the Congress calls upon the people of India to refrain from purchasing Japanese goods

Palestine

The Congress condemns the decision of Great Britain as a Mandatory Power to bring about the partition of Palestine in the teeth of the opposition of the Arabs and the appointment of a Commission to carry out this project The Congress records its emphatic protest against the continuation of the reign of terror which is still being maintained in Palestine to force this policy upon the unwilling Arabs The Congress expresses its full sympathy with the Arabs in their struggle for national freedom and their fight against British Imperialism

The Congress holds that the proper method of solving the problem by which the Jews and the Arabs are faced in Palestine is by amicable settlement between themselves and appeals to the Jews not to seek the shelter of the British Mandatory and not to allow themselves to be exploited in the interests of British Imperialism

Foreign Policy and War Danger

In view of the grave danger of widespread and devastating war which overshadows the world, the Congress desires to state afresh the policy of the Indian people in regard to foreign relations and war

The people of India desire to live in peace and friendship with their neighbours and with all other countries and for this purpose wish to remove all causes of conflict between them Striving for their own freedom and independence as a nation, they desire to respect the freedom of others, and to build up their strength on the basis of international cooperation and goodwill Such cooperation must be founded on a world order and a free India will gladly associate itself with such an order and stand for disarmament and collective security But world cooperation is impossible of achievement so long as the roots of international conflict remained and one nation dominates over another and imperialism holds sway In order therefore to establish world peace on an enduring basis, imperialism and the exploitation of one people by another must end

During the past few years there has been a rapid and deplorable deterioration in international relations fascist aggression has increased and an unabashed defiance of international obligations has become the avowed policy of fascist powers British foreign policy in spite of its evasions and indecisions, has consistently supported the fascist powers in Germany, Spain and the Far East, and must therefore, largely shoulder the responsibility for the progressive deterioration of the world situation The policy still seeks an arrangement with Nazi Germany and has developed closer relations with rebel Spain It is helping in the drift to imperialist world war

India can be no party to such an imperialist war and will not permit her manpower and resources to be exploited in the interests of British imperialism Nor can India join any war without the express consent of her people The Congress, therefore, entirely disapproves of war preparations being made in India and large scale manoeuvres and airraid precautions by which it has been sought to spread an atmosphere of approaching war in India In the event of an attempt being made to involve India in a war, this will be resisted

Excluded Areas

A This Congress reaffirms its opinion that the creation of excluded and partially excluded areas and Chief commissiners' Province, including British Baluchistan and Coorg under the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935 obstructs the growth of uniform democratic institutions in integral parts of India covering an area of over 207,900 square miles and inhabited by over 13 million people

This Congress condemns this step as one of the attempts to divide the people of India into differenct groups for unjustifiable and discriminatory treatment repressing their liberties and obstructing their progress

This Congress further reiterates the opinion that the separation of these excluded and partially excluded areas undoubtedly aims at leaving a larger control of disposition and exploitation of the mineral and forest wealth in those areas in the hands of the British Government

This Congress declares that the same level of democratic and self governing institutions should be applicable to all parts of India without any distinction

B This Congress supports the demand of the inhabitants of the Chief Commissioners' provinces of Ajmer Merwara and Coorg that their provinces may be amalgamated with the United Provinces, and with Karnatak in the province of Bombay respectively

C This Congress condemns the reactionary and irresponsible administration of the province of Delhi attended with suppression of civil liberties and burdened with high taxes and extremely heavy land revenue and other similar measures adopted by the Delhi administration

Ajmer Merwara and the Indian States

The Congress has heard with great resentment of the separation of about 115 villages from Ajmer-Merwara province and now placed under a temporary administration preparatorty to these villages being surrendered partly to Jodhpur and partly to Udaipur States

The Congress condemns this action of the British Government taken in the teeth of the direct opposition of the people of this area

Federation

The Congress has rejected the new Constitution and declared that a constitution for India, which can be accepted by the people must be based on independence and can only be framed by the people themselves by means of a Constituent Assembly without interference by any foreign authority Adhering to this policy of rejection the Congress has, however, permitted the formation in provinces of Congress Ministries with a view to strengthen the nation in its struggle for independence In regard to the proposed Federation, no such considerations apply even provisionally or for a period, and the imposition of this Federation will do grave injury to India and tighten the bonds which hold her in subjection to imperialist domination This scheme of Federation excludes from the sphere of responsibility vital functions of government

The Congress is not opposed to the idea of Federation, but a real Federation must, even apart from the question of responsibility consist of free units enjoying more or less the same measure of freedom and civil liberty, and representation by the democratic process of election The Indian States participating in the Federation should approximate to the provinces in the establishment of representative institutions and responsible government, civil liberties and method of election to the Federal Houses Otherwise the Federation as it is now contemplated will instead of building up Indian unity, encourage separatist tendencies and invlove the States in internal and external conflicts

The Congress therefore reiterates its condemnation of the proposed Federal Scheme and calls upon the Provincial and Local Congress Committees and the people generally as well as the Provincial Governments and Ministries, to prevent its inauguration In the event of an attempt being made to impose it, despite the declared will of the people such an attempt must be combated in every way and the Provincial Governments and Ministries must refuse to

co-operate with it In case such a contingency arises the All India Congress Committee is authorised and directed to determine the line of action to be pursued in this regard

Kenya

The Congress is of opinion that the administrative practice of excluding British Indians from acquiring lands in the Highlands of Kenya Colony while a European of any nationality is free to do so constitutes a humiliating disability to the Indians settled in kenya and is a deliberate offence to the Indian people

This Congress further condemns the proposal to promulgate an Order-in-Council defining the boundaries of the white Highlands which is calculated to perpetuate statutorily the erstwhile iniquitous practice which should have been abolished long ago in accordance with the declarations of the government of India at the time of the issue of the White Paper of 1923 The pledge given by the government of India to get the subject reopened still remains and will become totally incapable of being carried out in the event of the proposed Order-in-Council being passed

Midnapore Congress Organisations

The Congress strongly deprecates the continuance of the ban on about 110 Congress Organisations in the district of Midnapore imposed by the Government of Bengal and is of opinion that the plea put forward by the Government to the effect that the Congress Committees are limbs of a terrorist organisation is entirely unjustified

National Education

The Congress has emphasized the importance of national education ever since 1906 and during the non cooperation period many national educational institutions were started under its auspices The Congress attaches the utmost importance to a proper organisation of mass education and holds that all national progress ultimately depends on the method and content and objective of the education that is provided for the people The existing system of education in India is admitted to have failed Its objectives have been anti-national and anti-social, its methods have been antiquated and it has been confined to a small number of people and has left the vast majority of our people illiterate It is essential therefore to build up national education on a new foundation and on a nationwide scale As the Congress is having new opportunities of service and of influencing and controlling state education it is necessary to lay down the basic principles which should guide such education and to take other necessary steps to give effect to them The Congress is of opinion that for the primary and secondary stages a basic education should be imparted in accordance with the following principles

1 Free and compulsory education should be provided for seven years on a nationwide scale

2 The medium of instruction must be the mother tongue

3 Throughout this period education should centre round some form of manual and productive work, and all other activities to be developed or training to be given should as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child

Accordingly the Congress is of opinion that an All India Education Board to deal with this basic part of education be established, and for this purpose requests and authorises Dr Zakir Husain and Shri E Aryanayakam to take immediate steps, under the advice and guidance of Gandhiji, to bring such a Board into existence, in order to work out in a consolidated manner a programme of basic

national education and to recommend it for acceptance to those who are in control of state or private education

The said Board shall have power to frame its own Constitution, to raise funds and perform all such acts as may be necessary for the fulfilment of its objects

Minority Rights

The Congress welcomes the growth of anti imperialist feeling among the Muslim and other minorities in India and the growing unity of all classes and communities in India in the struggle for India's independence which is essentially one and indivisible and can only be carried on effectively on a united national basis In particular the Congress welcomes the large numbers of the minority communities who have joined the Congress during the past year and given their mass support to the struggle for freedom and the ending of the exploitation of India s masses

The Congress approves of and confirms the resolution of the Working Committee on Minority Rights passed in Calcutta in October 1937 and declares afresh that it regards it as its primary duty and fundamental policy to protect the religious linguistic cultural and other rights of the minorities in India so as to ensure for them in any scheme of government to which the Congress is a party, the widest scope for their development and their participation in the fullest measure in the political economic and cultural life of the nation

Indian States

In view of the fact that owing to the growth of public life and the demand for freedom in the Indian States new problems are arising and new conflicts are taking place the Congress lays down afresh its policy in regard to the States

The Congress stands for the same political social and economic freedom in the States as in the rest of India and considers the States as integral parts of India which cannot be separated The *Purna Swaraj* or complete independence, which is the objective of the Congress is for the whole of India, inclusive of the States for the integrity and unity of India must be maintained in freedom as it has been maintained in subjection The only kind of federation that can be acceptable to the Congress is one in which the States participate as free units, enjoying the same measure of democratic freedom as the rest of India The Congress, therefore, stands for full responsible government and the guarantee of civil liberty in the States, and deplores the present backward conditions and utter lack of freedom and suppression of civil liberties in many of these States

The Congress considers it its right and privilege to work for the attainment of this objective in the States But, under existing circumstances the Congress is not in a position to work effectively to this end within the States, and numerous limitations and restrictions imposed by the rulers, or by British authority working through them hamper its activities The hope and assurance which its name and great prestige raise in the people of the States find no immediate fulfillment, and disillusion results It is not in consonance with the dignity of the Congress to have local committees which cannot function effectively, or to tolerate indignity to the National Flag The inability of the Congress to give protection or effective help, when hopes have been raised, produces helplessness in the people of the States and hinders the development of their movement for freedom

In view of the different conditions prevailing in the States and the rest of India the general policy of the Congress is often unsuited to the States and may result

in preventing or hampering the natural growth of a freedom movement in a State Such movements are likely to develop more rapidly and to have a broader basis, if they draw their strength from the people of the State, produce self-reliance in them, and are in tune with the conditions prevailing there, and do not rely on extraneous help and assistance or on the prestige of the Congress name The Congress welcomes such movements but in the nature of things and under present conditions, the burden of carrying on the struggle for freedom must fall on the people of the States The Congress will always extend its goodwill and support to such struggles, carried on in a peaceful and legitimate manner but that organisational help will inevitably be, under existing conditions moral support and sympathy Individual Congress men however will be free to render further assistance in their personal capacities In this way the struggle can develop without committing the Congress organisation and thus unhindered by external considerations

The Congress therefore directs that, for the present Congress Committees in the States shall function under the direction and control of the Congress Working Committee and shall not engage in parliamentary activity nor launch on direct action in the name and under the auspices of the Congress Internal struggles of the people of the States must not be undertaken in the name of the Congress For this purpose independent organisations should be started and continued where they exist already within the States

The Congress desires to assure the people of the States of its solidarity with them and of its active and vigilant interest in and sympathy with their movement for freedom It trusts that the day of their deliverance is not far distant

Ministerial Resignations in U P and Bihar

In accordance with the direction of the Faizpur Congress, the All India Congress Committee decided in March 1937 the issue of acceptance of office in provinces and permitted Congress men to form Ministries, provided certain assurances were given by or on behalf of the British Government These assurances not being forthcoming the Leaders of Congress Parties in the Provincial Assemblies declined at first to form Ministries Thereafter there was a considerable argument for some months regarding these assurances and various declarations were made by the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy and the Governors of the Provinces In these declarations it was definitely stated, among other things, that there would be no interference with the day to day administration of provincial affairs by responsible Ministers

The experience of office by Congress Ministers in the Provinces has shown that at least in two provinces, the United Provinces and Bihar, there has in fact been interference in the day to day administration of provincial affairs as shown hereafter The Governors, when they invited Congress members to form Ministries knew that the Congress manifesto had mentioned the release of political prisoners as one of the major items of the Congress policy In pursuance thereof the Ministers began the release of political prisoners and they soon experienced delay which was sometimes vexations before the Governors would endorse the orders of release The way releases have been repeatedly delayed is evidence of the exemplary patience of Ministers

In the opinion of the Congress release of prisoners is a matter coming essentially within the purview of day to day administration, which does not admit of protracted discussion with Governors The function of the Governor is to guide and advise Ministers, and not to interfere with the free exercise of their judgment in the discharge of their day to day duty It was only when the time came for the Working Committee to give an annual account to the Congress delegates and to the masses of people backing them that the Committee had to instruct Ministers who were themselves sure of their ground, to order release of the political prisoners in their charge and to resign if their orders were

countermanded The Congress approves of and endorses the action taken by the Ministers of the United Provinces and Bihar and congratulates them on it

In the opinion of the Congress, the interference of the Governor-General with the deliberate action of the respective Prime Ministers is not merely a violation of the assurance above referred to, but it is also a misapplication of Section 126 (5) of the Government of India Act There was no question of grave menace to peace and tranquillity involved The Prime Ministers had besides in both cases satisfied themselves from assurances from the prisoners concerned and otherwise of their change of mentality and acceptance of the Congress policy of non-violence Indeed it is the Governor-General's interference which has undoubtedly created a situation that may easily, in spite of the Congress effort to the contrary, become such a grave menace

The Congress has during the short period that Congress men have held office given sufficient evidence of their self-sacrifice, administrative capacity and constructive ability in the matter of enacting legislation for the amelioration of economic and social evils The Congress gladly admits that a measure of co operation was extended by the Governors to the Ministers It has been the sincere effort on the part of the Congress to extract what is possible from the Act for the public good and to strengthen the people in the pursuit of their goal of complete independence and the ending of imperialistic exploitation of the masses of India

The Congress does not desire to precipitate a crisis which may involve non violent non cooperation and direct action consistent with the Congress policy of truth and non violence The Congress is therefore at present reluctant to instruct Ministers in other provinces to send in their resignations by way of protest against the Governor General s action and invites His Excellency the Governor-General to reconsider his decision so that the Governors may act constitutionally and accept the advice of their Ministers in the matter of the release of the political prisoners

The Congress regards the formation of irresponsible Ministries as a way of disguising the naked rule of the sword The formation of such Ministries is calculated to rouse extreme bitterness internal quarrels and further deepen the resentment against the British Government When the Congress approved of acceptance of office with great reluctance and considerable hesitation, it had no misgivings about its own estimate of the real nature of the government of India Act The latest action of the Governor General justifies that estimate and not only exposes the utter inadequacy of the Act to bring real liberty to the people but also shows the intention of the British Government to use and interpret it not for the expansion of liberty, but for its restriction Whatever, therefore, may be the ultimate result of the present crisis, the people of India should realise that there can be no freedom for the country so long as this Act is not ended and a constitution, framed by a Constituent Assembly, elected purely on the basis of adult franchise takes its place The aim of all Congress men, whether in office or out of office in legislatures or out of legislatures, can only be to reach that goal even though it may mean, as it often must mean, sacrifice of many a present advantage however beneficial and worthy it might be for the time being

On behalf of the U P Governor it has been stated that the demonstrations organised to welcome the Kakori prisoners and the speeches delivered by some of them had interfered with the policy of gradual release of political prisoners The Congress has always discouraged unseemly demonstrations and other objectionable activities The demonstrations and speeches referred to by the U P Governor were strongly disapproved by Mahatama Gandhi Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru President of the Congress, has similarly taken immediate notice of the indiscipline which was thus betrayed Nor were they ignored by the Ministers As a result of these corrective steps public opinion rapidly changed and even the persons concerned came to realise their mistake And when six prisoners, one of

whom was a prominent member of the Kakori group, were released subsequently about two month after the release of the Kakori prisoners, no demonstrations were held in their honour nor any reception was accorded to them Nearly four more months have since elapsed and any dely in releasing the remaining fifteen prisoners only on account of the demonstrations or the speeches connected with the prisoners who were released in August is now utterly unjustified The responsibility for the maintenance of law and order is that of the Ministers and they are entitled to perform their functions in such manner as they deem proper It is their business to weigh all relevant factors in the light of prevailing circumstances, but their decisions once taken ought to be accepted and enforced Any interference with them in the exercise of their powers in the normal day to day administration is bound to undermine and weaken their position The Congress Ministers have more than once declared their determination to take adequate action in the matter of violent crime, and the risk run in releasing prisoners especially when they have abjured the path of violence is altogether imaginary

The Congress has given during the past few months ample evidence of its desire to take severe notice of indiscipline and breach of the code of non-violence that the Congress has laid down for itself Nevertheless the Congress invites the attention of Congress men to the fact that indiscipline in speech and action calculated to promote or breed violence retards the progress of the country towards its cherished goal

In pursuit of its programme of release of political prisoners, the Congress has not hesitated to sacrifice office and the opportunity of passing ameliorative measures But Congress wishes to make it clear that it strongly disapproves of hunger strikes for release Hunger strikes embarrass the Congress in pursuit of its policy of securing release of political prisoners The Congress therefore, urges those who are still continuing their hunger strike in the Punjab to give up their strike and assures them that whether in provinces where Congress men hold ministerial offices or in other provinces Congress men will continue their efforts to secure the release of detenus and political prisoners by all legitimate and peaceful means

In view of the situation that has arisen in the country the Congress authorises the Working Committee to take such action as it may consider necessary and to take the direction of the All India Congress Committee in dealing with the crisis whenever necessity arises for it[1]

Kisan Sabhas

In view of certain difficulties that have arisen in regard to the Kisan Sabhas and other organisations in some parts of India, the Congress desires to clarify the position and state its attitude in regard to them The Congress has already fully recognised the right of Kisans to organise themselves in peasant unions Nevertheless it must be remembered that the Congress itself is in the main a Kisan organisation and as contacts with the masses have increased vast numbers of Kisans have joined it and influenced its policy The Congress must, and has in fact, stood for these Kisan masses and championed their claims, and has worked for the independence of India which must be based on the freedom from

[1]For the government position in the crisis that there would be no mass release of prisoners and cases of prisoners would be considered on individual basis, see Viceroy s statement *Statesman*, 23 February 1938 As for the Muslim League the *Statesman* in the same issue as above reported

> Muslim League leaders having maintained an attitude of nentrality in the controversy are not prepared to comment on the Viceroy's statement The feeling in these quarters is that the conflict was precipitated unjustifiably and that if the solution proposed by the Viceroy is accepted, it would prove how unwise both sides were in having quarrelled The crisis was eventually averted by mutual accommodation

exploitation of all our people In order to achieve this independence and strengthen the Kisans and realise their demands, it is essential that the Congress be strengthened and Kisans should be invited to join it in ever larger numbers and organise to carry on their struggle under its banner It is thus the duty of every Congress man to work for the spread of the Congress organisation in every village in India and not to do anything which weakens this organisation in any way

While fully recognising the right of the Kisans to organise Kisan Sabhas, the Congress cannot associate itself with any activities which are incompatible with the basic principles of the Congress and will not countenance any of the activities of those Congress men who as members of the Kisan Sabhas help in creating an atmosphere hostile to Congress principles and policy The Congress therefore calls upon Provincial Congress Committees to bear the above in mind and in pursuance of it take suitable action wherever called for

Constitutional Changes

Certain changes were introduced in the Constitution at the Open Session These changes are incorporated in the new Constitution published after Haripura The Congress also passed the following resolution appointing a constitution committee

Constitutional Committee

This Congress appoints a Committee consisting of — Shri Subhas Chandra Bose, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri Jairamdas Daulatram, Shri Bhulabhai J Desai, Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Shri Achyut Patwardhan, Shri S A Brelvi Shri Kiran Sankar Roy Shri Anandshivam Iyengar and Shri J B Kripalani as convener to consider and frame rules if necessary concerning the following matters

a The advisability or otherwise of indirect elections of delegates,

b Genuine membership and proper elections,

c Suitability of territorial representation on the AICC and in provinces where it may be considered suitable, the method of such representation,

d Suitability or otherwise of the method of proportional representation by single transferable vote in the elections to the membership of the AICC

e Any Consequential changes that may be necessary as a result of fixing of constituencies in connection with Article VI (c)

The recommendations of this Committee will be given effect to on their being approved by the AICC

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Tripuri (Central Provinces), 52nd Annual Session, 10-12 March 1939, Subhas Chandra Bose presided[1]

Condolence

This Congress expresses its sense of sorrow and loss at the deaths of Maulana Shaukat Ali, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Begam Ansari and Messrs K Raman Menon, G S Khaparde, B Raja Rau, Nathuji Jagtap, Thakur Gulzar Sinha, Rajaram Shukla, Devi Prasad Shukla K K Bhat, Dhundiraj Mahadeo Naik Abdul Wahid, Balwantrai P Thakore, Mahesh Prasad Nigam, Pandit Mahabir Prasad Dwivedi, Upendranath Mukerji, Jwala Singh, K Nageshwar Rau, Rajab Ali Patel Ghaltu Venkat, Chaturanan Das, Banchhanidhi Mahantry Girija Bhusan Datt Shrinath Das and Pratap Singh

Egyption Delegation

The Congress extends its cordial welcome to the fraternal delegation from the Wafd Party of Egypt and considers this visit as symbolising the solidarity of the movements for freedom in Egypt and India The Congress sends its greetings to the people of Egypt and its earnest wishes for their complete success in achieving full freedom It trusts that the association of the peoples of Egypt and India will ever grow closer and more fruitful in the furtherance of world peace and freedom

China

The Congress sends its greetings to the people of China and its deepest sympathy in their trial and privations in their struggle against ruthless and in human imperialism It congratulates them on their heroic resistance

The Congress expresses its approval of the sending of a medical mission on its behalf to the people of China and trusts this mission will continue to receive full support so that it may carry on its work of succour effectively and be a worthy symbol of Indian solidarity with China

National Demand

The Congress has for more than half a century striven for the advancement of the people of India and has represented the urge of the Indian people towards freedom and self-expression During the past twenty years it has engaged itself on behalf of the masses of the country in struggle against British Imperialism, and through the suffering and disciplined sacrifice of the people it has carried the nation a long way to the independence that is its objective With the growing strength of the people, it has adapted itself to a changing and developing situation, and while pursuing various programmes, has ever worked for the independence of India and the establishment of a democratic State in the country Rejecting the Government of India Act and with the full determination to end it, it decided to take advantage of the measure of provincial autonomy that the Act provided restricted and circumscribed as it was, in order to strengthen the national movement and to give such relief to the masses as was possible under the circumstances To the Federal part of the Act the Congress declared its uncompromising opposition and its determination to resist its imposition

[1] A M Zaidi and S G Zaidi (eds), *The Encyclopaedia of Indian National Congress A Fight to the Finish, 1939 1946*, Vol XII Indian Institute of Applied Research New Delhi, 1981 pp 156 63

The Congress declares afresh its solemn resolve to achieve independence for the nation and to have a constitution framed for a free India through a Constituent Assembly elected by the people on the basis of adult franchise and without any interference by a foreign authority No other constitutions or attempted solutions of the problem can be accepted by the Indian people

The Congress is of opinion that in view of the situation in India the organised strength of the national movement, the remarkable growth of consciousness of the masses, the new awakening among the people of the states, as well as the rapid development of the world situation, the principle of self-determination must now be applied to the fullest extent to India so that the people of India might establish an independent democratic state by means of a Constituent Assembly Not only the inherent right and dignity of the people demand this full freedom, but also the economic and other problems which press insistently on the masses cannot find solution nor can India get rid of her poverty and keep pace with modern progress unless her people have full opportunities of self development and growth which independence alone can give Provincial Autonomy affords no such scope for development and its capacity for good is being rapidly exhausted the proposed Federation strangles India still further and will not be accepted The Congress is therefore firmly of opinion that this whole Government of India Act must give place to constitution of a free India made by the people themselves

An independent and democratic India will face the solution of her great problems rapidly and effectively and will line herself with the progressive peoples of the world and thus aid the cause of democracy and freedom

With a view to a speedy realization of the Congress objective and in order to face effectively the national and international crises that loom ahead and prepare the country for a nationwide struggle, this Congress calls upon all parts of the Congress organisation the Congress Provincial Governments and the people generally, to work to this end by promoting unity and seeking to eliminate disruptive forces and conditions which lead to communal conflicts and national disunity by co ordinating the activities of the Provincial Governments with the work outside the legislatures, and by strengthening the organisation so as to make it a still more effective organ of the people's will

Congress Machinery

Inasmuch as experience has shown that the working of the Congress machinery is often rendered difficult by abuses in the matter of enrolment of members elections and otherwise, and it is urgently necessary to remove all such defects the Congress authorises the All India Congress Committee to take all steps that may be necessary to attain that end including changes in the Constitution The All India Congress Committee shall have authority to give immediate effect to such constitutional changes

Reaffirmation of Congress Policy

In view of various misunderstandings that have arisen in the Congress and the country on account of the controversies in connection with the Presidential election and after it is desirable that the Congress should clarify the position and declare its general policy

This Congress declares its firm adherence to the fundamental policies which have governed its programme in the past years under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi and is definitely of opinion that there should be no break in these policies and that they should continue to govern the Congress programme in future This Congress expresses its confidence in the work of the Working Committee which functioned during the last year and regrets that any aspersions should have been cast against any of its members

In view of the critical situation that may develop during the coming year and in view of the fact that Mahatma Gandhi alone can lead the Congress and the country to victory during such crisis, the Congress regards it as imperative that its executive should command his implicit confidence and requests the President to appoint the Working Committee in accordance with the wishes of Gandhiji [1]

Palestine

The Congress has previously declared its full sympathy with the Arabs in Palestine in their struggle for national freedom and their fight against British Imperialism and has condemned the policy of the mandatory power in Palestine Subsequent events have disclosed the continuance of a reign of terror maintained by the British army and police in the name of law and order The courage, determination and sacrifices made by the Arabs in the struggle have evoked the admiration of the people of India who desire to convey to them again their greetings and good wishes for the complete success in the attainment of their objective

While sympathising with the plight of the Jews in Europe and elsewhere, the Congress deplores that in Palestine the Jews have relied on British armed forces to advance their special privileges and thus aligned themselves on the side of British Imperialism The Congress trusts that the Arabs and Jews will endeavor to find a basis for direct co operation with a view to establishing an independent democratic State in Palestine with adequate protection of Jewish rights

Baluchistan

In view of the fact that British Baluchistan is still being governed in the old irresponsible and bureaucratic manner the Congress demands that democratic and responsible form of government be introduced in the province without any delay and it be granted the same constitutional status as other provinces of India

Foreign Policy

The Congress records its entire disapproval of British Foreign Policy culminating in the Munich Pact, the Anglo-Italian Agreement and the recognition of Rebel Spain This policy has been one of deliberate betrayal of democracy, repeated breach of pledges, the ending of the system of collective security and cooperation with governments which are avowed enemies of democracy and freedom As a result of this policy, the world is being reduced to a state of international anarchy where brutal violence triumphs and flourishes unchecked and decides the fate of nations, and in the name of peace stupendous preparations are being made for the most terrible of wars International morality has sunk so low in Central and South Western Europe that the world has witnessed with horror the organised terrorism of the Nazi Government against people of the Jewish race and the continuous bombing from the air by rebel forces of cities and civilian inhabitants and helpless refugees

[1] This has the background of leadership tussle between the more radical Subhas Chandra Bose then Congress President, and Gandhi which ended in Bose s resignation from Congress Presidentship on 29 April 1939 and the formation by him of 'Forward Block From the Presidential chair of the above session Bose had proposed 'that the Indian National Congress should immediately send an ultimatum to the British Government demanding Independence within six months This proposal was opposed by Gandhi and Nehru and was thus rejected causing a deadlock For more details, see Subhas Chandra Bose, *The Indian Struggle 1920 1942* Asia Publishing House, New York, 1964, pp 331 33

The Congress dissociates itself entirely from British foreign policy which has consistently aided the Fascist Powers and helped in the destruction of democratic countries The Congress is opposed to imperialism and fascism a like and is convinced that world peace and progress required the ending of both of these In the opinion of the Congress it is urgently necessary for India to direct her own foreign policy as an independent nation, thereby keeping aloof from both Imperialism and fascism and pursuing her path of peace and freedom

Indian States[1]

The Congress welcomes the awakening of the people of the Indian States in many parts of the country and considers this as a hopeful prelude to the larger freedom comprising the whole of India, for which the Congress has laboured The Congress supports the demand for responsible government and civil liberty in the States and expresses its solidarity with these movement for freedom and self-expression which are integral parts of the larger struggle for the freedom of the whole country While appreciating that some rulers of the States have recognised this awakening as a healthy sign of growth and are seeking to adjust themselves to it in cooperation with their people, the Congress regrets that some other rulers have sought to suppress these movements by banning peaceful and legitimate organisations and all political activity and in some cases, resorting to cruel and inhuman repression In particular the Congress deplores the attempt of some rulers to seek the aid of the British Government in India to suppress their own people, and condemns the unwarranted use of military and police forces lent by the British authorities

The Congress expresses its sympathy with the sufferings of the growing number of refugees from the various States and trusts that the public will render them every assistance

The whole of India was profoundly stirred by the announcement of an indefinite fast by Gandhiji in order to remedy the breach by the Thakore Sahib of Rajkot of the settlement arrived at between him and his councillors on the one hand and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, as representing the people, on the other The Congress express its gratification at the recent agreement resulting in the termination of the fast and trusts that the people of Rajkot will have their aspirations fulfilled and further hopes that the Princes of Kathiawar and other parts of India will march with the times and, in co operation with their people, introduce responsible government

The Congress regrets that several State Governments besides Rajkot, have gone back upon their assurances to their people and their pledged word It trusts that these breaches of agreement will be repaired and the assurances given will be honoured

The Congress is of opinion that the resolution of the Haripura session of the Congress, relating to the States has answered the expectations raised by it and has justified itself by encouraging the peoples of the States to organise themselves and conduct their own movements for freedom The Haripura policy was conceived in the best interests of the people in order to enable them to develop self reliance and strength This policy was dictated by circumstances and by a recognition of the limitations inherent in the circumstances, but it was never conceived as an obligation The Congress has always possessed the right, as it is its duty to guide the people of the States and lend them its influence The great awakening that is taking place among the people of the States may lead to a relaxation or to a complete removal of the restraint which the Congress imposed

[1]For a study in contrast see Resolutions 9 11 of Muslim League Council Meeting, 8 April 1939 appendix XVIII 19 and Jinnah s remarks and the Council meeting proceedings on 10 April 1939 *Supra* pp 364 67

upon itself, thus resulting in an ever increasing identification of the Congress with the States' peoples The Working Committee is authorised to issue instructions in this behalf from time to time as occasion arises

The Congress desires to reiterate that its objective complete independence, is for the whole of India, inclusive of the states, which are integral parts of India which cannot be separated and which must have the same measure of political social, economic and religious freedom as the rest of India

Indians Overseas

This Congress notes with grave concern and anxiety the rapidly deteriorating position of Indians overseas, specially in countries within the so-called British Commonwealth of Nations and extends its sympathy and support to all Indian nationals abroad in their just struggle for the assertion of their legitimate rights, political, civic and economic This Congress notes with particular anxiety the danger to Indian life and property in Burma, the hostile attitude towards Indians in Ceylon, the reservation of the Kenya Highlands to Europeans to the exclusion of Indians and the attempt to segregate and pass unjust laws against Indians in South Africa This Congress expresses its opinion that only a free and independent India can effectively help its nationals abroad In the meantime, the Congress calls upon the people of this country to do everything in their power to help the cause of Indians overseas

Next Congress

Resolved that the next session of the Congress be held in Bihar during the last week of December of this year

6

Ramgarh (Bihar), 53rd Annual Session, 19-20 March 1940, Abul Kalam Azad presided[1]

India and the War Crisis—Call to the Nation

This Congress having considered the grave and critical situation resulting from the war in Europe and British policy in regard to it, approves of and endorses the resolutions passed and the action taken on the war situation by the AICC and the Working Committee The Congress considers the declaration by the British Government of India as a belligerent country, without any reference to the people of India, and the exploitation of India's resources in this War, as an affront to them which no self respecting and freedom loving people can accept or tolerate The recent pronouncements made on behalf of the British Government in regard to India demonstrate that Great Britain is carrying on the war fundamentally for imperialist ends and for the preservation and strengthening of her Empire, which is based on the exploitation of the people of India, as well as of other Asiatic and African countries Under these circumstances, it is clear that the Congress cannot in any way, directly or indirectly, be party to the war, which means continuance and perpetuation of this exploitation The Congress therefore strongly disapproves of Indian troops being made to fight for Great Britain and of the drain from India of men and material for the purpose of the war Neither the recruiting nor the money raised in India can be considered to be voluntary contributions from India Congress men and those under the Congress influence cannot help in the prosecution of the war with men, money or material

[1]A M Zaid and S G Zaidi (eds), *The Encyclopaedia of Indian National Congress* Vol XII, 1981 op cit pp 297 and 367 9

The Congress hereby declares again that nothing short of complete independence can be accepted by the people of India Indian freedom cannot exist within the orbit of imperialism, and dominion or any other status within the imperial structure is wholly inapplicable to India, is not in keeping with the dignity of a great nation and would bind India in many ways to British policies and economic structure The people ofIndia alone can properly shape their own constitution and determine their relations to the other countries of the world, through a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage

The Congress is further of opinion that while it will always be ready as it ever has been to make every effort to secure communal harmony, no permanent solution is possible except through a Constituent Assembly where the rights of all recognised minorities will be fully protected by agreement, as far as possible between the elected representatives of various majority and minority groups, or by arbitration if agreement is not reached on any point Any alternative will lack finality India's constitution must be based on independence, democracy and national unity and the Congress repudiates attempts to divide India or to split up her nationhood The Congress has always aimed at a constitution where the fullest freedom and opportunities of development are guaranteed to the group and the individual, and social injustice yields place to a juster social order

The Congress cannot admit the right of the Rulers of Indian States, or of foreign vested interests to come in the way of Indian freedom Sovereignty in India must rest with the people whether in the states or the provinces, and all other interests must be subordinated to their vital interests The Congress holds that the difficulty raised in regard to the states is of British creation and it will not be satisfactorily solved unless the declaration of the freedom of India from foreign rule is unequivocally made Foreign interests, if they are not in conflict with the interests of the Indian people will be protected

The Congress withdrew the ministries from the provinces where the Congress had a majority in order to dissociate India from the war and to enforce the Congress determination to free India from foreign domination This preliminary step must naturally be followed by Civil Disobedience to which the Congress will unhesitatingly resort as soon as the Congress organisation is considered fit enough for the propose, or in case circumstances so shape themselves as to precipitate a crisis The Congress desires to draw the attention of Congress men to Gandhiji s declaration that he can only undertake the responsibility of declaring Civil Disobedience when he is satisfied that they are strictly observing discipline and are carrying out the Constructive Programme prescribed in the Independence Pledge

The Congress seeks to represent and serve all classes and communities without distinction of race or religion and the struggle for Indian independence is for the freedom of the whole nation Hence the Congress cherishes the hope that all classes and communities will take part in it The purpose of Civil Disobedience is to evoke the spirit of sacrifice in the whole nation

The Congress hereby authorises the All India Congress Committee and in the event of this being necessary, the Working Committee, to take all steps to implement the foreign resolution as the Committee concerned may deem necessary

Indian National Congress Resolutions, All India Congress Committee Meetings, 1935-40

1

Jubbulpore, Committee Meeting, 24-25 April 1935[1]

Congress Parliamentary Board

The Committee elected the following members to the Congress Parliamentary Board

1 Shri Bhulabhai J Desai
2 Mrs Sarojini Naidu
3 Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
4 Shri C Rajagopalachari
5 Shri K F Nariman
6 Dr Khan Saheb
7 Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant
8 Shri S Satyamurti
9 Shri K M Munshi
10 Shri Nabin Chandra Bardoloi
11 Shri Surendra Mohan Moitra
12 Shri Asaf Ali
13 Shri Sri Krishna Sinha
14 Shri Anugrah Narayan Sinha
15 Shri Sri Prakasa
16 Shri Govind Das
17 Shri N V Gadgil
18 Shri Rafi Ahmad Kidwai
19 Dr Satyapal
20 Shri T Parakasam
21 Shri K Nageswar Rao
22 Shri Kiransankar Ray
23 Shri Nilkantha Das
24 Dr N B Khare
25 Shri S K Hosamani

Election Disputes Panel

The following members were elected to the Election Disputes Panel

1 Sardar Sardul Singh, Advocate
2 Capt Lal Avadhesh Pratap Singh
3 Shri T Vishwanatham
4 Shri Mohanlal Saksena
5 Shri C N Muthuranga Mudaliar
6 Shri N V Gadgil

[1]A M Zaidi and S G Zaidi (eds), *The Encyclopaedia of the Indian National Congress The Battle for Swaraj*, Vol X 1930 35 Indian Institute of Applied Political Research New Delhi 1980, pp 449 52

7 Shri Kamini Kumar Dutta
8 Lala Dunichand
9 Shri Satyanarayan Sinha
10 Prof Abul Bari
11 Shri Rangarao Diwakar
12 Shri K Bhashyam Iyengar

Auditors

Messrs R C Mehta & Co of Bombay were appointed auditors of the AICC for the current year

Condolence

The Committee places on record its sense of sorrow at the premature and sudden death of Syt T A K Sherwani in whom the country has lost a devoted and sincere patriot and indefatigable worker in the cause of Hindu Muslim unity The Committee conveys its sincere and heartfelt condolence to the members of the bereaved family The resolution be communicated to Mrs Sherwani and members of the family

The Committee also adopted the resolution of the Working Committee passed at Delhi on the premature death of Syt Abhyankar

Congress Party in the Assembly

The AICC records its satisfaction at the work of the Congress Party in the Assembly in the face of many difficulties and congratulates the members on the excellent discipline observed by them

Note Members of the Assembly in the AICC did not participate in the voting on this resolution

Ban on Congress Organisations

This Committee draws the attention of the country to the continuance of the ban on Congress organisations in the N W F P and all Congress Committees in Midnapur district in Bengal and on affiliated and allied bodies fully accepting the Congress creed and discipline like the Khudai Khidmatgars and Hindustani Seva Dal and other institutions in Bengal, Gujarat and elsewhere and the recent suppression of Labour and Youth League organisations in Bengal the Bombay Presidencies, the Punjab and elsewhere on the plea of alleged tendencies without reference to any overt acts, and arrests of workers connected with such organisations This Committee appeals to the people at large to realise that the political salvation of the country is bound up with the strengthening of the Congress organisation and calls upon all sections to do everything to increase the strength of the Congress

Abuse of Foreigners' Act

The Committee notes the flagrant abuse of the Foreigners' Act, and ancient piece of legislation intended for a wholly different purpose, in pursuance of the same general policy of continued repression, whereby a large number of Congress men who fully accept the Congress creed have been externed from British India and thus deprived not only of the opportunity of legitimate activity but also of residing and carrying on business which in many cases they had been doing for years

Repression in Bengal

This Committee strongly condemns the continuous repression that has been going on in Bengal particularly in the detention and internment without trial and

in secrecy and for indefinite periods of a large number of the youth torn from their natural surroundings depriving their families and dependents in many cases of the natural source of maintenance without making any other arrangement for their support

This Committee is of opinion that it is high time for the Government of Bengal either to discharge the detenus or give them a fair trial through the ordinary law courts

This Committee assures the people of Bengal in general and the detenus in particular of its full sympathy in their affliction

The Committee asks the Bengal PCC to prepare a list of detenus and internees with full particulars including their period of detention and internment and about the financial condition of the families and report it to the Working Committee

This Committee further resolves that an All India Fund for the relief of the Detenus' families be started under the control of the Working Committee

Mob Violence at Ferozabad

This Committee deeply deplores the horrible acts of mob violence perpetrated at Ferozabad culminating in the burning alive of the whole family of Doctor Jivaram including children and patients The Committee hopes that leaders of all communities will realise the extent to which religious fanaticism when once roused can go and that they will see the advisability of abstaining from saying or doing anything that fans such frenzy It appeals to all to take effective steps to make people realise the need for all communities, particularly Hindus and Muslims living together in peace and friendship with mutual good understanding and respect

Indian States

This Committee declares that the interests of the people of the Indian States are as much the concern of the Indian National Congress as those of the people of British India and assures them of its full support in their struggle for freedom

2

Madras, Committee Meeting, 17-18 October 1935[1]

Offices under the New Constitution

Considering the long interval of time that is bound to elapse before the next general provincial elections under the new constitution and the uncertainty of political conditions during this long period, this Committee is of opinion that it is not only premature but also inadvisable and impolitic to come to any decision on the question of acceptance or non acceptance of office at this stage and therefore affirms the resolution of the Working Committee passed at Wardha on the subject At the same time the Committee desires to make it clear that it sees no objection to the question being discussed in the country

[1]*Ibid*, pp 453 55

Indian States

This meeting of the AICC adopts the following declaration of Congress Policy on Indian States issued by the Working Committee from Wardha, dated August 1, 1935

Burma

Resolution passed by the Working Committee on October 16, 1935 in this behalf was endorsed

Anti-Indian Propaganda Abroad

In view of the anti Indian propaganda carried on abroad, it is resolved that the Working Committee of the AICC be authorised to take such action as is proper and feasible to undo the evil

Rules of Procedure of AICC

The following Rules of Procedure for the conduct of its business were adopted by the Committee

1 The AICC may be summoned by the President or the Working General Secretary with the previous approval of the President to meet at any place within the country and as often as required by the Working Committee

2 The notice of a meeting of the AICC shall be issued at least fifteen days before the date of meeting except in case of emergency when a meeting may be summoned by a notice of seven days only

Note As far as possible the subjects to be discussed at the meeting of the AICC shall be circulated among the members of the AICC along with the notice convening the meeting

3 The President and the Secretaries shall be sole judges of the occasion for summoning an emergent meeting

4 The AICC shall meet on a joint requisition addressed to the Working Committee by not less than fifteen members Such requisition shall specify the purpose for which the requisitionists desire a meeting of the AICC At such meeting additional items of business may be brought up for consideration provided due notice thereof has been given to the member

Order of Business, etc

5 In the order of business the draft resolution of the Working Committee shall have priority

6 The order of the rest of the business of the meeting shall be settled by the President

7 The Working Committee shall assign at least one clear day for resolutions other than those of the Working Committee of which due notice may have been given by members of the AICC

8 The order of the precedence of resolutions by private members shall be determined by lot

9 Notice of resolutions by private members should reach the office at least seven days before the meeting

10 It shall be in the discretion of the President to allot the time for speakers

moving either substantive propositions or amendments generally taking part in the debate

Resignation from AICC

11 Resignation from the AICC shall be placed before the President who will accept it and declare the place of the member on the AICC vacant

12 Any vacancy in the AICC by death, resignation, removal of a member or otherwise will be filled up by the members of the Provincial Congress Committee by election from among themselves

Election Disputes

13 Objections to elections will be dealt with in the provinces in accordance with rules framed in this behalf by the Provincial Congress Committees

14 Appeals will lie to the Working Committee against decision on objections to elections by Provincial Congress Committees or against their refusal or failure to give decisions

15 Any appeal preferred to the Working Committee will ordinarily be decided by the Tribunal appointed in accordance with Article XI(b) of the constitution It will be open to the Working Committee to decide such dispute if it considers it inconvenient or impracticable to convene a Tribunal in terms of Article XI (b)

16 The decision of the Election Disputes Tribunal or of the Working Committee, as the case may be, shall be final

Other Disputes

17 Complaints, against individual members of any Congress organisation or any Congress Committee will be dealt with in the provinces in accordance with rules framed by the Provincial Congress Committees

18 No subject which can be ordinarily dealt with by a PCC shall be referred to the AICC except through the PCC concerned

19 Where a PCC refuses to forward an appeal or representation to the AICC the aggrieved person or Committee shall be entitled to approach the President for order directing the PCC to forward the said appeal or other representation The President may after considering the said representation pass such order as he may think fit The PCC will thereafter be bound to carry out the order of the President

20 An appeal will lie to the Working Committee against any decision of a Provincial Congress Committee, or in the event of its failure or refusal to give such decision

21 The Working Committee will either decide such disputes itself or will appoint any other person or persons to decide them The decision of the Working Committee, or of the person or persons appointed by it, as the case may be, shall be final

3

Lucknow, Committee Meeting, 9-15 April 1936

1 The audited accounts of the period extending from April 1,1934 to March 31, 1935 and from April 1, 1935 to December 31 1935 circulated along with the General Secretary's reports were passed

2 The General Secretary's Report was placed before the meeting Sri Sampurnanand objected to the adoption of the same as the members who had just received it had no time to go through it The adoption of the report was therefore postponed to allow members time to read it

3 The General Secretary's Report was adopted after a brief discussion Some minor items were suggested for inclusion

4 The treasurer s audited accounts placed before the Committee were passed

5 Messrs Dalal and Shah and Messrs Chhotalal and Agarwal of Bombay were appointed as honorary auditors for the next year

6 Dr Pattabhi was thanked for the earnest zeal with which he had done his work as the historian of the Congress

7 Babu Rajendra Prasad made a statement about the Bengal election disputes He was authorised by the Committee to continue to deal with the Bengal disputes

8 The President made a statement reviewing the situation and pointing out his difficulties in the selection of the new Working Committee

The President selected the following fourteen members for the Working Committee on April 16, 1936

General Secretary	Shri J B Kripalani
Treasurer	Shri Jamnalal Bajaj
	Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
	Shri Vallabhbhai J Patel
	Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan
	Shri C Rajagopalachari
	Shri Subhas Chandra Bose
	Shri Narendra Dev
	Shri S D Deo
	Shri Jaya Prakash Narayan
	Shri Bhulabhai Desai
	Shri Achyut Patwardhan

Dr Khan Saheb was to act as long as Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was in prison

Two of the persons above named Shri C Rajagopalachari and Shri Jaya Prakash Narayan were not at the time members of the All India Congress Committee The AICC had however, been enlarged by the decision of the Lucknow Congress and the President hoped that these two members would soon become members of this enlarged AICC

[1] A M Zaidi and S G Zaidi (eds) *The Encyclopaedia of Indian National Congress* Vol XI op cit pp 131 32

4

Bombay, Committee Meeting, 22-23 August 1936[1]

The following four resolutions were moved from the Chair and passed

Dr M A Ansari

This Committee records its sense of irreparable loss to the national cause by the sudden and premature death of Dr M A Ansari, a dear and valued comrade and tenders to the bereaved family its sincere sympathy and condolence

Abbas Tyabji

The Committee records its heartfelt sorrow over the passing away of Shri Abbas Tyabji, the Grand Old Man of Gujarat whose services and brave sacrifices endeared him to the nation and tenders its sincere condolence to Mrs Tyabji and other members of the family

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan

'The Committee expresses its indignation at the orders of the Government concerned prohibiting Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan from entering into or remaining in the N-W F P and the Punjab and notes with regret the continuation of their policy of suppression of civil liberty of individuals engaged in national activities

N-W F P

This Committee views with grave concern the reports of interference by officials in some provinces with the activities of the Congress in connection with the forthcoming elections In particular it condemns the action of the N-W F P Government in arresting workers of Parliamentary Board and otherwise interfering with the meeting for election purposes

Election Manifesto

The Committee thereafter considered the manifesto submitted to it by the Working Committee Shri Rajendra Prasad moved for its adoption and the motion was seconded by Shri Narendra Deo Several amendments were moved Only two of them were accepted by the mover The Manifesto as given below, was then put to the vote and unanimously carried

Text

'For more than fifty years the Indian National Congress has laboured for the freedom of India and ever, as its strength grew and it came to represent more and more the nationalist urge of the Indian people and their desire to put an end to exploitation by British Imperialism it came into conflict with the ruling power During recent years the Congress has led great movements for national freedom and has sought to develop sanctions whereby such freedom can be achieved by peaceful mass action and the disciplined sacrifice and suffering of the Indian people To the lead of the Congress the Indian people have responded in abundant measure and thus confirmed their inherent right to freedom That struggle for freedom still continues and must continue till India is free and independent

[1] *Ibid*, pp 133-41

'These years have seen the development of an economic crisis in India and the world which has led to a progressive deterioration in the condition of all classes of our people The poverty and destitution, and this growing disease urgently and insistently demands a radical remedy Poverty and unemployment have long been the lot of our peasantry and industrial workers, today they cover and crush other classes also — the artisan, the trader, the small merchant, the middle class intelligentsia For the vast millions of our countrymen the problem of achieving national independence has become an urgent one, for only independence can give us the power to solve our economic and social problems and end the exploitation of our masses

'The growth of the national movement and the economic crisis has resulted in the intense repression of the Indian people and the suppression of civil liberties and the British Government has sought to strengthen the imperialist bonds that envelop India and to perpetuate the domination and exploitation of the Indian people by enacting the Government of India Act of 1935

In the international sphere, crisis follows crisis in an ever deepening degree and world war hangs over the horizon The Lucknow Congress called the attention of the nation to this grave situation in India and the world, and declared its opposition to the participation of India in an imperialist war and its firm resolve to continue the struggle for the independence of India

'The Congress rejected in its entirety the constitution imposed upon India by the New Act and declared that no constitution imposed by outside authority and no constitution which curtails the sovereignty of the people of India and does not recognise their right to shape and control fully their political and economic future, can be accepted Such a constitution, in its opinion, must be based on the independence of India as a nation and it can only be framed by a Constituent Assembly

The Congress has always laid stress on the development of the strength of the people and the forging of sanctions to enforce the people's will To this end it has carried on activities outside the legislatures The Congress holds that real strength comes from thus organising and serving the masses

'Adhering to this policy and objective but in view of the present situation and in order to prevent the operation of forces calculated to strengthen alien domination and exploitation the Congress decided to contest seats in the coming elections for the provincial legislatures But the purpose of sending Congress men to the legislatures under the new Act is not to cooperate in any way with the Act but to combat it and seek to end it It is to carry out in so far as is possible, the Congress policy of rejection of the Act, and to resist British Imperialism in its attempts to strengthen its hold on India and its exploitation of the Indian people In the opinion of the Congress, activity in the legislatures should be such as to help in the work outside, in the strengthening of the people and in the development of the sanctions which are essential to freedom

'The new legislatures hedged and circumscribed by safeguards and special powers for the protection of British and other vested interests, cannot yield substantial benefits and they are totally incapable of solving the vital problems of poverty and unemployment But they may well be used by British imperialism for its own purposes to the disadvantage and injury of the Indian people The Congress representatives will seek to resist this, and to take all possible steps to end the various Regulations, Ordinances and Acts which oppress the Indian people and smother their will to freedom They will work for the establishment of civil liberty, for the release of political prisoners and detenus and to repair the wrongs done to the peasantry and to public institutions in the course of the national struggle

'The Congress realises that independence cannot be achieved through these legislatures nor can the problems of poverty and unemployment be effectively tackled by them Nevertheless the Congress places its general programme before the people of India so that they may know what it stands for and what it will try to achieve, whenever it has the power to do so

'At the Karachi session of Congress in 1931 the general Congress objective was defined in the Fundamental Rights resolution That general definition still holds The last five years of developing crisis have however necessitated a further consideration of the problems of poverty and unemployment and other economic problems With a view to this the Lucknow Congress laid particular stress on the fact that 'the most important and urgent problem of the country is the appalling poverty, unemployment and indebtedness of the peasantry, fundamentally due to antiquated and repressive land tenure and revenue systems, and intensified in recent years by the great slump in prices of agricultural produce and called upon the Provincial Congress Committees to frame full agrarian programmes The agrarian programme which will be drawn up by the AICC on the basis of these provincial programmes will be issued later

'Pending the formulation of a fuller programme the Congress reiterates its declaration made at Karachi — that it stands for a reform of the system of land tenure and revenue and rent, and an equitable adjustment of the burden on agricultural rent and revenue now paid by them and exempting uneconomic holdings form payment of rent and revenue

The question of indebtedness requires urgent consideration and the formulation of a scheme including the declaration of a moratorium, an enquiry into and scaling down of debts and the provision for cheap credit facilities by the state This relief should extend to the agricultural tenants peasant proprietors, small land holders, and petty traders

In regard to industrial workers the policy of the Congress is to secure to them a decent standard of living, hours of work and conditions of labour in conformity, as far as the economic conditions in the country permit, with international standards, suitable machinery for the settlement of disputes between employers and workmen protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment and the right of workers to form unions and to strike for the protection of their interests

'The Congress has already declared that it stands for the removal of all sex disabilities whether legal or social or in any sphere of public activity It has expressed itself in favour of maternity benefits and the protection of women workers The women of India have already taken a leading part in the freedom struggle and the Congress looks forward to their sharing, in an equal measure with the men of India, the privileges and obligations of citizens of a free India

'The stress that the Congress has laid on the removal of untouchability and for the social and economic uplift of the Harijans and the backward classes is well known It holds that they should be equal citizens with the others, with equal rights in all civic matters

'The encouragement of khadi and village industries has also long been a principal plank of the Congress programme In regard to the larger industries, protection should be given but the rights of the workers and the producers of raw materials should be safeguarded, and due regard should be paid to the interests of village industries

'The treatment of political prisoners has long been a scandal in India Every effort should be made to improve this and make it humane It is equally necessary to change the whole basis of the prison administration so that every prisoner might be treated in humanitarian and rational manner

'The communal decision which forms part of the new Act has led to much controversy and the Congress attitude towards it has been misunderstood by some people The rejection in its entirety of the new Act by the Congress inevitably involve the rejection of the communal decision Even apart from the Act as a whole the communal decision is wholly unacceptable as being inconsistent with independence and the principles of democracy, it encourages fissiparous and disruptive tendencies, hinders the normal growth and consideration of economic and social questions, is a barrier to national progress, and strikes at the root of Indian unity No community or group in India profits by it in any real sense, for the larger injury caused by it to all outweighs the petty benefits that some have received Ultimately it probably injures most those groups whom its is meant to favour The only party that profits by it is the third party which rules and exploits us

'The attitude of the Congress is, therefore not one of indifference or neutrality It disapproves strongly of the communal decision and would like to end it But the Congress has repeatedly laid stress on the fact that a satisfactory solution of the communal question can come only through the goodwill and cooperation of the principal communities concerned An attempt by one group to get some communal favour from the British Government at the expense of another group results in an increase of communal tension and the exploitation of both groups by the Government Such a policy is hardly in keeping with the dignity of Indian nationalism, it does not fit in with the struggle for independence It does not pay either party in the long run, it side tracks the main issue

'The Congress therefore, holds that the right way to deal with the situation created by the communal decision is to intensify our struggle for independence and at the same time to seek a common basis for an agreed solution which helps to strengthen the unity of India The effort of one community only to change the decision in the face of the opposition of another community might well result in confirming and consolidating that decision, for conflict between the two produces the very situation which gives Governments a chance of enforcing such a decision The Congress thus is of opinion that such one sided agitation can bear no useful result

It is necessary to bear in mind that the whole communal problem in spite of its importance has nothing to do with the major problems of India — poverty and widespread unemployment It is not a religious problem and it affects only a handful of people at the top The peasantry, the workers, the traders and merchants and the lower middle classes of all communities are in no way touched by it and their burdens remain

The question of accepting ministries or not in the new legislatures was postponed for decision by the Lucknow Congress The A I C C is of opinion that it will be desirable for this decision to be taken after the elections Whatever the decision on this question might be it must be remembered that, in any event, the Congress stands for the rejection of the new Act, and for non cooperation in its working The object remains the same the ending of the Act With a view to this end every endeavor will be made to prevent the introduction and functioning of the federal part of the scheme which is intended to perpetuate the domination of the imperialist interests and the feudal interests of the States over the whole country and prevent all progress towards freedom It must be borne in mind that the new provincial assemblies will form the electorate for the proposed federal central legislature and the composition of those provincial legislatures will materially affect the fate of the federal constitution

'We appeal to the country to give every support to the Congress in the elections that are coming National welfare demands it The fight for independence calls for it The effectiveness of the work that the Congress members of the legislatures

will do will depend on their numbers and their discipline and the backing and support that the country gives them With a clear majority they will be in a position to fight the Act and to help effectively in the struggle for independence Every party and group that stands aloof from the Congress organization tend, knowingly or unknowingly, to become a source of weakness to the nation and a source of strength to the forces ranged against it For the fight for independence a joint front is necessary The Congress offers that joint national front which comprises all classes and communities, bound together by their desire to free India, end the exploitation of her people and build up a strong and prosperous and united nation, resting on the well being of the masses

'With this great and inspiring goal before us, for which so many men and women of India have suffered and sacrificed their all under the banner of the Congress, and for which today thousands of our countrymen are suffering silently and with brave endurance we call upon our people with full hope and confidence, to rally to the cause of the Congress, of India, of freedom

Non-Official Resolutions

Lala Dunichand moved the following resolution

> Resolved that every member of a primary Congress Committee will continue to be its member for a period of five years from the date of his first enrolment without being required to go into any other formalities except the payment of four annas each year '

The resolution was supported by Shri Choithram Gidwani Shri S K Patil moved an amendment to this resolution to the effect that the proposition be forwarded to the Working Committee for consideration and recommendations thereon ' The amendment was carried

The President in his opening speech on the first day had told the committee that though the constitution gave him the right to nominate the members of his Working Committee and to fill up vacancies whenever they occur, he was averse to exercising that right for he believed that the best procedure would be for the A I C C to elect the Working Committee and to fill up vacancies therein He therefore called upon the A I C C to fill up the two vacancies on the Working Committee caused by the resignation of Shri Rajagopalachari and Shri Jaya Prakash Narayan

Shri Satyamurti raised a point of order He pointed out that the election by the A I C C of the members of the Working Committee would be against the Constitution The President however ruled that such a procedure would not be against the Constitution

Thereupon Shri Satyamurti sought permission of the President to move the resolution that — 'The President be requested to exercise his power under Section 12 of the Constitution ' On the President giving the necessary permission Shri Satyamurti moved the above resolution The resolution was put to the vote and carried

5

Faizpur (Bombay), Committee Meeting, 25 December 1936[1]

A Meeting of the All India Congress Committee was held in the Subjects Committee *Pandal* at Tilak Nagar, Faizpur on December 25, 1936 at 2 p m Shri Jawaharlal Nehru presided

The minutes of the last meeting held at Bombay on August 22 and 23 1936 were confirmed

The President then made a statement about the accounts Owing to the change in the time of the holding of the open session from March to December it had not been possible for the auditors to audit the accounts of the office of the A I C C and the Treasurer in time The audited accounts the President said, would be placed before the next meeting of the AICC

6

Faizpur, Committee Meeting, 29 December 1936[2]

A meeting of the AICC was held at Faizpur on December 29 1936 at 1 p m Shri Jawaharlal Nehru presided

Messrs Dalal & Shah and Messrs Chotalal & Agarwal of Bombay were appointed as honorary auditors of the Congress

The President announced that he had decided to renominate the old Working Committee

Members of the Working Committee

1 Shri Jawaharlal Nehru (President)
2 Jamnalal Bajaj (Treasurer)
3 Vallabhbhai Patel
4 Rajendra Prasad
5 Abdul Kalam Azad
6 Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan
7 Sarojini Naidu
8 Jairamdas Daulatram
9 Subhas Chandra Bose
(Acting Sarat Chandra Bose)
10 Bhulabhai J Desai
11 Govind Ballabh Pant
12 Narendra Dev
13 Achyut Patwardhan
14 J B Kripalani (General Secretary)

[1] *Ibid*, p 141

[2] *Ibid*, p 142

7

Delhi, Committee Meeting, 17-18 March 1937[1]

New Constitution

The All India Congress Committee records its high appreciation of the magnificent respons of the country to the call of the Congress during the recent elections and the approval by the electorate of the Congress policy and programme The Congress entered these elections with its objective of independence and its total rejection of the New Constitutions, and the demand for a Constituent Assembly to frame India's constitution The declared Congress policy was to combat the New Act and end it The electorate has, in overw helming measure set its seal on this policy and programme and the New Act therefore stands condemned and utterly rejected by the people through the self same democratic process which had been invoked by the British Government, and the people have further declared that they desire to frame their own constitution based on national independence through the medium of a Constituent Assembly elected by adult franchise This Committee therefore demands on behalf of the people of India that the New Constitution be withdrawn

In the event of the British Government still persisting with the New Constitution, in defiance of the declared will of the people the All India Congress Committee desires to impress upon all Congress members of the legislatures that their work inside and outside the legislatures must be based on the fundamental Congress policy of combating the New Constitution and seeking to end it a policy on the basis of which they sought the suffrage of the electorate and won their overwhelming victory in the elections That policy must inevitably lead to deadlocks with the British Government and bring out still further the inherent antagonism between British Imperialism and Indian Nationalism and expose the autocratic and undemocratic nature of the New Constitution

1 The All India Congress Committee endorses and confirms the resolutions of the Working Committee passed at Wardha on February 27 and 28 1937 on extra-parliamentary activities of Congress members of legislatures, mass contacts and the Congress policy in the legislatures and call upon all Congress men in the legislatures and outside to work in accordance with the directions contained in them

And on the pending question of office acceptance and in pursuance of the policy summed up in the foregoing paragraphs the All India Congress Committee authorises and permits the acceptance of office in provinces where the Congress commands a majority in the legislatures, provided the ministership shall not be accepted unless the leader of the Congress party in the legislature is satisfied and is able to state publicly that the Governor will not use his special powers of interference or set aside the advice of ministers in regard to constitutional activities

Accounts

The last year's audited accounts were placed before the Committee As they had been received a couple of days before the meeting they could not be printed and distributed It was therefore decided that they may be printed and distributed among the members and passed at the next meeting

[2]*Ibid*, pp 253 55

Non-Officials Resolutions

Most of the non official resolutions of which notice had been given, were covered by the main resolution The three that were not so covered were (1) Shri Pattabhi Sitaramayya's about States People, (2) Shri Sibnath Banerji's about Jute Mill strike in Calcutta and (3) Deportation of Political Prisoners to Andamans by Shri Sardul Singh and others The first of these was referred to the Constitution Committee and the latter two to the next Working Committee meeting

Shri Subhas Chandra Bose's Release

On news being received of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose's release from detention the AICC directed the President to convey to him their affectionate welcome on his release and their good wishes for his early recovery

Note — Shri Subhas Chandra Bose was released unconditionally in shattered health on the evening of March 17 1937 after a continued detention and exile of more than five years

8

Calcutta, Committee Meeting, 29-31 October 1937[1]

The Audited Accounts

The audited accounts for the period from Janurary 1 1936 to November 15, 1936, the Auditor s note and the General Secretary s explanation on it were placed before the Committee The Committee passed the audited accounts

The following resolutions recommended by the Working Committee were passed

Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund

Whereas all the funds collected for the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund have, except the sum of Rs 47, 755-4-8 which was with the AICC on November 15, 1936, been spent for purposes for which they were intended or have been handed over to the bodies for whom they were earmarked, it is no longer necessary to head the accounts of the AICC as All India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund Such accounts shouldhenceforth be styled the All India Congress Committee Accounts

Condolence — Shri Manilal Kothari

The Committee place on record their deep sorrow at the death of Shri Manilal Kothari, a member of the AICC, who worked ceaselessly for the advancement of the cause of the Indian National Congress in all its activities and who gave of his best to the national cause since the Non co operation Movement, and the Committee offer their heartfelt and sincere condolences to members of the bereaved family

Dr Rabindranath Tagore's Recovery

The AICC felicitate the Nation on the happy recovery of her illustrious son Rabindranath Tagore from his recent serious illness and hope that he may be spared for many year for the service of India and humanity

[1]*Ibid* pp 255 62

Ratification of Working Committee Resolution on Office Acceptance

By a resolution dated the 18th March 1937 passed by the AICC at Delhi, it was resolved that permission be given for Congress men to accept office in provinces where the Congress commanded a majority in the legislature if the leader of the Congress Party was satisfied and could state publicly that the Governor would not use his special powers of interference or set aside the advice of ministers in regard to their constitutional activities

Since the said resolution statements and declarations were made on this issue on behalf of the British Government after examining those declarations and the situation created as a result of circumstances and events which occurred after the AICC resolution of March last, the Working Committee was of opinion that it would not be easy for Governors to use their special powers

Having considered the views of the Congress members of the Legislatures and Congress men generally, the Working Committee at Wardha at its meeting held in July 1937 came to the conclusion and resolved that Congress men be permitted to accept office wherever they were invited thereto

Had circumstances permitted the Working Committee was anxious to obtain the sanction of the All India Congress Committee in the matter but the Committee felt that delay in taking a decision at that stage would have been injurious to the country s interests and that the matter demanded a prompt and immediate decision

It is therefore resolved that the action of the Working Committee in taking the said decision be ratified

Federation

In view of the announcements made on behalf of the British Government that steps will be taken to inaugurate the proposed Federation the All India Congress Committee reiterate their emphatic condemnation of and complete opposition to the scheme and their decision to combat it in every possible way open to them An attempt to inaugurate this scheme, despite the clearly expressed will of the nation will be a challenge to the people of India The Committee therefore call upon the Provincial and local Congress Committees and the people generally, as well as the Provincial Governments and Ministries to prevent the imposition of this Federation which will do grave injury to India and tighten the bonds which hold her in subjection to imperialist domination and reaction The Committee are of opinion that Provincial Governments should also move their legislatures to give formal expression to this opposition to the proposed Federation and to intimate to the British government not to impose it on their provinces

Japan's Aggression in China

The All India Congress Committee view with grave concern and horror the imperialist aggression of Japan in China attended with wanton cruelty and the bombing of the civil population

The committee express their deep admiration for the brave and heroic struggle which the Chinese people are conducting against heavy odds for maintaining the integrity and the independence of their country and congratulate them for achieving internal unity in face of national danger

The Committee offer their heartfelt sympathy to the Chiness people in their national calamity and, on behalf of the people of India, assure them of their solidarity with them in their struggle for maintaining their freedom

The Committee further call upon the Indian people to refrain from the use of Japanese goods as a mark of their sympathy with the people of China

Midnapore Congress Organisation

The AICC strongly deprecate the continuance of the ban on about 110 Congress organisations in the district of Midnapore imposed by the Government of Bengal and are of opinion that the plea put forward by the Government to the effect that the congress Committee are limbs of a terrorist organization is an altogether false one

Detenus and Andaman Prisoners

The Committee are of opinion that the detenus who have been detained for so long without trial should be forthwith released

In veiw of the statement made by the Andaman prisoners in the telegram to Mahatama Gandhi the Committee are of opinion that they should be forthwith released

Repression in Bengal and Punjab

The Committee strongly deprecate

(a) Orders against large number of inhabitants of the district of Midnapore, Chittagong and some other areas, restricting their movements and activities and constituting a humiliating interference with the personal and civil liberties of the citizens

(b) Order requiring more than 20 000 Hindu youths in the Chittagong district to carry identity cards

(c) Order restricting entry into Darjeeling of the Hindu youths between 14 and 25 years

(d) The detention of Sardar Teja Singh Swatantra, MLA under regulation III of 1818 after having been elected unopposed to the Punjab Assembly, and orders of restriction against other political workers in the Punjab thus debarring them from their legitimate political activities

Indian Exiles Abroad

The All India Congress Committee urge the Government of India to remove all restraints and restrictions on entry into India of all political exiles including

Syt Virendranath Chattopadhyaya Dr Abani Mukherjee Syt Mahendra Pratap, Syt Pandurang Sadashiv Khankhoje, Sardar Ajit Singh, Maulvi Obeidullah Maulvi Abdullah Khan Dr Taraknath Das, Qazi Abdul Wali Khan, Syt Basanta Kumar Roy, Syt Prithvi Singh, Lal Har Dayal and Syt Rash Behari Bose

The Committee are further of opinion that a general assurance should be given to all Indians abroad, who are not sure of their freedom on returning home that on their return to India no repressive action will be taken against them for any past activities

Indians in Zanzibar

The Committee express their full sympathy with the Indians in Zanzibar in their brave struggle against the new decrees which are to result in ruining Indian interests in Zanzibar and the internal and export trade of the Indian

community settled for so long in the country which has helped greatly in promoting the prosperity of Zanzibar The Committee are of opinion that in order to give adequate help in this struggle and protest Indian interests in Zanzibar it is essential that an embargo should be laid on the import of cloves into India The Committee further call upon the people to refrain from the use of cloves until the new decrees are rescinded by the Zanzibar Government

The Committee regret the position taken up by the Government of India on the resolution moved by the Congress Party in the Central Legislature regarding the treatment of Indians in Zanzibar Government and are of opinion that the efforts made by the Government and the results attained by them are entirely inadequate to protect the interests of the Indians in Zanzibar

The Committee felt confident that by the boycott of cloves by the Indian people, the Zanzibar Government will be compelled in the end to do justice to Indians by rescinding the objectionable decrees

Palestine

The Committee record their emphatic protest against the reign of terror that has been established in Palestine by British Imperialism with a view to coerce the Arabs into accepting the proposed partition of Palestine and assure them of the solidarity of the Indian people with them in their struggle for national freedom

Meerut and Muzaffarnagar Districts

It is resolved that the districts of Meerut and Muzaffarnagar be separated from the Delhi Congress Province and incorporated in the United Provinces Congress Province and consequently changes be made in the Constitution

Slump in Cotton Prices

The attention of the Committee has been drawn to the serious plight in which cultivators of cotton in this country have been placed by the heavy decline in prices of Indian cotton by reason of overproduction throughout the world The Committee have further been apprised that American cotton has fallen in parity with Indian cotton and this situation has resulted in the encouragement of the import of foreign cotton in this country The Committee therefore resolve

(a) That the Indian Mills and Indian dealers in cotton be requested to refrain from purchasing foreign cotton similar in quality and staple to Indian cotton

(b) That a committee consisting of Shri Jamnalal Bajaj, Shri Bhulabhai Desai and Shankerlal Banker (convener) be appointed to inquire into this matter and recommended such measures as they may consider advisable in the interests ofcotton-growers in this country

Resolutions by the AICC Members

Implementing of Congress Programme by Congress Ministries

The following resolution was referred by the AICC to the Working Committee for its consideration and for such action as it may deem necessary in this behalf

> The All India Congress Committee, while welcoming the steps taken by Congress Cabinets in the direction of the release of political prisoners and detenus, note that there are still several political prisoners in provinces where Congress Cabinets exit and that in many cases steps

have not yet been taken to repeal repressive laws, even those which authorise detention without trial

'The Committee note also with apprehension the fact that certain Congress Cabinets have chosen to take action under such repressive provisions of the law as Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code and Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code

'The AICC call for the complete implementing of the Congress Election Manifesto in this connection by the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners by Congress Cabinets and for the taking of immediate steps for the repeal of all repressive laws '

The following resolutions were passed

Ban on Books

The AICC call upon the Provincial Governments run by Congress men to lift the ban on political books

Titles and Decorations

The AICC are of opinion that in provinces where Congress ministries exist the Assemblies should adopt resolutions expressing their desires that no further titles or decorations should be conferred on inhabitants of those provinces and that the Cabinets should intimate to the King that they will not make any recommendations for such titles or decorations and do not desire any to be conferred in their provinces

Redistribution of Provinces on Linguistic Basis

The AICC reaffirm the Congress policy regarding the redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis and recommend to the Madras and Bombay Governrments to consider the formation of a separate Andhra and Karnataka province respectively

The AICC also ask the Congress Cabinet in Bihar to take early steps to restore the Bengali speaking areas at present comprised in Bihar to the province of Bengal

Mysore

This meeting of the AICC expresses its emphatic protest against the ruthless policy of repression as indicated by the inauguration of various restrictive and prohibitory orders and political prosecutions launched in the Mysore State and also against the suppression of civil rights and liberties by denying the elembcrary rights of speech assemblage and association

This meeting sends its fraternal greetings to the people of Mysore and wishes them all success in their legitimate non violent struggle and appeals to the people of Indian States and British India to give all support and encouragement to the people of Mysore in their struggle against the State for right of self determination

9

Haripura (Gujarat), Committee Meeting, 16 February 1938[1]

A meeting of the AICC was held in the Subjects Committee *pandal* at Haripura on February 16, 1938 at 2 p m Shri Jawaharlal Nehru Presided

Minutes

The minutes of the last meeting of the AICC held at Calcutta were confirmed The audited accounts submitted by the General Secretary were passed

General Secretary's Report

The General Secretary's Report was placed before the Committee After a short discussion the Report was adopted

Deposit from Candidates to the AICC

Resolved that a deposit of Rs 10 be taken from those members of the Provincial Congress Committees as stood candidates for AICC membership The deposit was to be paid back to the unsuccessful candidates

10

Haripura, Committee Meeting, 22 February 1938[1]

A meeting of the AICC was held at Haripura on February 22 1938 at 10 a m , Shri Subhas Chandra Bose presided

Auditors

Resolved that Messrs Dalal and Shah and Messrs Chotalal H Shah and Co of Bombay be appointed as honorary auditors of the Congress

Working Committee

The President announced the names of the new Working Committee

1 Subhas Chandra Bose (President)
2 Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
3 Shrimati Sarojini Naidu
4 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
5 Babu Rajendra Prasad
6 Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
7 Shri Jamnalal Bajaj (Treasurer)
8 Shri Jairamdas Daulatram
9 Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan
10 Shri Bhulabhai Desai

[1]*Ibid* , p 441

[1]*Ibid* , pp 441-42

11 Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya
12 Shri Sarat Chandra Bose
13 Shri Harekrishna Mehtab
14 Shri J B Kripalani (General Secretary)

The name of the remaining fifteenth member was to be announced later

11

Delhi, Committee Meeting, 24-26 September 1938[1]

A meeting of the All India Congress Committee was held at Delhi on September 24 25 and 26 in a special *pandal* erected for the purpose About 235 members representing all the provinces were present Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided at the first two sittings on September 24 and 25 on account of the unavoidable absence of the Congress President owing to sudden illness Shri Subhas Chandra Bose however presided at the third sitting on September 26

The minutes of the last AICC meeting held at Haripura on February 16 and 22 were confirmed The following resolutions recommended by the Working Committee were passed with slight modifications

The C P Ministerial Crisis

The AICC approves of the prompt and decisive action taken by the Working Committee in the handling of the Central Provinces Ministerial crisis and fully endorse the views expressed by the Working Committee regarding the conduct of Dr Khare and that of H E the Governor of the C P in this unfortunate episode

The AICC is further clearly of opinion that the conduct of Dr N B Khare since his resignation from the C P Ministry deserves the severest condemnation and recommends to the Working Committee to take disciplinary measure against Dr Khare[2]

[1]*Ibid* pp 442 47

[2]Narayan Bhaskhar Khare (1882 1969) succeeded to the office of Premier of Central Provinces and Berar in July 1937 He was a Maratha and the majority of members of his cabinet were also Maratha The origins of Khare's Premiership lay in the struggle for power between D P Mishra and Rai Shanker Shukla both representing Hindi interests in C P However Mishra and Shukla later patched up and Khare was forced to resign in July 1938 With the support of his Marathi colleagues Khare succeeded in forming a ministry again soon This brought him in collision with the Congress Working Committee and within a week he was compelled to again resign On 29 July 1938, Shukla replaced Khare as Premier of the province and the Shukla Ministry lasted until November 1939 when the Congress ministries resigned all over India

After forcing Khare to quit the Working Committee asked him not to contest the leadership of the C P Parliamentary Party and present himself for defence before the Committee This Khare refused to do assuming that his going to Delhi for placing his case before the bosses of the AICC' would be like the trial and defence of Socrates, (Khare s Press statement dated 23rd September 1937 *Star of India,* 24th September 1937) The Congress Working Committee responded by banning him from any office of trust and responsibility in the Congress Therefore Khare formed his own Congress Democratic Party For more details of the episode see appendix XXII 24

Khare did not accept Gandhian ideology and condemned the Congress War Policy and accepted office in the Viceroy s Executive Council 1943 46 He was Prime Minister of Alwar 1947 48 and represented the State in the Indian Constitutent Assembly In 1949 he

Federation

As doubt has been expressed in certain quarters as to the attitude of the Congress on the question of Federation, the AICC considers it necessary to reiterate the following resolution passed at the Haripura Session of the Congress

'The Congress has rejected the new constitution and declared that a constitution for India which can be accepted by the people must be based on independence and can only be framed by the people themselves by means of Constituent Assembly, without interference by any foreign authority Adhering to this policy of rejection the Congress has, however, permitted the formation in provinces of Congress Ministries with a view to strengthen the nation in its struggle for independence In regard to the proposed Federation, no such considerations apply even provisionally or for a period and the imposition of this Federation will do grave injury to India and tighten the bonds which hold her in subjection to imperialist domination This scheme of Federation excludes from the sphere of responsibility vital functions of government

'The Congress is not opposed to the idea of Federation, but a real Federation must, even apart from the question of responsibility, consist of free units enjoying more or less the same measure of freedom and civil liberty and representation by the democratic process of election The Indian States participating in the Federation should approximate to the provinces in the establishment of representative institutions and responsible Government civil liberties and method of election to the Federal House Otherwise the Federation as it is now contemplated, will, instead of building up Indian unity encourage separatist tendencies and involve the state in internal and external conflicts

The Congress therefore reiterates its condemnation of the proposed Federal Scheme and calls upon the provincial and Local Congress Committees and the people generally as well as the provincial Governments and Ministries, to prevent its inauguration In the event of an attempt being made to impose it despite the declared will of the people, such an attempt must be combated in every way, and the provincial Governments and Ministries must refuse to co operate with it In case such a contingency arises, the All India Congress Committee is authorised and directed to determine the line of action to be pursued in this regard '

joined Hindu Mahasabha and became its president He was a member of the Indian Parliament 1952 57

Khare did not trust' Muslims and considered them as potential traitors He wanted India to be named 'Hindu Rashtra' with Sanskrit as its official language (S P Sen (ed) op cit p 339) Interestingly, during 1941 42 Khare planned to form a coalition Government in C P in association with the Muslim League to replace the Governor's rule in the province under section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935 For this purpose, he approached Jinnah with the offer of a coalition in which due share of office was to be given to the League the parties were to pursue their own all India programme and were, in the meantime, to function within the scheme of the Government of India Act 1935 Jinnah's response however, was not encouraging He was not convinced about Khare s ability to build a majority in the C P legislature, See letters, N B Khare to Jinnah 12 and 30 August, 11 and 20 September, 7 October and 1 December 1941 and 18 January and 7 February 1942 and Jinnah to N B Khare 27 and 30 August, 13 and 25 September and 4 December 1941 and 20 January 1942 Shamsul Hasan Collection *Correspondence of Quaid i Azam Mr M A Jinnah and other Papers C.P and Berar*, Vol II, Shamsul Hasan Foundation Karachi

Also see essay entitled The Changing leadership of the Congress in the Central Provinces and Berar 1919 39, by D E U Baker in D A Low (ed), *Congress and the Raj Facets of the Indian Struggle, 1917 47*, Arnold Heinemann, New Delhi, 1977, pp 255 57 and N B Khare, *My Political Memoirs or Autobiography*, Nakshatra Press Nagpur 1959

The AICC is of opinion that developments have justified the wisdom of the Congress resolution and warns the British Government against entertaining the hope that the Congress will ever submit to the imposition of Federal on their country against its declared will to the contrary

The AICC further declares that the continuance of their irresponsible Government at the Center is becoming intolerable and its further prolongation may precipitate a crisis which all desire to postpone if at all possible

Indian States

The AICC notes with sorrow and dismay the repression that has been going on in Travancore for some days The evidence that has come to the Congress Office, if it is to be believed, goes to shows that the movement led by the State Congress in Travancore is strictly constitutional and for a constitutional purpose viz, attainment of responsible Government under the aegis of H H the Maharaja. The repudiation published on behalf of the State is categorically contradicted by the spokesmen of the State Congress In the circumstances the AICC recommends to the Travancore Government for adoption of the following policy, *viz*, assurance on the one hand that the State Congress is free to carry on the movement for responsible Government in a constitutional manner appointment of a Committee containing among other representatives of the State Congress to explore the possibility of granting responsible Government and an inquiry conducted by a jurist outside the State of unimpeachable impartiality into the recent happenings including the charges made by the State of provocations justifying State measures including firing on unarmed people resulting in deaths and injuries and an amnesty to the prisoners

The AICC regrets that the Hyderabad State has issued ordinances which appear to give to the State power altogether in excess of requirements

The AICC has also received complaints of severse repression in State like Dhankanal, Talcher, Kashmir and Sahawal

In all these cases the people of the States have appealed to the Congress for advice guidance and help

The AICC can but reiterate its policy of non interference and consistently with its resources to help the people in every way open to the Congress The policy of non interference is an admission of the limitations of our policy Congress has been one of friendliness to the States In spite of the declarations of some Congress men to the contrary,the corporate policy of the Congress, so long as it holds by truth and non-violence, must be one of continuous attempt to convert the Princes to the view that their true welfare consists in a voluntary surrender of power to the people so as to bring them in line with the people of so-called British India consistently with the existence of the constitutional heads of the respective States

Palestine

Since the Haripura Congress condemned the decision of Great Britain as a Mandatory Power to bring about the partition of Palestine in the teeth of the opposition of the Arabs and the appointment of a Commission to carry out this project, the AICC regrets to find that the same policy is still being pushed with vigour and relentlessness The AICC protests against the reign of terror that has now almost assumed the form of a war between the British and the Arabs of Palestine

In the present world conditions the AICC trusts that Britains would be well advised in revoking its present policy and leave the Jews and Arabs to

amicably settle the issues between them and appeals to the jews not to take shelter behind British Imperialism

Burma Riots

The AICC expresses its deep sympathy with the Indian sufferers during the recent deplorable riot that broke out in Burma resulting in heavy loss of life and serious injuries and destruction and and burning of property The AICC trusts that there will be a thorough and impartial inquiry into the causes of the riots and the amount of damage done to life and property In the opinion the AICC the demolished places of worship should be restored and adequate com pensation awarded to the sufferers unless they are found guilty of having participated in the riots The AICC is also of opinion that safety of life and property should be assured to the large Indian colony many of whom have settled in Burma for generations without let or hindrance

The AICC reminds the great people of Burma that there is a long tradition of friendship between the two countries and that the relations between the Burmans and Indian settlers have hitherto been cordial and happy The AICC appeals to the Governments and the people of Burma to see to it that nothing is done to disturb the happy relations subsisting between the two countries

The AICC advises the Indian settlers to rely more upon their ability, by strictly just dealings to cultivate friendship with the Burmans than upon any aid that might be rendered by the mother country or the Government of India

War Danger

In the event of war breaking out in Europe the AICC delegates it power to the Working Committee to deal with the situation as it arises from time to time in the light of the Haripura resolution on foreign policy and war danger

Repression in Bugti

The AICC condemns the oppressive and tyrannical administration under which the people of the Bugti territory in Baluchistan have since long been sufering at the hands of the tribal head Mehrab Khan

The Committee are of the view that the British authorities who have assumed responsibility for the welfare of the people of the area have failed to discharge that responsibility

The Committee calls upon the authorities to take immediate measures to stop the present autocratic and irresponsible system of administration under which the Bugti tribesmen had to live and suffer all these years

Civil Liberty

Inasmuch as people including Congress men have been found in the name of civil liberty to advocate murder, arson, looting and class war by violent means and several newspapers are carrying on a campaign of falsehood and violence calculated to incite the readers to violence and to lead to communal conflicts, the Congress warns the public that civil liberty does not cover acts of or incitement to violence or promulgation of palpable falsehoods In spite therefore of the Congress policy on civil liberty remaining unchanged the Congress will consistently with its tradition support measures that may be undertaken by the Congress Governments for the defence of life and property

12

Tripuri (Central Provinces), Committee Meeting, 7-8 March 1939[1]

A meeting of the AICC was held in the Subjects Committee *pandal* at Tripuri on March 7 1939 at 4 30 p m , Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided in the absence of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose owing to illness

Minutes

The minutes of the last meeting of AICC held at Delhi in September last were confirmed

Accounts and Report

The General Secretary s annual report and the audited accounts were placed before the AICC and were adopted by them

13

Calcutta, Committee Meeting, 29-30 April and 1 May 1939[2]

A meeting of the All India Congress Committee was held at Calcutta on April 29 30 and May 1 in a special *pandal* erected for the purpose

Babu Rajendra Prasad as President

Shri Subhas Chandra Bose presided at the first sitting for a short while He explained to the Committee how his conversations with Mahatma Gandhi and some members of the old Working Committee had failed to bring about a settlement of the question at issue namely the formation of the Working Committee In order that it may be easier for the AICC to settle the matter, if it can have a new President, he tendered his resignation The AICC elected Babu Rajendra Prasad as President for the remaining period of the year

Personnel of the Working Committee

Babu Rajendra Prasad announced the following personnel of the new Working Committee

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shrimati Sarojini Naidu Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj (Treasurer), Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Messrs Jairamdas Doulatram, J B Kripalani (General Secretary) Bhulabhai J Desai, Shankerrao Deo Harekrishna Mehtab, Dr B C Roy, Dr Profulla Chandra Ghosh

[1]A M Zaidi and S G Zaidi (ed) *The Encyclopaedia of the Indian National Congress* Vol XII op cit p 164

[2]*Ibid* pp 164-67

Condolence

This Committee places on record its deep sense of loss at the death of Syts Birendra Chandra Mazumdar M L A and Manoranjan Bannerji two veteran Congress workers and others as a result of the railway disaster at Majdia

War Danger and Amendment of the India Act

In view of the imminent danger of international war, the AICC reminds the country and all others concerned of the national policy in regard to war which the Congress has often proclaimed This policy will be strictly adhered to and the Congress is determined to oppose all attempts to impose a war on India and use Indian resources in a war without the consent of the Indian people

The Committee has noted with disapproval the despatch of a small body of Indian troops towards Aden as this can only mean their employment for British imperialist purposes

The Committee in particular records its complete disapproval of the attempt being made by the British Government to amend the Government of India Act with a view to concentrating all power, in the event of a war emergency, in the hands of the Central Government which functions completely as an agent of British Imperialism While the Congress is not interested as a rule in amendments to the India Act and has worked for the whole Act to be ended, it cannot tolerate an amendment which strikes at the basis of Provincial Autonomy and reduces it to a farce in case of war, which in effect creates a war dictatorship of the Central Government in India, and which makes Provincial Governments helpless agents of Imperialism Any attempt to impose such an amendment on India must and will be resisted in every way open to the Congress Provincial Governments are warned to be ready to carry out the policy in this respect as may be determined by the AICC or the Working Committee as the case may be

Reform in the Congress Machinery

In pursuance of the resolution passed at the Tripuri Session of the Congress regarding reform in the Congress machinery the AICC appoints a Committee consisting of the President, Messrs Jawaharlal Nehru B Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Narendra Deo and J B Kripalani to recommend measures for the purification of the Congress in terms of the Congress resolution

Bengal Political Prisoners

This meeting of the AICC while appreciating the strenuous efforts made by Mahatma Gandhi to secure the release of political prisoners in Bengal notes with regret the failure of the negotiations between Ganhdiji and the Huq Ministry on the matter

The time during which Gandhiji expected to secure the release of all political prisoners is over In view of the stiff and callous attitude of the Bengal Ministry and the policy adopted by it the release of the long term prisoners has become almost a hopeless question

In the opinion of the AICC there is no longer any justification to detain the prisoners in jail who have been convicted during an emergency period mostly under special powers and especially so, when the prisoners have openly expressed their aversion to terrorism

This meeting of the AICC, therefore, resolves to make the release of these prisoners a vital all India issue and instructs the Working Committee to fix All India Political Prisoners Day and to direct the Congress Committees to begin a vigorous agitation for the immediate unconditional release of all political prisoners

Similarly an agitation should be carried on regarding release of political prisoners in the Punjab also

Kenya Highlands

The All India Congress Committee notes with grave concern the promulgation of an Order-in Council regarding reservation of highlands in Kenya for Europeans which is a violation of all announcements and assurances by the Secretary of State for Colonies and the Government of India, and perpetuates the policy of racial discrimination and is an insult to India

The All India Congress Committee also places on record its opinion that the Government of India have failed to do their duty by the Indians in Kenya The All India Congress Committee is further of opinion that situation in Kenya cannot be met by any efforts on the part of the Government of India and requests the Working Committee to take necessary steps in this behalf

14

Bombay, Committee Meeting, 24-27 June 1939[1]

Summary of Proceedings

A meeting of the All India Congress Committee was held at Bombay on June 24, 25 26 and 27 in a special *pandal* erected for the purpose Babu Rajendra Prasad presided

Minutes

The minutes of the last meeting of the AICC held at Calcutta were confirmed

Resolutions

The following resolutions recommended by the Working Committee were passed with slight verbal changes

Condolence

This Committee has learnt with regret of the sudden death, in the prime of his life, of Dr Alimchand Udhoram, a member of this Committee from Sind and an old and tried Congress worker since the non co-operation days The Committee conveys its sincere condolences to the family of the deceased in their bereavement

Indians in Ceylon

The All India Congress Committee views with grave concern the measures proposed by the Ceylon Government with reference to their Indian employees and hopes that it may be possible to find a way to avoid the most undesirable and grave conflict that as a result of these measures, is threatened between such near and ancient neighbours as India and Ceylon

The Committee cannot contemplate without much concern a quarrel between the two countries which are separated by only a strip of water but which have a common culture and which have been intimately connected from time immemorial The Committee desires to explore every means of avoiding conflict and, therefore, appoints Pandit Jawharlal Nehru to go to Ceylon and confer with the authorities and representative associations and individuals on behalf of the Working Committee and do all that may be possible to effect a just and honourable settlement

[1]*Ibid*, pp 167 71

Indians in South Africa

The AICC regrets the attitude of the Union Government towards Indian settlers It betrays utter disregard of the obligations undertaken by the predecessors of the present Government The policy just initiated by them is in direct breach of the Smuts Gandhi Agreement of 1914, the Capetown Agreement of 1927, the Feetham Commission of 1932 and the subsequent undertakings on behalf of the Union Government The AICC notes with pride and satisfaction the firm stand taken up by the Indians of South Africa They will have the sympathy of the whole Indian nation behind them in their fight for self-respect and honourable existence The AICC trusts that there will be no dissensions among them and that they will present a united front The AICC appeals to the Union Government to retrace their steps and carry out the promises of their predecessors to adopt a policy of progressive amlioration in the status of the Indian nationals in South Africa 80 per cent of whom are born and bred in that sub-continent and to whom South Africa is their only home

Constitutional Amendments

Shri J B Kripalani moved the 'Constitutional Amendements' as proposed by the Constitution Sub Committee together with the amendments suggested by the Working Committee Numerous amendments were moved to the proposed amendments A few were accepted and the rest rejected Shri Bhulabhai Desai moved the new Article XI A series of amendments were moved to this They were all rejected by the House and the Article XI as proposed by the mover was adopted in its entirely The new Constitution as amended at Bombay is printed separately

Satyagraha in Provinces

This meeting of the AICC resolves that no Congress man may offer or organize any form of *Satyagraha* [a policy of passive resistance to British Rule advocated by Gandhi] in the Adminstrative Provinces of India without the previous sanction of the Provincial Congress Committee concerned

Congress Ministries and the PCC

The Working Committee has repeatedly laid stress on the desirability of co-operation between the Ministry, the Congress party and the PCC Without such co operation misunderstandings are likely to arise with the result that the influence of the Congress will suffer In administrative matters the PCC should not interfere with the discretion of the Ministry but it is always open to the executive of the PCC to draw the attention of the Government privately to any particular abuse or difficulty In matters of policy if there is a difference between the Ministry and the PCC reference should be made to the Parliamentary Sub-Committee Public discussion in such matters should be avoided

Digboi Strike

This Committee views with grave concern the prolonged strike at Digboi and expresses its sympathy with the strikers in their distress The Committee regrets that the Assam Oil Company has not seen its way to accept the modest suggestion of referring the question of the method and time of re-employment of the strikes to a Conciliation Board to be appointed by the Government of Assam

In the opinion of this Committee no corporation however big and influential it may be, can be above public criticism or Government supervision and legitimate control Moreover, as was declared at the Karachi session, the Congress policy is that there should be state ownership or control of key industries The oil industry is undoubtedly a vital key industry This Committee therefore hopes that better counsel will prevail with the Company and that its directors

will accept the modest suggestion made on behalf of the Committee by the President of the Congress If, however, the directors do not see their way to do so, the Committee advises the Assam Government forthwith to undertake legislation for making the acceptance of the decisions of Conciliation Boards obligatory and further to give notice to the Company that the Committee may reluctantly be obliged to take such steps as may be necessary to stop renewal of the lease to the Company on its termination At the same time that this Committee urges the Company to fall in with the just suggestion made by the Committee it hopes that the Labour Union will be ready to listen to the Committee s advice and if they were to retain Congress and public sympathy they will be ready and willing to abide by the advice that may be tendered to them by the Committee

Non-Official Resolution

Separation of Andhra

'The All India Congress Committee is strongly of opinion that immediate steps should be taken for the formation of a separate Andhra province

The resolution was passed by a majority vote

15

Wardha, Committee Meeting, 9-10 October 1939[1]

A meeting of the All India Congress Committee was held at Wardha on October 9 and 10 1939 in Navbharat Vidyalaya Babu Rajendra Prasad presided

Minutes

The minutes of the last meeting of the AICC held at Bombay were confirmed

Resolutions

The following resolutions recommended by the Working Committee with some slight verbal changes were passed

War Crisis

The declaration of war in Europe has created an international situation of the gravest import to the world and to India, and the All India Congress Committee charged with the heavy responsibility of guiding the people of India in this moment of world crisis, has souhgt guidance from the principles and declarations of the Congress in considering this grave situation The Congress has been guided throughout by its objective of achieving the independence of the Indian people and the establishment of a free democratic state in India wherein the rights and interests of all minorities are preserved and safeguarded The means it has adopted in its struggles and activities have been peaceful and legitimate and it has looked upon war and violence with horror and as opposed to progress and civilisation In particular the Congress declared itself opposed to all imperialist wars and to the domination of one country over another

In spite of the repeated declaration of the Congress in regard to war, the British Government have declared India a belligerent country without the consent of the Indian people, and various far-reaching measures have been hurried

[1]*Ibid*, pp 171 73

through the legislatures and promulgated in the form of ordinances vitally affecting them and circumscribing and limiting the powers of the Provincial Governments

The All India Congress Committee however does not wish to take any final decision precipitately and without giving every opportunity for the war and peace aims of the British Government to be clarified, with particular reference to India The Committee approves of and endorses the statement issued by the Working Committee on September 14, 1939 on the war crisis, and repeats the invitation contained therein to the British Government to state their war aims and peace aims

While the Committee condemns Fascism and Nazi aggression it is convinced that peace and freedom can only be established and preserved by an extension of democracy to all colonial countries and by the application of the principle of self-determination to them so as to eliminate imperialist control In particular India must be declared an independent nation and present application should be given to this status to the largest possible extent The AICC earnestly trusts that this declaration will be made by the British Government in any statement that it may make in regard to its war and peace aims

The Committee desire to declare afresh that Indian freedom must be based on democracy and unity and the full recognition and protection of the rights of all minorities to which the Congress has always pledged itself

The Committee approves the formation by Working Committee of the War Emergency Sub-Committee and authorises the Working Committee to take such steps as may be necessary to give effect to this resolution and to their statement on the war crisis

The Next Congress and Elections

In view of the crisis that has arisen and the necessity of preparing the nation to meet such developments as might take place and avoiding the distraction of elections at a time of national emergency, the AICC resolves that the annual session of the Congress, which was fixed to take place during the last week of December be postponed to the second fortnight in March The Congress delegate elections the elections for the new AICC and the Presidential election will stand postponed till such time as may be fixed later

As, however, it may considered necessary in order to consider vital issues affecting the nation to have a session of the Congress at an earlier date, a special session of the Congress may be convened by the Working Committee during the last week of December or at any other suitable time The Working Committee is authorised to decide about the necessity of such a special session and to fix the date and the venue for it In the event of such a special session being held provision shall be made for delegates only and the present delegates to the Congress shall be entitled to attend it The AICC for the current year will function as the subjects committee for the special session

16

Ramgarh, Committee Meeting, 17 March 1940[1]

A meeting of the All India Congress Committee was held in the Subjects Committee *pandal* on March 17, 18 and 19, 1940 at 3 p m Babu Rajendra Prasad presided

Minutes

The minutes of the last meeting of the AICC held at Wardha in October last were confirmed

Accounts and Reports

Shri J B Kripalani, the General Secretary, presented the audited Accounts and the Annual Report to the AICC These were unanimously adopted by the Committee

Before converting itself into the Subjects Committee of the Ramgarh Session of the Congress the Committee passed unanimously the following resolution appreciating the services of Shri Rajendra Prasad

Appreciation

The All India Congress Committee places on record its grateful appreciation of the services of Babu Rajendra Prasad who shouldered the burden and discharged the responsibilities of the office of President under very difficult and trying circumstances

Babu Rajendra Prasad then requested the President-elect Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to take the chair After the Maulana Saheb took the chair he declared the meeting of the AICC to be the meeting of the Subjects Committee

17

Ramgarh, Committee Meeting, 20 March 1940[2]

A meeting of the AICC was held on March 20, 1940 at 4 p m Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided

It passed the following resolutions

Appointment of Auditors

Resolved that Messrs Dalal and Shah and Messrs Chhotalal H Shah and Co of Bombay be appointed as Hon Auditors of the Congress

[1] *Ibid* p 370
[2] *Ibid* pp 372 73

New Working Committee

The President announced the following personnel of the new Working Committee

1 Mrs Sarojini Naidu
2 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
3 Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
4 Babu Rajendra Prasad
5 Mr C Rajagopalachariar
6 Seth Jamnalal Bajaj (Treasurer)
7 Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan
8 Shri J B Kripalani (General Secretary)
9 Shri Bhulabhai Desai
10 Shri Shankar Rao Deo
11 Dr Profulla Chandra Ghosh
12 Dr Syed Mahmud
13 Mr Asaf Ali

The fourteenth name was to be announced later

Indian National Congress Resolutions, Working Committee Meetings, 1935-40

1

Delhi, Working Committee Meeting, 16-18 January 1935[1]

A statement of accounts of the AICC office for December 1934 was placed before the meeting and passed

Provincial Contributions

The Committee considered the letters of the Bombay and Burma PCCs requesting the reduction of their annual subscriptions The Committee regretted inability to introduce change in the financial arrangement

Condolence

This Committee places on record its heartfelt sorrow at the sudden and premature deaths of Syt Abhyankar and Acharya Gidwani The Committee records its appreciation for the great services they rendered and the sacrifices they made in the cause of the country The Committee conveys its sincere sympathy and condolence to the families of the deceased in their sad bereavement

***Purna Swaraj* Day**

The public should not need the reminder that January 26 has been observed, since the Lahore Congress, as the *Purna Swaraj* (complete Independence) Day As civil disobedience has been suspended by the Congress the proceedings for the day should not be in breach of the ordinances or other laws or orders promulgated by local authority Consistently with this precaution silent processions should be taken to previously announced meeting places and at the meetings the under noted resolution worded in Hindustani or the local languages should be read out by the Chairman and without any speeches passed by the audience standing Where meetings are prohibited, every household should meet at the appointed time and pass the resolution and inform the nearest Congress Committee of having done so

At every meeting or in every house the passing of the resolution should be preceded by the unfurling of the national flag

The resolution shall be as under

> We remind ourselves on this the solemn national day that Complete Independence is our birthright and we shall not rest till we have achieved it
>
> To that end we shall strive to the utmost of our ability to observe Truth and non violence in thought, word and deed, and shall consider no sacrifice or suffering too great to be undergone
>
> 'As a token of the expression of the two essential qualities of Truth and non violence we shall seek to

[1] A M Zaidi and S G Zaidi *The Encyclopaedia of the Indian National Congress* Vol X op cit pp 456 61

i adopt and promote heart unity among different communities and to establish complete equality of status among all irrespective of caste or creed or race

ii to adopt and promote complete abstinence from intoxicating drinks or drugs

iii to promote handspinning and other village industries and to adopt for personal use khaddar and other products of village industries to the exclusion of other products

iv to abolish untouchability

v to serve the starving millions in every way we can

vi and to engage in all other national and constructive effort '

It is recommended that the national day be devoted, in so far as it is possible, to some special constructive effort and a determination be made to develop greater dedication to the cause of *Purna Swaraj*

There should be no *hartal* observed

Jubilee Celebration

Official announcement has been made that the Silver Jubilee of His Britannic Majesy s reign is to be celebrated in India It is necessary for the Working Committee to guide the public as to the attitude to be adopted on the occasion

The Congress has and can have noting but good wishes for the personal well being of His Majesty, but the Congress cannot ignore the fact that the rule in India with which His Majesty is naturally identified has been a positive hindrance to the political moral and material growth of the nation It now threatens to culminate in a constitution which if enforced, promises to exploit the nation to drain her of what she still possesses of wealth and to harden her political subjection as has perhaps never been attempted before

It is, therefore impossible for the Working Committee to advise any participation in the forthcoming celebration

At the same time the Working Committee has no desire by hostile demonstrations, to wound the susceptibilities of Englishmen and others who will want to take part in the celebrations The Working Committee therefore, advises the general public, including Congress men who may be members of elected bodies, to be satisfied with mere abstention from the events that may be arranged for celebration

The Working Committee trusts that the authorities and responsible Englishmen will recognise and appreciate the honest and inevitable attitude of the Working Committee and refrain from unnecessarily wounding national self respect by compelling, directly or indirectly, participation in the forthcoming celebrations

Textile Mills

As most of the Textile mill-owners have broken their pledges given to the Congress, the Working Committee is of opinion that it is no longer possible to continue the system of certification by the Congress or associated bodies The old certificates issued should therefore be considered as cancelled

The Working Committee is further of opinion that it is the duty of all Congress men and those who sympathise with the congress to confine their attention and give their support exclusively to the promotion of hand-spun and hand-woven cloth

Disciplinary Rules

Under Article XII(d)(iii) of the amended constitution the Working Committee frames the following disciplinary rules

1 The Working Committee shall have the power to take disciplinary action against

i Any Committee of the Congress which deliberately acts or carries on propaganda against the official programme and decisions of the Congress or deliberately disregards or disobeys any orders passed by any higher authority or by an umpire, arbitrator or commissioner duly appointed and which it is his particular duty to obey

ii Any member of a Congress Executive or elected Congress Committee who deliberately acts or carries on propaganda against the official programme and decisions of the Congress or deliberately disregards or disobeys any orders passed by any higher authority or by an umpire arbitrator or commissioner duly appointed and which it is his particular duty to obey

iii Any member of the Congress who is proved to the satisfaction of the Working Committee to have been responsible for the embezzlement of Congress funds or to have broken a pledge given to the Congress or any subordinate committee or have been guilty of any fraudulent action in connection with enrolment or election to a Congress Committee or is guilty of acts involving serious moral turpitude and such as render continuance as member undesirable in the interests of the Congress

2 i In the case of a Committee of the Congress the disciplinary action may be the supersession of such a Committee and such further action against offending individual members as may be necessary may also be ordered

ii In the case of a member of any Congress Executive or elected Congress Committee the disciplinary action may be his dismissal, and the fixation of a period during which he cannot be validly elected to any office or membership in any Committee of Congres

iii In the case of a member of a primary Congress organisation the disciplinary action may be a disqualification for a stated period from standing for any election including election to the legislatures or exercising any other right of a member or expulsion from the Indian National Congress

3 No disciplinary action shall be taken without an opportunity being given to the Committee or individual concerned to state its or his case and answer such charges as are made before the Working Committee

4 When the Working Committee is not sitting the President may take cognizance of all urgent cases requiring disciplinary action and shall act on behalf of the Working Committee In all such cases the decision of the President must be placed before the next meeting of the Working Commitee who may confirm or revise the same

5 The Executive Committees of the Provincial Congress Committees shall also have the power to take disciplinary action against their subordinate Committees and members of any Congress Executive Committees and members

of primary Committees within their province In all such cases the same procedure as is followed by the Working Committee shall be adhered to It shall be open to the Committee or member against whom disciplinary action is taken to appeal against it to the Working Committee, provided pending the appeal the order appealed against is submitted to

6 Any person against whom an expulsion order is passed may apply for revision to the AICC Such application should be sent by registered post to the Working General Secretary's address not later than forty days after the date of the final order appealed against, provided that at any time a revision may be applied for and allowed by reason of altered circumstances

Residential Qualifications

Interpreting the implication of residential qualification in Art III of the constitution, the Committee was of opinion that there was no inter district restriction with regard to elections in the constitution It would, however, be open to provinces to make their own rule in respect of a candidate from outside the province proposing to stand for an election in the province

AICC Members for U P

On a reference being made by the U P Provincial Congress Committee for increasing its quota of AICC members the Committee after discussing the question decided that it had no authority to change the allocation of members as they were fixed by the consitution

Burma

The Committee discussed the problem of Burma under the scheme of reforms in the J P C Report and decided that the Burma Provincial Congress Committee would for the time being function as before

With regard to the position of Indians in Burma under the new scheme the Committee was of opinion that as the whole scheme was unacceptable and therefore no amendments could be suggested by the Congress, there was no bar to Burma Indians criticising parts of the scheme which vitally affected their position and status

2

Jubbulpore, Working Committee Meeting, 23-25 April 1935[1]

1 The statement of AICC office accounts from January to March 1935 was placed before the meeting and passed The Committee sanctioned the excess expenditure of Rs 124 7 6 under the head 'Miscellaneous

Budget

The following estimate of expenditure of the AICC office till the end of December, 1935 was adopted by the Committee

1	Establishment	Rs 7,000
2	Postage and Telegrams	' 900
3	Stationery and Printing	" 2,900

[1]*Ibid*, pp 461 5

4	Travelling expenses	"	1 800
5	Rents and Taxes		640
6	Furniture		1,000
7	Library	"	1,000
8	Miscellaneous		900
9	Repairs of Swaraj Bhawan	"	300
10	Electric Installation	"	250
		Total	**" 16,690**

Remission Granted to Frontier PCC

In view of the continuance of Government ban on Congress organisations in the Nort West Frontier the Committee granted the province the remission of provincial subscription for this year

Provincial Subscription

The working Committee notes that many provinces have not paid the first instalment of their provincial quota while some have not paid anything at all The Committee resolves under Art XVIII *(n)* that all Provincial Congress Committees should pay up their full annual quota by the 31st of July, and in case of default members from the defaulting provinces will not be permitted to participate in any meeting of the AICC thereafter

Provincial Constitutions

The Provincial constitutions adopted by the Provincial Congress Committees of Assam, Karnatak, Kerala, Sindh Tamil Nadu C P Marathi and Burma as sanctioned

The constitutions of Ajmer, Bombay Andhra, Bihar, Utkal, Punjab U P , Berar Gujarat and Maharashtra are sanctioned subject to abeyance in respect of clauses involving doubts and conflicts The President is authorised to deal with such clauses and sanction them after their rectification The President is further authorised to sanction the constitutions from Mahakoshal, Delhi Bengal and N W F P after consideration and such enquiry as he considers necessary

Maximum Number of Delegates

The maximum number of delegates returnable by the provinces under Art VI, f, ii, will be as follows

1	Ajmer	44
2	Andhra	144
3	Assam	25
4	Bihar	185
5	Bengal and Surma Valley	324
6	Berar	20
7	Bombay City	21
8	Burma	88
9	Nagpur	17
10	Delhi	22
11	Gujarat	62
12	Karanatak	104
13	Kerala	53
14	Mahakoshal	83
15	Maharashtra	98
16	N W F Province	21

17	Punjab	131
18	Sindh	22
19	Tamil Nadu	141
20	United Provinces	300
21	Utkal	95
	Total	**2,000**

Fxtension of Date for Enrolment of Members

The Committee ratified the extension of the last date of enrolment of Congress members to June 13

Change of Provincial Headquarters

With regard to change of Provincial headquarters the Committee held that no such alteration could be recognised unless the previous sanction of the Working Committee had been obtained by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned

The Committee directed that provincial committee requiring alteration of their headquarters should be asked to placed their application before the Committee for sanction

Rules of Procedure of AICC

Rules of procedure were recommended by the Committee for circulation and for being placed before the next meeting of the AICC

Nagpur PCC

The Committee approved of the adoption of the name of Nagpur PCC by the Central Provinces (Marathi) PCC

Khaddar Clause

With reference to the enquiries made the Working Committee insturcts the Provincial Congress Committees to treat a person as habitual wearer of Khaddar who has shown himself as having worn khaddar for a period of six months prior to his election to office or as a member of a Congress Committee

Provident Fund For Office Staff

The Committee approved of a scheme for the establishment of a Provident Fund for members of the AICC office staff and directed the Secretary to frame rules to govern the said fund and circulate them to members of the Working Committee

Mahakoshal Disputes

The Committee passed the following resolution

Mr K F Nariman is appointed arbitrator with final authority to deal with the disputes of the Jubbulpore Town Congress Committee and the Khandwa District Congress Committee

Mr Nariman is also requested by the Committee to investigate the complaints regarding the proposed constitution of the Mahakoshal P C C and the validity of the meeting held for passing the said constitution and to report to the President before the end of May, 1935 for final disposal

Guntur Congress Committee Dispute

Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya is authorised by the Committee to investigate the

Guntur Congress Committee dispute and is requested to send up a report to the President before the end of May, 1935 for final disposal

Representation of NWF and Midnapur

In view of the continuance of ban on Congress organisations in the North West Frontier Province and Midnapur district in Bengal the President was authorised by the Committee to nominate members to represent the Frontier in the AICC, and the Congress, and the district of Midnapur in the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and the Congress such nominated members having the same right as duly elected members

Recommendations for AICC

The Committee in slightly altered forms, recommended items 1, 2 4, 5 6, 7 8 and 9 given in the proceedings of the AICC at Jubbulpore for adoption by that body

Vacancies in the Working Committee

The president appointed Sri S M Moitra and Sri Purshotamdas Tandon as members of the Working Committee of the Congress in place of Dr M A Ansari and Sri C Rajagopalachari

3

Wardha, Working Committee Meeting, 29 July-1 August 1935[1]

Bank Account of AICC

Resolved that the account of AICC at Allahabad be opened with the Punjab National Bank in the name of the Indian National Congress and that this account be operated upon by the President, Babu Rajendra Prasad and the Working General Secretary, Acharya J B Kripalani, jointly and severally

Statement of Accounts

The statement of office accounts from April, 1935 to June 1935 was placed before the meeting and passed

Accounts of 1932-34

The Committee also passed the audited accounts of the AICC from January 1 1932 to March 31, 1934

Claim of the Gujarat PCC

Having considered the circumstances and the correspondence with different parties and conversations between the President and the parties concerned, resolved that Rs 6 000 advanced by the Gujarat PCC as loan to the AICC be repaid

Dues from Tamil Nadu PCC

Having considered the correspondence regarding dues from Tamil Nadu PCC amounting Rs 3 325-4-10, resolved that in view of the fact that Tamil Nadu PCC may feel handicapped if called upon to pay the entire amount in one lump sum,

[1] *Ibid*, pp 465 76

the Working Committee will be prepared to consider payment in annual instalments of Rs 300, the first instalment to be paid latest in December, 1935

Provincial Subscriptions

Considered the telegrams received from Bombay, Utkal, and other PCCs regarding extension of date for payment of provincial subscriptions

Resolved that the date be extended to August 15 1935 and the Committees in default be asked to make payments by that date failing which they will be liable to be disqualified from representation in the next meeting of the AICC in accordance with the resolution passed at the Jubbulpore meeting of the Working Committee

Detenus' Families Relief Fund

Resolved that Syt Surendra Mohan Moitra be authorised to make enquiries and recommendations in consultation with any other person or persons he considers necessary regarding aid to be given to families of detenus in Bengal The General Secretary of the AICC is authorised to make payments in accordance with such recommendations from the fund collected for the purpose

Change of Headquarters

Read the application of the Berar PCC for the change of its headquarters from Amraoti to Akola

Resolved that the proposed change be sanctioned

Central Calcutta Congress Committee Dispute

Considered the representation of the Bengal PCC regarding Central Calcutta Congress Committee

Resolved that in view of the fact that Syt M S Aney was given comprehensive power by the Working Committee at its sitting held on July 28 and 29, 1934 to take whatever action was necessary for setting up without delay the Congress organisation in Bengal, and further in view of the fact the central Calcutta Congress Committee set up under his decision has been functioning since September 1934, the Working Committee sees no reason to disturb the existing arrangements

The Working Committee further resolves that the action taken by the Re-organisation Sub Committee of the Bengal PCC calling upon the Central Calcutta Congress Committee to deposit all application forms, receipts and membership fees is set aside and the Committee set up under Syt Aney's award shall continue to function till a fresh election takes place under the constitution

The Working Committee regrets to note that the Re-organisation Sub Committe should have taken upon itself the responsibility of practically setting aside the decision of Syt Aney and taking *ad interim* action

The Working Committee heard Syt Narendra Nath Sen on Central Calcutta Congress Committee dispute at great length but saw no reason to revise its previous decision on the subject

Enrolment of Members in Bengal

With regard to the complaint of Shri S N Roy regarding enrolment of members in Bengal the Committee records the agreement arrived at between Shri S N Roy and Syt Surendra Mohan Moitra on behalf of the BPCC that the quota of membership fees should be remitted to the districts concerned along with the list of members within a fortnight

Constitution of Mahakoshal PCC

Read Syt K F Nariman's report about the validity of the meeting of the Mahakoshal PCC for the adoption of the provincial constitution This Committee agrees with his finding that the meeting in which the constitution was passed was not a valid meeting and calls upon the President of the Mahakoshal Congress Committee to convene a regular meeting for considering and adopting the provincial constitution and submit the same to the Working Committee after it has been duly passed by the PCC

Juppulpore Town Congress Committee Dispute

Considered the report of Syt K F Nariman on the Jubbulpore TCC dispute

Agreeing with the findings of Syt K F Nariman resolved that the objections to the election of the Jubbulpore Town Congress Committee are invalid, and therefore the election stands and the present Committee shall continue to function

Khandwa District Congress Committee Dispute

Considered the report of Syt K F Nariman on the Khandwa District Congress Committee election dispute

Resolved that agreeing with his findings the election of the Khandwa DCC is upheld and the existing DCC of Khandwa shall continue to function

Guntur Congress Committee Dispute

Read the report of Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya together with the terms of settlement signed by Syt Konda Venkatapayya and Syt N V L Narasimha Rau and a letter from Syt S Sivaswamy withdrawing the complaint Resolved that these be recorded

Congress Organisation in Madras City

Heard the representatives of Tamil Nadu and Andhra PCCs on the controversy over Congress organisation in Madras city Resolved that the question be referred to the Committees concerned to enable them to arrive at an amicable settlement

Berar PCC

Considered the resolution of the Berar Provincial Congress Conference forwarded by the Berar PCC recommending the formation of a Joint Committee of the three Provincial Congress Committees of Berar, Nagpur and Mahakoshal for the purpose of running council elections Resolved that the same be sent to the Congress Parliamentary Board for consideration

Peasants Sub-Committee

Resolved that a sub committee consisting of Syt Rajendra Prasad Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Syt Purshottamdas Tandon with Syt Purshottamdas Tandon as convener be appointed to keep in touch with the problems affecting the peasantry of the country and from time to time to report to and advise the Working Committee thereon

Labour Sub-Committee

Resolved that a sub-committee consisting of Syt Jairamdas Daulatram, Syt K F Nariman and Syt Shankerlal Banker be appointed with Syt

Jairamdas Daulatram as convener to keep in touch with problems affecting industrial labour and from time to time to report to and advise the Working Committee thereon

Note—Shri Shankerlal G Banker having intimated his inability to be a member of the Committee due to his preoccupations Acharya J B Kirpalani had been appointed by the President to act in his place The Labour Sub Committee at its meeting held in Bombay on August 6, 1935 appointed Shri J B Kripalani as its convener

Quetta Earthquake

The Working Committee records its sense of deep sorrow at the loss sustained in men and money by thousands of people during the recent earthquake in Quetta and other parts of Baluchistan and tenders its condolences and sympathy to the bereaved and the sufferers

The Working Committee endorses the action taken by the President in forming a Central Relief Committee for collecting funds and administering relief The Committee thanks all those who rendered valuable aid through personal care to thousands of the injured and distressed under very difficult circumstances and acknowledges the response of the public to appeals for funds

The Working Committee while recognising the efforts made by the authorities at Quetta to meet the situation with the resources at their disposal, is of opinion based on the published statements of eyewitnesses official and non-official that many persons under the debris could have been rescued if the digging operations had been undertaken on an adequate scale and not stopped after two days and if the offered help from the public had not been rejected

The Working Committee is of opinion that the Government should appoint a Commission composed of officials and non-officials to enquire into the allegations made by the public and, in some respects supported by published statements of officials *viz*,

1 that the statement made on behalf of the Government when assistance was offered that they had ample resources to deal with the situation in Quetta does not appear to be borne out by facts,

2 that they unjustifiably turned away such proffered assistance,

3 that they ought to have recruited available assistance from neighbouring areas to cope properly with the emergency,

4 that whilst every European resident of the affected area was accounted for no adequate attempt was made in respect of the Indian residents and there was similar discrimination between Indians and Europeans in the matter of rescue, relief and salvage

Congress Jubilee

Resolved that the fiftieth anniversary of the Congress be observed in a befitting manner on the day the Congress met for the first time in 1885 and for this purpose the Working Committee appoints the following persons to constitute a sub committee for drawing up the programme for the occasion

Syt Rajendra Prasad,
Dr B Pattabhi Sitaramayya,
Seth Jamnalal Bajaj,
Syt Gobind Ballabh Pant,
Syt Jairamdas Daulatram and
Acharya J B Kripalani

History of the Congress

The Committee thanks Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya for the offer of the manuscripts of the History of the Congress written by him and requests the President to go through it and authorises him to finally decide about its publication as a memorial volume of the fiftieth anniversary of the Congress

Offices Under the new Constitution

Having read the resolution of several Congress Committees relating to the acceptance or non acceptance of office under the new constitution, this Committee is of opinion that any decision on the question would be premature at this stage and should be left over for the next session of the Congress It declares that any expression of opinion on the question by individual Congress men does not represent the view of the Congress

Indian States

Although the policy of the Congress regarding the States in India has been defined in its resolutions, a persistent effort is being made by or on behalf of the people of the States to get a fuller declaration of the Congress policy The Working Committee therefore issues the following statement concerning the policy of the Congress with regard to the Princes and the people of the States

The Indian National Congress recognises that the people in the Indian States have an inherent right to *Swaraj* no less than the people of British India It has accordingly declared itself in favour of establishment of representative responsible government in the States and has in that behalf not only appealed to the Princes to establish such responsible government in their States and to guarantee fundamental rights of citizenship, like freedom of person, speech association and the Press to their people but has also pledged to the States people its sympathy and support in their legitimate and peaceful struggle for the attainment of full responsible government By that declaration and by that pledge the Congress stands The Congress feels that even in their own interests the Princes will be well advised to establish at the earliest possible moment full responsible government within their States carrying a guarantee of full rights of citizenship to their people

It should be understood however that the responsibility and the burden of carrying on that struggle within the States must necessarily fall on the States people themselves The Congress can exercise moral and friendly influence upon the States and this it is bound to do wherever possible The Congress has no other power under existing circumstances although the people of India whether under the British the Princes or any other power are geographically and historically one and indivisible In the heat of controversy the limitatation of the Congress is often forgotten Indeed any other policy will defeat the common purpose

With regard to the impending constitutional changes it has been suggested that the Congress should insist upon certain amendments of that portion of the Government of India Bill which deals with the relation of the Indian States to the Indian Federation The Congress has more than once categorically rejected the entire scheme of constitutional reforms on the broad ground of its not being an expression of the will of the people of India and has insisted on a constitution to be framed by a Constituent Assembly It may not now ask for an amendment of the scheme in any particular part To do so would amount to a reversal of the Congress policy

At the same time it is hardly necessary to assure the people of the States that the Congress will never be guilty of sacrificing their interests in order to buy

the support of the Princes From its inception the Congress has stood unequivocally for the rights of the masses of India as against any vested rights in conflict with their true interests

Provident Fund Rules for AICC Staff

With a view to having a provident fund for the employees in the office of the All India Congress Committee the Working Committee adopts the following rules

1 Every full time employee shall contribute one anna in the rupee of his salary to a provident fund of which an account will be opened in some bank The deduction of this amount shall be made at the time the monthly salary bill is prepared

2 The AICC shall make contribution to the deposit account of each employee month by month at the rate of one anna in the rupee of the salary

3 Persons employed temporarily shall not come under the operation of this scheme

4 Each employee shall state in writing to whom he desires that the amount be paid in case of his death

5 The deposits and contributions with interest thereon at the credit of any employee may be withdrawn on his ceasing to be an employee of the AICC subject to provisions in Rules 9, 10, 11 and 12 hereunder

6 A temporary advance, not ordinarily exceeding three months' pay, may be allowed to an employee from the sum at his credit at the discretion of the Working General Secretary provided the sum so proposed to be advanced shall be equal to or less than half the amount paid by the employee so far towards his share of the Fund the rate of interests being 5% The following may be considered as examples of legitimate occasions for such advances

a illness of employee or any member of his family,

b marriages and funerals

c any special educational requirement of employee's children

7 Advances will be recovered at the discretion of the General Secretary in instalments by monthly deducations from the salary

8 In the event of any employee owing a sum of money to the AICC the General Secretary will have the right to deduct this sum of money from the provident fund of the employee

9 An employee leaving before the completion of his five years of service shall be entitled only to his share of contribution to the provident fund and interest thereon

10 If the services of an employee are terminated for no fault of his he shall be entitled to the whole amount of his provident fund, and the clause relating to five years service shall not apply in his case

11 If the services of an employee are dispensed with for negligence or inefficiency, he shall be entitled to receive only his own contribution to the fund with interest thereon

12 In case of dismissal owing to dishonesty or fraud, he shall not be entitled to receive any portion of the provident fund

13 The clause relating to five years service shall not apply in the case of employees who may have completed their five years of service in the AICC before the date of operation of the present scheme

14 The decision of the Working Committee of the Congress regarding negligence inefficiency, dishonesty or fraud involving dismissal and in all matters of doubt and difference arising out of these rules shall be final

15 The Working Committee shall have power to alter, vary or amend the rules relating to the Provident Fund in their absolute discretion

Leave Rules For AICC Staff

1 Every member of the staff will get one month's privilege leave with full pay for every completed eleven months of service

2 If a member does not avail of this leave the same can accumulate for two years All such leave beyond two months will lapse

3 Members of the staff will also get ten days casual leave which may not be combined with the privilege or sick leave

4 Holidays falling at either end of the leave period will not be included in the leave but when they fall in the middle of the leave, they will be so included

5 Members will also get fifteen days sick leave on halfpay in the year

6 If the privilege leave is availed of for reasons of health, the fifteen days of sick leave on half pay may be combined with it

7 Any leave beyond this shall be without allowance unless under special circumstance to be decided upon in each individual case by the Working Committee on the recommendation of the General Secretary

8 The leave mentioned in these rules will not include Sundays or other general holidays except when they fall within the period of a leave A list of general holdays will be made by the General Secretary at the beginning of every year and will be hung up in the office for the information of the staff

9 Members can only avail themselves of leave subject to the requirements of the office, and will not be entitled to demand it as of right

10 All leave mentioned here shall be unless otherwise provided for granted by the Working General Secretary

Purse Collections in Maharashtra

In view of the work in Maharashtra the President consented to forego half the quota of 24% due to the AICC office out of the President's Purse collections made in Maharashtra

Labour Sub-committee President's Announcement

Shri Shankerlal G Banker having expressed inability to accept membership of the Labour Sub Committee the President appointed Prof J B Kripalani to be its member pending approval by the Working Committee at its next meeting

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Madras, Working Committee Meeting, 15-16 October 1935[1]

'History of the Congress' and Other Publications

The Committee sanctioned Rs 6 000 for the printing and publication of the English edition of the History of the Congress' by Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Rs 1 000 for the printing and publication of brochures in connection with the fiftieth anniversary of the Congress [2]

Quota of subscription of Bengal PCC

The Working Committee deplores the attitude of the executive of the Bengal PCC on the payment of the provincial subscription and regrets that no choice has been left to it but to enforce the constitution and debar the members of the AICC from Bengal from attending the next or any subsequent meetings of the AICC in terms of the resolution of the Committee passed at Jubbulpore on April 25 and 26, 1935

Quota of Subscription of Utkal PCC

Considered the representation received from the Utkal PCC

The Working Committee regrets that it is unable to grant the Utkal PCC any exemption from payment of the balance of its provincial subscription But in view of the Special circumstances mentioned it is prepared to extend the time and allow its members to attend the AICC if the balance of the quota is paid before or during the meeting

Quota of Delegates from Bengal

Resolved that the President be authorised to fix the quota of delegates from Bengal after taking such steps as he thinks fit in view of the complaints received by him regarding the list of primary members from the Province

Central Calcutta Congress Committee Dispute

The Working Committee at its meeting held at Wardha from July 29 to August 1, 1935 passed the following two Resolutions Nos 9 and 10 on the Central Congress Committee dispute

Resolution 9—Central Calcutta CC Dispute

'Considered the representation of the Bengal PCC regarding Central Calcutta Congress Committee,—

'Resolved that in view of the fact that Syt M S Aney was given comprehensive powers by the Working Committee at its sitting held on July 28 and 29 1934, to take whatever action was necessary for setting up without delay the Congress organisation in Bengal, and further in view of the fact that the Central Calcutta Congress Committee set up under his decision has been

[1] *Ibid*, pp 476 81

[2] The work comprising over eleven hundred printed pages was eventually published officially as B Pattabhi Sitaramayya (with an Introduction by Rajendra Prasad Congress President), *The History of the Indian National Congress, 1885 1935* The Working Committee of the Congress, (Law Printing House Madras) 1935

functioning since September 1934 the Working Committee sees no reason to disturb the existing arrangements

'The Working Committee further resolved that the action taken by the Re-organisation Sub Committee of the Bengal PCC calling upon the Central Calcutta Congress Committee to deposit all application forms, receipts and membership fees is set aside and the Committee Committee set up under Syt Aney s award shall continue to function till a fresh election takes place under the constitution

'The Working Committee regrets to note that the Re-organisation Sub Committee should have taken upon itslef the responsibility of practically setting aside the decision of Syt aney and taking *ad interim* action

Resolution 10—Latter Proceedings

'The Working Committee heard Syt Narendra Nath Sen on Central Calcutta Congress Committee dispute at great length but saw no reason to revise its previous decision on the subject

The Working Committee regrets that the Executive Committee of the Bengal PCC instead of giving effect to the said resolutions passed the following resolutions on September 28 and 29, 1935 and August 6 1935

That in view of the representations made by Syt Narendra Nath Sen of Central Calcutta Congress Committee and Syt Bhupendra Nath Basu and others of the South Calcutta Congress Committee, this executive council directs the Secretary of the BPCC not to hand over the papers and money to the said DCC

'Regarding the Working Committee s remark expressed in the last paragraph of its decision on Central Calcutta DCC the Executive Council of the BPCC is of opinion that the findings of the Re organisation Sub-Committee were not contrary to Syt Aney s decision and the Sub Committee was quite justified in passing the *ad interim* order pending the decision of the Working Committee This Council regrets that the Working Committee failed to realise the true import of the *ad interim* order of the Sub Committee

'The Working Committee is therefore of opinion that the Executive Committee of the Bengal PCC has in so doing deliberately disregarded and disobeyed the orders of this Committee and therefore calls upon it to show cause by November 15, why disciplinary action should not be taken against it under Article 12 of the constitution and the rules framed thereunder '

Burma

The Working Committee assures the Burma members of the AICC that notwithstanding the constitutional separation of India and Burma the Indian National Congress will continue to watch with sympathetic interests the political situation in Burma, and in view of the impending separation it appeals to the Indians settled in Burma and the Burmans that they will continue to bear towards each other the same goodwill and friendly relations as have hitherto subsisted

Constitutional Sub-Committee

Resolved that a Sub Committee consisting of the President, Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Syt. Jairamdas Daulatram and Acharya J B Kripalani be appointed to examine the new constitution of the Congress in the light of experience gained in its working and to report to the Committee thereon

Fiftieth Anniversary of the Congress

The Committee adopted the following programme for celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Congress

A *Official Programme*

1 Prabhatphen to commence before dawn
2 Flag-hoisting and salutation 8-30 A M (S T)
3 Procession—Afternoon ending in public meeting in the evening
4 Public meeting—Evening

(a) *Bande Mataram*
(b) Opening song
(c) President's message
(d) Speeches about Congress *i e*, its history achievements programe etc uptill now

5 The day to be devoted to works of national service illustrating the constructive work of the Congress

6 Sale of small national flags

7 Illumination at night (Note - There should be no fireworks of any kind whatsoever)

B *Suggestions relating to items one or more of which may be taken up according to the facilities of the locality or inclination of the organisers*

1 *Sports*

(a) Wrestling
(b) Indian games
(c) Tournaments

2 *Mela*

(a) Khadi exhibition and demonstrations
(b) Village Industries Exhibition and demonstration
(c) Exhibition of other Swadeshi articles in terms of the Bombay Congress resolution
(d) *Kavi Sammelan* or *Musharia*[1]—subjects to the of national interest and importance
(e) Music

C *Congress Propaganda through suitable Literature*

History of the Congress and other literature bearing upon national problems

Resolution of Delhi

Read the Letter from the Delhi PCC suggesing reconstitution of the Congress province of Delhi

'Resolved that the matter be referred to the Punjab, and U P PCCs for their opinion '

Settlement Between Andhra And Karnataka PCCs

The Committee recorded the following settlement between the Secretaries of the Andhra and Karnataka PCCs regarding the district of Bellary

[1]Poetic symposium

(i) 'The Talukas of Adoni, Alur and Rayadrug shall be as before under the jurisdiction of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee

(ii) The question relating to the boundary disputes shall be deferred for the present

(iii) For purposes of elections to the Legislatures and Local Bodies from the Bellary District there shall be a Parliamentary Board consisting of five members two on behalf of the Andhra area and three for the Karnatka area to be appointed by the respective Provincial Congress Committees and it will function in accordance with the policy and programme of the Congress

(iv) The Organiser of the Andhra area in the Bellary District may continue to hold his office in Bellary Town till the Bellary Andhra District Congress Committee is formed '

Recommendations for AICC

The Committee recommended to AICC resolutions 1 and 2 given in proceedings of AICC of Madras as also the rules of Procedure of AICC The later were adopted with some alterations

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Bombay, Working Committee Meeting, 1-2 January 1936[1]

Under the powers conferred upon the Working Committee under the Article XII(c)(i) the following rule was framed

'Any person enrolled as a member under Article III shall be entitled to exercise his vote at an election and shall be eligible for re election to an office or to membership of any Congress Committee without having been continuously on a Congress register for six months prior to the date of election, provided that the President of the PCC concerned certifies that he has been prevented from becoming a member by reason of imprisonment, internment externment or forced absence from India provide further that he is certified by the President of the PCC concerned that he has been prevented from performing the mannual labour prescribed under Article V by reason of imprisonment, externment, internment or forced absence from India, or by reason of illness, infirmitiy, or any other physical incapacity '

Independence Day

Resolved that the procedure adopted in previous years be followed and the President be authorised to issue a statement to be read on the occasion of the Independence Day

Announcement of the Result of the Presidential Election

Resolved that the President be authorised to receive the report regarding the election of the President for the next session of the Congress by delegates of various provinces and to announce the result under Art IX (f)(i)

[1] A M Zaidi and S G Zaidi (eds), *The Encyclopaedia of the India Nationaal Congress*, Vol XI op cit pp 143 5

Enrolment

Resolved that the decision of the President regarding the validity of enrolment of members in Jubbulpore, Baghelkhand and Katni under the Mahakoshal Provincial Congress Committee be confirmed

Bengal Dispute

Whereas lists of primary members for Bengal submitted by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee as required by the Constitution are challenged as irregular in material particulars and objections have been taken to the enrolment of members and the validity of the lists on various grounds,

Whereas on account of differences between the President of the B P C C and its Executive Council a majority of the members of the Council have resigned,

And whereas the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee has by a resolution dated November 16, 1935, tried to compose local differences by referring certain matters to Syt Sarat Chandra Bose,

And whereas in the events that have happened there would be a duly elected Provincial Congress Committee functioning in the province of Bengal as from January 7 1936,

And whereas the Working Committee is desirous to help Bengal to compose its differences in accordance with general Congress opinion in the Province, and consistently with the constitution, it is hereby resolved as follows

I (A) A Provisional Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to carry on the work of the Congress in Bengal under Art VIII (c) until a Provincial Congress Committee is duly elected as hereinafter stated

(B) The Executive Committee and office-bearers of such Provincial Congress Committee

(C) An agency to scrutinise the lists submitted by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee with all necessary and final powers to prepare the list in accordance with the constitution and duly certify the same by a date to be named by the President

II After the said lists are submitted, the Executive Committee of the Provincial Congress Committee do hold the elections of delegates according to the Provisions of Art VI with such necessary modifications as may be prescribed by the President

III The Delegates elected as aforesaid to constitute the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee in the place of the Provincial Congress Committee nominated hereunder

IV The President is hereby authorised to issue such instructions as may be necessary to carry this resolution into effect

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Working Committee Meeting, 1936[1]
Delhi, 21-24 March
Allahabad, 6-7 April
Lucknow, 8-14 April

AICC Election in Bombay

In the opinion of the Committee no substantial irregularity is disclosed in the elections of members to the All India Congress Committee from Bombay The election therefore stands

Election of Delegates in Utkal and Mahakoshal

Resolved that the President be authorised to condone the irregularity caused by non payment of delegates fees and the non-issue of certificates on payment of the prescribed fee for all the delegates present and participating in the meeting of January 20 1936

Bengal Election Dispute

Considered the resolution of the Executive Committee of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee dated March 15 1936, and the *ad interim* report of Messrs Surendra Mohan Moitra and Birendra Nath Majumdar Scrutinisers and also heard Dr Suresh Banerjee Sjts Biren Majumdar and Dhiresh Chakravorty

The Committee is of opinion that it is not possible to substitute the nomination of delegates for their election by primary members and it is necessary in the opinion of this Committee that election of delegates should be held by primary members

The Committee, accordingly, directs that the election of delegates should be held in those districts in which there is no dispute, and in the districts in respect of which the Scrutinisers have been able to submit the final list of members as per statement given below and the Committee allots the number of delegates mentioned against each district or in the districts where more than one delegate is elected, the whole district should be treated as one multiple constituency

As regards the remaining districts the Scrutinisers are requested to expedite their scrutiny and the President is authorised to allot a number of delegates to them as soon as the Scrutinisers' reports are received

The Executive Committee of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee will announce in the Press names of the Returning Officers and polling station for each district by March 28 1936 The nomination of candidates should reach the Returning Officer by 7 p m of March 31, and the scrutiny of the nominations will take place on April 1 1936 The polling of votes shall take place on April 4 next and the results shall be declared on April 6 at the latest

A meeting of delegates will be held at 10 a m at the Bengal Delegates camp at Motinagar Lucknow on April 9 to elect one twelfth of their number as members of the All India Congress Committee from Bengal

[1] *Ibid* pp 145 8

The number of delegates to be elected from the districts is as follows

Bankura 3, Sylhet 5, Dacca 2, Nadia 2 Pabna 3, Dinajpur 6, Chittagong 1 Jessore 3, Khulna 3 Hooghly 2, Birbhum 1, Barisal 1, Jalpaiguri 2, Murshidbad 2, North Calcutta 4, South Calcutta, 2, Central Calcutta 2, Burra Bazar 2, 24 Parganas 2, Noakhali 3, Faridpur 1, and Midnapur 7

Babu Rajendra Prasad also issued the following statement

'In view of the power given to me by the Working Committee to nominate delegates and members of the All India Congress Committee to represent the district of Midnapur where the Congress organisation is still under a ban I nominate the following gentlemen, *viz*, Sjt Subhas Bose, Sjt Mohim Chandra Das, Kumar D L Khan, Sjt Pramath Nath Banerjee of Contai, Sjt Ramsundar Singh Sjt Manmatha Nath Das and Sjt Lalit Mohan Sinha

'It will be noticed that in the above list I have included the first named two gentlemen who are not residents of Midnapur I included Sjt Subhas Chandra Bose for obvious reason and I nominated Sjt Mohim Chandra Das of Chittagong where Congress work has become difficult if not impossible and I think it desirable that this district should not go unrepresented Another genteleman of Chittagong should be elected as a delegate by the members of Dacca in combination with those of Chittagong to enable that district to get adequate representation

I record my appreciation of the work of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and the Scrutinisers and hope the rest of the work will be completed in time for the next Congress

'I hope this decision will give satisfaction to Congress men and Congress women in Bengal and I trust the election will be conducted with fairness and completed in time

Fresh Election disputes

Resolved that the President be authorised to decide any election dispute that might arise before the next session of the Congress at Lucknow

Headquarters of Andhra PCC

As temporary measure the Andhra PCC is allowed to keep Madras as its headquarters

Enrolment of New Primary Members

The permission given by the President in February last for enrolment of Congress members from then onwards for the year beginning with April, 1936, before the assembling of the next Congress at Lucknow in April 1936 was approved

Repairs to Swaraj Bhawan

Resolved that a sum of Rs 750 be sanctioned for the next year for the repairs of Swaraj Bhawan

The Committee drafted resolutions on the following subjects to be placed before the Subjects Committee of the Lucknow Congress

(1) Condolence, (2) Greetings to Prisoners etc, (3) Shri Subhas Chandra Bose's arrest, (4) Suppression of Civil Liberties, (5) Foreign Department, (6) Romain Rolland's invitation to the World Peace Congress, (7) War Danger, (8) Government of India Act, (9) Sympathy for Abyssinia, (10) Indians Abroad, (11) Congress and Mass Contacts, (12) Agrarian Programme (13) Indian States, (14) Amendments to the Constitution

7

Wardha, Working Committee Meeting, 27-29 April 1936[1]

Donation of Rs 10,000

The President informed the Committee that anonymous donation of Rs 10,000 had been received earmarked for the organization of a foreign department of the All India Congress Committee office

Foreign Department

In view of the Congress decision on the subject if was resolved that the President be authorised to organize a foreign department of the All India Congress Committee office and that Rs 2 000 be sanctioned for this purpose out of the special donation for foreign work

Political and Economic Department

Resolved that a Political and Economic Information Department be created in the All India Congress Committee Office in order to collect and collate information in regard to political, economic and allied activities in the country The President be authorized to organize such a department and Rs 2,000 be sanctioned from the general fund of the All India Congress Committee for the purpose

Karnatak PCC's Letter

The Karnatak PCC s letter dated Dharwar April 27, 1936 regarding the procedure to be followed for the election of AICC members was considered The Committee held that under the provisions of the Constitution it was essential for a meeting of the delegates to be held at one place for the purpose of electing AICC members and that this could not be done by post

The letter from Delhi DCC about the city and the District of Delhi to be made into a separate province was considered and it was decided that opinion on the matter be called for from the district and town Congress Committees of Delhi, Meerut and Muzaffarnagar as well as the UPPCC

Treasurer's Balance sheet

The following items in the accounts that were being carried on from year to year were either written off or accounted for

1 As the Congress pavilion is worn out and has no value, resolved that the amount of Rs 9 750 be written off

2 Resolved that Rs 600 advanced to Mr Tendulker be written off

3 Amounts shown as advances against Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru advanced in December 1931 and in 1932 to him and to Srimati Kamala Nehru for work in U P and Bihar, were amounts spent during the period These must be accounted for as expenditure

[1] *Ibid* pp 149 52

Deposit of Funds

Resolved that the treasurer be authorised to deposit the funds in his hands in such banks or firms doing banking business as he may think fit

Accounts

Resolved that in future there should be only one account, the treasurers account The office accounts at Allahabad should be amalgamated with this The office should get money periodically from the Treasurer and send monthly accounts with the vouchers to the treasurer s office in Bombay

Anomalies in the Amended Constitution

Various anomalies being pointed out in the Constitution as amended at Lucknow Messrs Rajagopalachari, Jairamdas and Kripalani were requested to examine the transitory provision of the Constitution and to submit proposals on the day following for any consequential changes that might remove these anomalies

On the recommendation of the Committee the following consequential rule and transitory provision were made for removing the anomalies caused in the Constitution by the amendments introduced in it at the last Congress session at Lucknow

Consequential Rule Under Art XVIII

If any delegate elected to a Session of the Congress resigns after the session is over, the vacancy so created shall be filled in by the constituency concerned and such newly elected delegate shall exercise all the functions devolving on a delegate according to the constitution until the next session, including membership in the Provincial Congress Committee

Transitory Provision Under Art XVIII (d)

It is hereby resolved that the next Congress Session having been advanced to December 1936 and the time allowed for enrolment of members being thereby considerably reduced, notwithstanding anything contained in Art V(a) and the general timtable issued by the Working Committee any member enrolled this year on or before August 31 shall be entitled to exercise his vote at all Congress elections

Labour Committee

Resolved that a Labour Committee consisting of Srijuts Jairamdas Daulatram Shankerlal Banker, V V Giri, M R Masani and J B Kripalani be appointed to keep in touch with the labour movement and endeavour to co operate with it and advise the Working Committee thereon

Parliamentary Committee

Resolved that a Parliamentary Committee consisting of Srijuts (1) Rajendra Prasad, (2) Vallabhbhai Patel, (3) Abul Kalam Azad, (4) Rajagopalachari, (5) Bhulabhai Desai, (6) Narendra Deo and (7) Govind Ballabh Pant with the last named person as its Convener, as well as the Presidents of all Provincial Congress Committees (excluding Burma) and Dr Khan Sahib from the Frontier be constituted, to take such steps as may be necessary in connection with the organisation of elections to the legislatures The Committee shall report to the Working Committee from time to time and shall be guided by the Working Committee's directions

8

Wardha, Working Committee Meeting, 29-30 June and 1 July 1936[1]

The following budget for the next six months from July to December 1936, was passed

Budget

1	Establishment		Rs 6,000
2	Postage and telegrams		Rs 1,500
3	Stationery and Printing		Rs 2,000
4	Travelling expenses		Rs 2 000
5	Rents and Taxes		Rs 400
6	Furniture		Rs 3,000
7	Library		Rs 1,000
8	Repairs to Swaraj Bhawan		Rs 2,000
9	Miscellaneous		Rs 500
		Total	Rs 18,400

The previous budget passed by the Working Committee at its meeting in Delhi in March last for the months of April, May and June 1936 is as follows

1	Establishment		Rs 2,500
2	Postage and telegrams		Rs 700
3	Stationery and Printing		Rs 250
4	Travelling expenses		Rs 1 000
5	Rents and Taxes		Rs 200
6	Furniture		Rs 200
7	Library		Rs 500
8	Miscellaneous		Rs 200
		Total	Rs 5,550

Late Dr Ansari

This Committee records its sense of irreparable loss to the national cause by the sudden and premature death of Dr M A Ansari, a dear and valued comrade and tenders to the bereaved family its sincere sympathy and condolence

Late Abbas Tyabji

This committee records its heartfelt sorrow over the passing away of Shri Abbas Tyabji, the Grand Old Man of Gujarat, whose services and brave sacrifices endeared him to the Nation, and tenders its sincere condolence to Mrs Tyabji and other members of the family

Arabs in Palestine

The Working Committee sends its greetings and its full sympathy to the Arabs of Palestine in their struggle for independence against British imperialism

[1] *Ibid* pp 152 55

Vacancies in the Provincial Congress Committee

Under Art XII(e), the Working Committee rules that any person ceasing to be a member of his Provincial Congress Committee shall also cease to function thereafter as a delegate provided all such vacancies and the circumstances under which the same might have occurred shall be forthwith reported to the Working Commitee

By-election of Delegates

In a constituency where for any reason a by election of a delegate becomes necessary the members entitled to vote and be candidates for such a vacancy shall be,

(a) those included in the list mentioned in Article VI(a) and

(b) new members enrolled since the closing of the said list and three months prior to the by-elections

Bengal Elections

In connection with the new elections consequent upon Shri Rajendra Prasad's award in the Bengal dispute the request of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee for the extension of election dates and having a whole district as one plural member constituency and vote by majority was granted Further Shri Rajendra Prasad was authorised to deal finally with any disputes arising from these elections

Congress and the National Party

The President placed before the Committee the correspondence which passed between him and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya The general Congress attitude in regard to the Communal Award has already been stated by the President in his statements to the press dated June 2 and June 27 In order to prevent any further misapprehension on the subject, the Committee expect to clarify the Congress position in this matter in the election manifesto which will be framed by the AICC and issued in due course The Committee welcomed the desire for co-operation with the Congress expressed by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and some of his colleagues and expressed the hope that it will be possible to find ways and means to ensure such co-operation in the national struggle against Imperialism

Tilak Swaraj Fund

The question of meeting the unfounded charges made against the Tilak Swaraj Fund was discussed The President's announcement that he would issue a statement to the effect that the account books at the Treasurer s office at Bombay will be open to inspection for the public on a reasonable notice being given to that office was welcome The Committee's opinion was that henceforth any malicious or defamatory statement should be challenged in a court of law

Disciplinary Action Against a Congress man

The letter of the President of the Mahakosala Provincial Congress Committee regarding the disciplinary measures against a member of their committee for congratulating Mr E Raghavendra Rao upon his appointment to the Governorship of the province was considered

The Committee was of opinion that the Mahakosala Provincial Congress Committee could take whatever disciplinary action it thought fit in the matter The question of framing a resolution covering such cases was left over for the next meeting

Membership of the Reception Committee

The letter of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee about the membership of the Reception Committee of the ensuing session of the Congress was considered

The Working Committee s opinion was that the Provincial Congress Committee was free to enrol non Congress men as members of the Reception Committee and make such other rules in this behalf as it considers fit

The History of the Congress

The report of the sub-committee of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee regarding 'The History of the Congress' was placed before the Committee Shri Rajendra Prasad was requested to deal with it

9

Bombay, Working Committee Meeting, 20-23 August 1936[1]

Shri Rajagopalachari's Resignation

The Committee considered the matter arising out of Shri Rajagopalachari's resignation The President informed the committee that he had invited Dr Rajan to be present during this discussion but Dr Rajan had expressed his inability to come and had referred to various statements issued by him These statements were considered and Shri Rajagopalachari made a personal statement about the events leading up to the step that he had taken The members of the Committee while appreciating the difficulties which he had to face and the necessity for bringing home to the country and to the Congress organisation in particular the urgent need of maintaining discipline and loyalty within the Congress ranks, felt that from the larger viewpoint of Congress work his continuation in the Working Committee was desirable He was therefore requested by all the members to reconsider his decision, in particular his resignation from the Working Committee Shri Rajagopalachari thanked his colleagues but regretted his inability, under the circumstances, to reconsider his decision The Committee thereupon regretfully accepted his resignation

The Committee further considered the events which led up to Shri Rajagopalachari's resignation It regretted that Dr Rajan had been unable to accept the invitation to attend the Committee's meeting and to present his case In his absence the Committee had to rely on the statement sent by him Whether the various charges made by Dr Rajan in this statement were well founded or not, the Committee was clearly of opinion that his action in deliberately breaking his pledge and in inducing other Congress members of the Trichinopoly municipality to break their pledges was wholly indefensible and must be condemned A Congress pledge or any pledge is given with a view to its observance and a deliberate breach of such pledges can only lead to the growth of indiscipline and a lowering of the standards of

[1] *Ibid*, pp 156 59

public life Members of the Congress who may have grievances against any decisions or activities of Congress Committees have many ways open to them to bring their grievances to notice of the Congress organisation so that inquiry might be made All Congress men are expected to give their willing adherence to Congress discipline, and so long as they function as members of any organisation election on the basis of a Congress pledge that pledge holds and must be scrupulously honoured The Committee regrets therefore that Dr Rajan whatever the reasons that actuated him, did not adhere to the pledge that he had given

The Committee is informed that the matter will soon be considered by the Tamil Nad Provincial Executive

Election Manifesto

The Committee adopted the Election Manifesto This Manifesto was subsequently adopted with some verbal changes by the AICC and is given in its proceedings

Bengal

The reference made by the BPCC about the position on Mrs Nellie Sen Gupta as a President of the 48th Session of Indian National Congress held at Calcutta was considered The Committee held that the elected President of that session as well as the previous one held in Delhi was Shri Madan Mohan Malaviya and as such he alone can enjoy the constitutional privileges accorded to the ex presidents of the Congress

The following excess expenditure under particular heads in the budget of April-June 1936 was sanctioned

	Rs a - p
(a) Stationery and Printing	665 15 - 0
(b) Travelling	758 7 3
(c) Furniture	117 0 0
(d) Miscellaneous	10-15 0

The Budget of Rs 1 800/- prepared by the Congress Labour Committee for six months from July to December 1936 was placed before the Committee and sanctioned

Textile Exemption Committee 1931

Shri Banker's letter in this behalf was read The Committee decided that if the General Secretary was satisfied that the amount claimed by Sjt Shankerlal Banker was not paid at the time it may be paid now

Peace Conference

Shri V K Krishna Menon was deputed to represent the Indian National Congress at the World Peace Conference at Brussels from Sepember 3 to 6, 1936 His expenses were to be met with from Congress funds

Japan

The President was requested to write to Mr A M Sahai to ask his Committee to drop the name of the 'Indian National Congress Committee of Japan' and to give to that organisation some other name as the new Constitution did not contemplate the formation of Congress Committees outside India The work done by Mr Sahai and his Committee was to be appreciated and continued co-operation from here offered

The following papers were placed before the Committee

(1) Resolutions passed by the Labour Committee
(2) Resolutions passed by the Swaraj Bhawan Management Committee and the Swaraj Bhawan Trust Committee
(3) Foreign Department Secretary's Report
(4) The Political and Economic Information Department Secretary's Report.

Swaraj Bhawan

The question of filling up the vacancy caused by the death of Dr M A Ansari on the Board of Trustees of the Swaraj Bhawan was postponed to the next meeting

With regard to the proposed museum to be located in the Swaraj Bhawan the Committee wanted a scheme prepared by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru to be placed before it when ready

The Committee accepted the resolution of the Board of Management of the Swaraj Bhawan for the maintenance of the Swaraj Bhawan to the effect that the Committee will continue to bear the costs for the maintenance of the Swaraj Bhawan and use part of it for its headquarters

Railway Retrenchment

The Committee passed the following resolution about Railway Retrenchment recommended to it by Labour Committee

> 'The Working Committee has learnt with grave concern that orders have been passed to retrench about 4,000 lowergrade employees in the State-owned Railways, and to reduce the scales of pay of the lower grades of workers retrospectively from 1931, whereas no such policy has been applied to all the higher grades
>
> 'The Committee considers the demand of the Railway workers for a Court of Inquiry into the question of such retrenchment and reduction in pay and for the suspension of retrenchment pending the result of inquiry as very fair and regrets that the Railway authorities should have rejected such a proper demand '

10

Bombay, Working Committee Meeting, 9-11 December 1936[1]

Mass Contacts

The report of the Mass Contacts Committee not being ready and not likely to be ready before the Congress session, the Working Committee appointed a sub-committee consisting of Shris Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Jairamdas Daulatram, Jayaprakash Narayan and J B Kripalani to consider changes in the Congress constitution with a view to increase the initiative of primary members and to make the Congress a more effective organisation for carrying on its work and also to remove any anomalies that may be found in the constitution

[1]*Ibid*, pp 159-64

Swaraj Bhawan Trust

In place of the late Dr M A Ansari, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was nominated a trustee on the Swaraj Bhawan Board of Trustees in terms of the Trust Deed

Burma

The Committee discussed the position of the Burma PCC in view of the new situation created by the separation of Burma from India It was felt that some member or members of the Working Committee should visit Burma and get personally acquainted with the wishes of the Burmese people in the matter and advise the Working Committee on the question

Bengal

Shri Sarat Chandra Bose explained to the Committee the circumstances under which he had resigned from the membership of the Bengal Parliamentary Board The opinion of the Committee was that he should withdraw his resignation in the interest of Parliamentary work in his province Shri S C Bose respected the wishes of his colleagues and withdrew his resignation It was also decided that Shri Govind Ballabh Pant should visit Bengal and help the local Parliamentary Board to select finally candidates who were to stand on the Congress ticket from Bengal

Peace Congress

Shri V K Krishna Menon's report about the World Peace Congress was placed before the Committee The Committee approved of 'the conditions and reservation to the four points of the Peace Congress' as stressed by Shri Krishna Menon in his report The Committee also was of opinion that the question of Imperialism should always be emphasised in this connection

Government Interference in Elections to Provincial Assemblies

1 In spite of unequivocal declarations and assurances by the Under-Secretary of State the Viceroy and others as to the observance of strict neutrality by Government servants in the matter of elections to the Provincial legislatures this Committee regrets to note the facts that several local Governments are still persisting in maintaining disqualifications of intending Congress candidates arising out of convictions for political offences and continuing active interferences in elections as is unmistakably shown by the Court of Wards circular of the U P Government

This Committee further notes that they are hampering the Congress in its election campaign by banning peaceful processions, meetings, hoisting of national flag and preventing movements of respected Congress leaders especially in the N W F Province and in various other ways

This Committee still hopes that effective measures will be taken by responsible officials of Government to remedy these matters so that the promise of neutrality given by them is duly fulfilled

This Committee earnestly trusts that hostile attitude of the Government will serve to stimulate the people to vigorous activity in support of the Congress candidates so that the victory of the Congress may be fully assured in spite of all these handicaps

2 Whereas the method of voting propose for the illiterate rural voters of the Provincial Assembly in the United Provinces is completely destructive of the secrecy and freedom of the vote this Committee is of opinion that this

should be replaced by the system of coloured boxes with or without symbols which has been adopted by several other provinces and was proposed by the All India and the Provincial Franchise Committees and originally recommended by the local Government itself as a very sound, safe and simple method, especially for illiterate voters

Supplementary Manifesto (Sindh)

The supplementary manifesto sent by the Sind PCC was approved The PCC was however to be informed that no stress should be laid on minor points and as far as possible they might be dropped from the document

Recent Frontier Operations

The Committee after some discussion about the situation in the Frontier created by the recent raid appointed a committee consisting of Shris Vallabhbhai Patel, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Bhulabhai Desai to consider the Frontier policy of the Government and the recent military operations there and make recommendations to the Committee and the Subjects Committee of the Faizpur Congress

Disciplinary Rules

In suppression of the previous resolutions of the Working Committee in regard to disciplinary action the following rules were adopted by the Committee

1 The Working Committee may take disciplinary action against

i Any Committee of the Congress which deliberately acts or carries on propaganda against the programme and decisions of the Congress or deliberately disregards or disobeys any orders passed by any higher authority or by an umpire, arbitrator or commissioner duly appointed

ii Any member of a Congress Executive or elected Congress Committee who deliberately acts or carries on propaganda against the programme and decisions of Congress or deliberately disregards or disobeys any orders passed by any higher authority or by an umpire, arbitrator or commissioner duly appointed

iii Any member of the Congress who deliberately acts contrary to the decisions of the Congress or deliberately disregards or disobeys any orders passed by any authority, umpire, arbitrator or commissioner duly appointed or is guilty of embezzlement of Congress funds or other fraudulent action in connection with funds and accounts or of having broken a pledge given to the Congress or any subordinate committee or of any fraudulent action in connection with the enrolment of members of the Congress or election to a Congress Committee or who deliberately acts in a way which in the opinion of the Working Committee is likely to lower the power and prestige of the Congress so as to render his continuance as a member of the Congress undesirable in the interests of the Congress

2 (i) In the case of a Committee of the Congress disciplinary action may be the supersession of such a Committee, and such further action against offending individual members as may be necessary

(ii) In the case of a member of any Congress Executive or elective Congress Committee, the disciplinary action may be his removal from such office or membership, and the fixation of a period during which he cannot be validly elected to any office or membership in any committee of the Congress

(iii) In the case of a member of a primary Congress organisation disciplinary action may be a disqualification for a stated period from standing for any election including election to the legislatures and local and municipal bodies or exercising any other right as a member during the unexpired period of his membership and the fixation of a period during which he may not be admitted to the membership of the Congress

3 No disciplinary action shall be taken without an opportunity being given to the Committee or individual concerned to state its or his case and answer such charges as are made before the Working Committee

4 The Executive Committees of the Provincial Congress Committees shall also have the power to take disciplinary action against their subordinate committees and members of any Congress Executive Committees and members of primary committees within their province In all such cases the rules and procedure as are laid down for taking action by the Working Committee shall be applicable It shall be open to the Committee or member against whom such disciplinary action is taken to appeal against it to the Working Committee provided that pending the appeal he obeys the order apealed against The Working Committee may however stay the operation of the order

5 When the Working Committee is not sitting the President may take congnizance of all urgent matters in regard to disciplinary action and shall act on behalf of the Working Committee In all such cases the decision of the President must be placed before the next meeting of the Working Committee for confirmation

Resolutions for the Subjects Committee

Resolutions on the following subjects to be placed before the Subjects Committe on December 25 and 26 at Faizpur were passed The texts of these resolutions, with minor changes were passed by the Congress and are given elsewhere as Faizpur Congress resolutions

1 Elections and Constituent Assembly
2 Convention
3 Detenus
4 World Peace Congress

11

Faizpur, Working Committee Meeting, 23-27 December 1936[1]

The AICC Office Accounts

As the Auditors could not complete the audit of the offices of the All India Congress Committee and the Treasurer in time, it was not possible to keep the audited accounts before the next meeting of the All India Congress Committee The Working Committee therefore decided that the President should make a statement before the AICC informing the members that as the audit of the accounts was not complete the audited accounts will be placed before the next meeting of AICC Further, the following resolution was passed fixing the financial year for the Congress

> 'The accounting year of the Congress for the purpose of keeping all Congress accounts shall be from October first to September 30 But the accounts for the current years shall be audited as at November 15, 1936 '

As the Auditors' preliminary inspection note complained of certain technical irregularities in the system of keeping accounts at the offices of the All India Congress Committee and the Treasurer, the Working Committee appointed a committee consisting of Shris Jamnalal Bajaj, Bhulabhai Desai and Mathuradas Trikamji, to consider in consultation with the Auditors, the system of keeping accounts in the Treasurer's office and the AICC office as well as other Congress accounts, central and provincial, and make such recommendations as they may consider necessary

The Bombay PCC Election

The Bombay PCC had expressed its inability to organise election of delegates for the Faizpur Congress owing to the situation created in Bombay by the communal trouble The matter was referred to the President who directed that elections in as many wards as possible be held Where elections could not be held the last year s delegates were to continue to function The old and the new delegates were then to elect the members to this year's AICC The President of the BPCC however thought that the procedure was not warranted by the constitution and elections even in the wards free from trouble were not ordered The matter was brought before the Working Committee and the Committee passed the following resolution

> 'The Committee considered the representation of Syt K F Nariman, President BPCC, regarding the non election of delegates from Bombay The Committee was of opinion that the procedure adopted by the BPCC after the President had given his directions in the matter was not correct But in view of all the circumstances and the fact that there was no intentional disobedience of the President's directions, the Committee decided that the old delegates from Bombay should continue to function during the Faizpur Congress and after till new delegates are elected But the Committee is of opinion that such new delegates should be elected at the earliest possible opportunity after the Faizpur Congress and in any event not later than the end of February 1937 After such elections of delegates, the new members of the AICC should be elected '

[1] *Ibid* pp 164 66

Resolutions for the Subjects Committee

Resolutions on the following subjects to be placed before the subjects committee on December 25, 26 and 28, 1936 were passed

(1) Burma (2) Spain (3) B N Ry Strike (4) War Danger (5) Condolence (6) Excluded Areads (7) Frontier Policy (8) Natural Calamities (9) Suppression of Civil Liberties (10) Non-participation in the Coronation and other Imperialist Functions (11) Indians Overseas (12) The Congress Constitution and Mass Contacts (13) Colliery Disasters (14) Agrarian Programme (15) Appeal to Voters (16) Authority to the All India Congress Committee

(The resolutions passed by the Committee at its meeting at Bombay on December 9,10 and 11 together with the resolutions passed at Faizpur on December 23 27, 1936 were placed before the Subjects Committee of the 50th Session of the Congress at Faizpur and with minor modifications in some of them were recommended for the open session The resolutions as finally adopted by the Congress are given as Faizpur Congress Resolutions)

12

Faizpur, Working Committee Meeting, 29 December 1936[1]

It was decided that the Convention be called either at Delhi or at Bombay in the third week of March, 1937

13

Wardha, Working Committee Meeting, 27-28 February and 1 March 1937[2]

Working Committee, AICC and the Convention Meetings

The following dates were fixed for the Working Committee, the All India Congress Committee and the Convention meetings at Delhi

Working Committee	March 15, 16
All India Congress Committee	March 17, 18
Convention	March 19, 20

It was decided that only such persons as are mentioned in Congress resolution be invited to the Convention in Delhi that is, members of the AICC and Congress members of the various legislautres in India It was further resolved that the Congress President should, *ex officio,* preside over the Convention

[1] *Ibid* p 166

[2] *Ibid*, pp 263 69

The Committee passed the following resolutions

Congratulations to the Nation

The Working Committee congratulates the nation on its wonderful response to the call of the Congress during the recent elections, demonstrating the adherence of the masses to Congress policy, and their firm determination to combat the new Constitution and end it, and by means of a Constituent Assembly to establish an independent and democratic State and remove the many burdens under which all sections of our people suffer The Committee realises the high responsibility with which the nation has charged it, and it calls upon the Congress organisation and, in particular, the newly elected Congress members of the Legislatures to remember always this trust and responsibility, to uphold Congress ideals and principles, to be true to the faith of the people, and to labour unceasingly as soldiers of Swaraj for the freedom of the motherland and the emancipation of her suffering and exploited millions

Congratulations to People of Midnapore and Other Areas

The Working Committee expresses its special satisfaction at the response of the people and the voters to the call of the Congress in areas, such as the North-West Frontier Province and certain parts of Bengal where the Government has been and is pursuing a policy of intensive repression and preventing normal public activities by banning Congress Committees and imposing laws and rules and regulations interfering even with the day to day personal lives and businesses of the people In particular, the Committee congratulates the people of Midnapore District in Bengal, who in spite of the most extraordinary repression have shown their love for freedom and confidence in the Congress policy and organisation, which is banned in their district by electing Congress candidates by overwhelming majorities in the case of the Central Midnapore rural constituency the majority being the stupendous record one of 6493 This great victory of the Congress is a striking proof of the utter failure of the Government's policy of repression and of keeping Bengal's young men and women in internment and detention without trial, and is evidence of the people s utter condemnation of this policy

Oath of Allegiance

As doubts have been raised regarding the propriety of taking oath of allegiance, the Working Committee wishes to declare that the taking of that oath in order to enable participation in the work of the Legislatures, in no way lessens or varies the demand for independence and every Congress member stands by that objective and has to work to the end The primary allegiance of all Congress men, as well as all other Indians is to the Indian people, and the oath of allegiance does not affect in any way this primary duty and allegiance

Extra-Parliamentary Activities of Congress Members of Legislatures

The Working Committee desires to remind all Congress members of the Provincial Assemblies that their sphere of activities is not confined to the legislatures but includes their constituencies All effective work in the legislatures must have the sanction of the people behind it and, therefore, all work in the legislatures must be coordinated with Congress activity outside Every Congress member must therefore keep in constant touch with the people of his consutuency, and should consult them and report to them from time to time and give such help to them as he can in their day to day struggles He should further keep in touch with the primary and other local Congress

Committees in his constituency and share the responsibility of keeping the Congress organisation in that area in efficient working condition and in touch with the masses it seeks to represent.

The Congress Parliamentary party in each province should consult the Provincial Congress Committee concerned and report to it from time to time

Mass Contacts

In view of the great awakening of the masses during the election campaign and their interest in Congress work and desire to participate in it, the Working Committee wishes to impress upon all Provincial and local Committees the necessity of increasing the association of the masses with the Congress organisation in accordance with the directions of the Faizpur resolution The Committees and organisations that were built up in rural areas for election purposes should be kept functioning and converted into local branches of the Congress so that primary Committees should exist in as large a number of villages as possible

Congress Policy in the Legislatures

The work of the Congress members of the Provincial legislatures shall be governed by the following policy

i The Congress has entered the legislatures not to co-operate with the new Constitution or the Government but to combat the Act and the policy underlying it, as this Act and policy are intended to tighten the hold of British Imperialism on India and to continue the exploitation of the Indian people The Congress adheres to its general basic policy of non co operation with the apparatus of British Imperialism except in so far as circumstances may require a variation

ii The objective of the Congress is *purna swaraj* or complete independence and to that end all its activities are directed The Congress stands for a genuine democratic State in India where political power has been transferred to the people as a whole and the Government is under their effective control Such a State can only be created by the Indian people themselves, and the Congress has therefore insisted on a Constituent Assembly elected by adult franchise to determine the Constitution of the country The Constituent Assembly can only come into existence when the Indian people have developed sufficient power and sanctions to shape their destiny without external interference

iii The immediate objective of the Congress in the legislatures is to fight the new Constitution to resist the introduction and working of the Federal part of the Act and to lay stress on the nation's demand for a Constituent Assembly Congress members of the legislatures have been directed by the Faizpur Congress to take the earliest opportunity to put forward in the new Assemblies this demand for a Constituent Assembly and to support it by mass agitation outside

iv Congress members of the legislatures must remember the Congress policy of not assisting or co-operating with any function or activity calculated to enhance the power or prestige of British Imperialism in India. Ceremonial official or social functions of this kind must therefore be avoided and no Congress member should take part in them In doubtful cases individual members should not take any action themselves but should refer to the Congress party in the Assembly and should abide by its decision

v No Congress member of the legislatures may accept a title given by the British Government

vi The Congress Party in each provincial Assembly must act as a disciplined body the leaders of which will represent the Party in any conversations with the Government and other groups Individual members shall have no official contacts with Government other than those resulting from their duties as members and such as may be expressly authorised by the Party

vii Members will be expected to be in their places in the Assemblies during the session and when the party is attending There should be no absence except for leave taken and cause shown

viii All Congress members of the legislatures shall be dressed in *khadi* [Indian handspun cloth]

ix Congress parties in the Provincial Assemblies must not enter into any alliances with other groups in the Assembly without the permission of the Working Committee

x Any member of the Provincial Legislatures not elected on behalf of the Congress but willing to take the Congress pledge and abide by Congress principles and discipline may be taken into the Congress party in that legislature if the Party consider his admission desirable But no person against whom disciplinary action has been taken by the Congress may be accepted without the permission of the Working Committee

xi Congress members should press for the carrying out of the Congress programme as enunciated in the Election Manifesto and the Congress agrarian resolution In particular they should work for

1 A substantial reduction in rent and revenue
2 Assessment of income tax, on a progressive scale, on agricultural incomes, subject to a prescribed minimum
3 Fixity of tenure
4 Relief from the burden of rural debt and arrears of rent and revenue
5 Repeal of all repressive laws
6 Release of political prisoners, internees and detenus
7 Restoration of lands and property confiscated or sold by Government during Civil Disobedience Movements
8 Eight hours day for industrial workers, without reduction of pay, living wage
9 Prohibition of intoxicating liquor and drugs
10 Unemployment relief
11 Reduction of high salaries allowances and cost of administration of Government

xii Under the existing Act, with all its safeguards and special powers in the hands of the Viceroy or the Governor, and its protection of the services, deadlocks are inevitable They should not be avoided when they occur while pursuing Congress policy

xiii Congress members in the Provincial Assemblies should further give expression to certain important demands of all India application which may not be given effect to in the Provincial Assemblies, such as, substantial reduction of the military expenditure as well as of the

higher civil services, complete national control over trade and tariffs and currency, repeal of all India repressive legislation, freedom of speech, press and association, opposition to war preparations, credits and loans

xiv Congress members in the Assemblies must always endeavour to mobilise public opinion in their constituencies for the particular demand they are putting forward in the legislatures Work in the legislatures should thus be coordinated with activity outside and mass movements built up in support of those demands and of Congress policy in general

Ministries

In regard to the acceptance or non-acceptance of ministries the Working Committee will make its recommendations to the AICC after it has received the recommendations of provincial and local committees

Anti-Constitution day—April 1

The Working Committee draws the attention of the nation to the resolution of the Faizpur Congress calling for a nationwide *hartal* or general strike on April 1, the day on which the new Constitution is to be inaugurated The Committee trusts that the nation will respond to this call in full measure in order to demonstrate the will of the Indian people to resist the imposition of this Constitution It calls upon the Provincial and local Committees to work to this end and to invite the co-operation for this purpose of other organisations and groups

Disciplinary Action

There was a discussion about the disciplinary action taken at the time of the recent elections to the Provincial legislatures It was decided that the President was to review the cases If he thought necessary he may send any case for the consideration of the Working Committee

Shri S A Dange's resignation from the membership of the All India Congress Committee conveyed in his letter to the President was accepted The Maharashtra PCC was to fill up the vacancy according to the Constitution

Jallianwala Bagh

A Committee consisting of Shris Bhulabhai Desai and Govind Ballabh Pant was appointed to consider and report what steps be taken in regard to the Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Fund and properties

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Delhi, Working Committee Meeting, 15-22 March 1937[1]

Parliamentary Sub-Committee of the Working Committee

The Working Committee appoints a Parliamentary Sub-Committee of the following members to be in close and constant touch with the work of the Congress Parties in all the legislatures in the provinces to advise them in all their activities and to take necessary action in any case of emergency

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Shri Rajendra Prasad

[1]*Ibid*, pp 271 77

Note The Parliamentary Sub-Committee was also to deal with the question of by-elections in the provinces and in the Central Assembly in co operation with the Provincial Executive Councils

Ministerial Offices and Membership of Congress Executives

In the event of any offices of ministers being accepted by Congress men, the Working Committee considers it advisable that such ministers should not continue to remain members of Congress Executive Committees But they may retain membership of general bodies like the AICC and PCCs

Pledge

The following pledge was drawn up for non Congress members of the legislatures who desired to join the Congress party in the different legislatures

Pledge

Province

Constituency

I am a member of the Indian National Congress at I desire to become a member of the Congress Parliamentary Party in

I declare that I will follow the principles and policy laid down by the Congress or by any competent authority on its behalf and will conform to the rules and directions duly issued from time to time as well as to the instructions issued by the party organisation in the Assembly/Council for the guidance of the members thereof

I also undertake to resign my seat whenever I am called upon to do so by a competent Congress authority

Signature

Excise Duty on Sugar

The Working Committee has heard with surprise of the recent increase in excise duty on Indian suger by the Government of India and the Viceroy in the teeth of the opposition of the Assembly and against the declared opinion of every single elected Indian member This Committee condemns this inhuman step which is detrimental to the interests of the consumers and manufacturers alike at a time when sugar industry is faced with a crisis and the harvesting season is approaching its end The Committee is particularly perturbed as this additional duty is bound to aggravate the difficulties of the agriculturists, specially in the U P and Bihar where sugarcane is the solitary marketable crop which enables them to some extent, to meet the heavy demands that are made on them It appeals to the manufacturers to revise their decision to close their factories before their normal time and to keep them working till the standing cane within the zone of every factory has been exhausted and expects that the railways will at least reduce substantially the rates of freight on sugarcane as a special case for the next three months

Central Parliamentary Committee

The Central Parliamentary Committee submitted the report of its work in connection with the Provincial elections to the Working Committee The Committee passed the following appreciatory resolution about its work.

> 'The Working Committee desires to record its grateful appreciation of the labours of the Central Parliamentary Committee under the chairmanship of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel These labours have already received reward in the splendid election results throughout India '

National Week

The Working Committee draws the attention of all Congress men and Congress Committees to the approaching National Week, April 6th to 13th and trusts that it will be suitably celebrated throughout the country

The All India Convention

The Committee considered the procedure to be in laid down for the All India Convention

It was decided that a subjects committee consisting of the Leaders, Secretaries and other office bearers of the Congress parties in the Central and Provincial Legislatures with a certain number of the members of the AICC representing the provinces in proportion of their strength on the AICC together with a number of nominees of the President from among the members of the AICC be formed to discuss the procedure to be adopted and the resolution to be moved at the All India Convention

A pledge was also drawn up by the Working Committee for the members of the Convention

Congress men Accepting Ministries in Minority Provinces

It was decided that any Congress man accepting office in any province where the Congress had failed to get the majority made himself liable to disciplinary action

Salaries of Ministers, Speakers and Advocate Generals

Apart from free provision to be made by the State for residence and conveyance, the salaries of ministers, speakers and advocate generals shall not exceed rupees five hundred per month, as laid down in the Karachi resolution of Fundamental Rights and Economic Programme

Members Against whom Disciplinary Action had been taken

The Committee decided that if a Congress men against whom disciplinary action had been taken desired to rejoin the Congress party in the legislatures, he was not to be immediately admitted but was to be asked to wait and justify his conversion by work before he was admitted to the party

Labour Members Returned on Congress Tickets

It was decided that even when such members formed themselves in a labour group, they must conform to the Congress discipline as long as they formed part of the Congress party in the legislature

AICC Membership List from the Punjab and Bengal

In place of the old names of the members of the AICC the Committee accepted the new list from the Punjab sent by the Secretary, Punjab PCC

The method of counting votes in the AICC elections adopted by the Bengal PCC was not recognised as proportional voting by single transferable vote Therefore a recounting was authorised If the old voting papers were not in existence, new elections would be necessary

Election of Leaders of Congress Parties in Bombay and Utkal

On a representation signed by some members of the Congress party of the Bombay Legislature, drawing the attention of the Working Committee to the agitation carried on in some Bombay papers in connection with election of Shri B G Kher as leader of the Congress party the Committee called Shri K F Nariman and heard him at length and went into the matter fully The Committee issued the following statement in this behalf

'A representation signed by 40 members of the Congress party of the Bombay Legislature, who were present in Delhi for the Convention was received by the President In this they drew the attention of the Working Committee to an agitation carried on in certain Bombay newspapers in connection with the election of Mr Kher as leader of the Party

'It was pointed out therein that whereas Mr Kher had been unanimously chosen as the leader and entrusted with authority to appoint other office bearers, irresponsible imputations, charges and insinuations were being made in respect of election The signatories requested the President to issue a statement deprecating this agitation interfering with the free, deliberate and unanimous choice of the Party as the encouragement of such agitation would be highly detrimental to the public life of the country and the cause of the Indian National Congress Seven other members presented a separate letter to the same effect

'The Working Committee has noted with great surprise and pain the agitation that is being carried on in the Bombay Press Besides the press agitation a number of telegrams and other communications were received by the President from individuals and groups in Bombay in the same connection

'The Working Committee went fully into the matter and heard Mr K F Nariman at great length The Committee is convinced that there is no reason whatsoever to interfere with the free and deliberate and unanimous choice that the Bombay Congress Party in the Legislature, after fully considering all matters has made The Committee is convinced also that the agitation against the decision is wholly groundless and it has no hesitation in condemning it as detrimental to the public life of the province and injurious to the cause of the Congress Had the Working Committee found any reason to believe that the election had been influenced by the improper conduct on the part of anybody or that the choice was made under any undue pressure from Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel as alleged it would have certainly ordered a fresh election

There is not the slightest ground however for doing this No less than 48 members who were present in Delhi for the Convention have given a signed declaration to the effect that the choice of Mr Kher was free and unanimous The Committee therefore, confirming said election, earnestly appeals to the press and other persons concerned to stop this agitation against what has been finally decided upon by the party that had to elect its leader after considering the matter from all points of view We hold that the carrying on of any further

agitation would amount to seeking to terrorise the Party and call upon all those who are interested in and are in sympathy with the aims and objects of the Congress to discourage such activities '

Utkal

The Committee considered the letter of Shri Nilkantha Das together with the representation from some members of the Congress Party in Utkal about the election of Sri Biswanath Das as leader of the Congress Party in the Utkal legislature

The Committee decided that it was neither proper nor advisable to interfere with the decision of the party It also advised Sri Nilkantha Das to continue as a member of the Central Assembly and not to seek election to the Provincial Assembly

Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Fund

The Committee confirmed the resolution of the Jallianwala Bagh Fund Committee, appointing Shri Jawaharlal Nehru as a Trustee to fill up the vacancy caused by the death of the Late Pandit Motilal Nehru

The Committee also confirmed the appointment of Shri Jamnalal Bajaj as the third Trustee of the Fund

Publication Department Budget

The following budget for the period from November 16, 1936 to September 30 1937 was sanctioned

Income

		Rs
Sale of books		2,500
Deficit		700
	Total	3 200

Expenditure

		Rs
About 8 to 10 publications 2000 copies each		3,000
Postage		200
	Total	3,200

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Allahabad, Working Committee Meeting, 26-29 April 1937[1]

The following resolutions were passed

Congress Ministries

The Working Committee approves of and endorses the action that the leaders of the Congress Parliamentary Parties in the provinces took, in pursuance of the AICC dated March 18, 1937, on being invited by the Governors in their respective provinces to help them in the formation of ministries

In view of the fact that it is contended by British ministers that it is not competent for the Governors, without amendment of the Act, to give the assurances required by the Congress for enabling the Congress leaders to form ministries, the Committee wishes to make it clear that the resolution of the AICC did not contemplate any amendment of the Act for the purpose of the required assurances The Working Committee moreover is advised by eminent jurists that such assurances can be given strictly within the constitution

The Working Committee considers that the pronouncements of the policy of the British Government made by Lord Zetland and Mr Butler are utterly inadequate to meet the requirements of the Congress, are misleading and misinterpret the Congress attitude Further the manner and the setting in which such pronouncements have been made are discourteous to the Congress The past record of the British Government as well as its present attitude show that without specific assurances as required by the Congress, popular ministries will be unable to function properly and without irritating interference The assurances do not contemplate the abrogation of the right of the Governor to dismiss a ministry or dissolve a Provincial Assembly when serious differences of opinion arise between the Governor and his ministers But this Committeehas grave objection to ministers having to submit to interference by Governors with the alternative of themselves having to resign their office instead of the Governors taking responsibility of dismissing them

Work Outside Legislatures

Owing to the deadlock created by the refusal of Governors to give the assurances asked on behalf of the Congress enabling acceptances of office by Congress members of the legislatures, various questions have been addressed to the Working Committee by Congress leaders in the Provinces as to the attitude Congress men should adopt towards the so-called ministries formed by the Governors in the provinces concerned The Working Committee is of opinion that the formation of these ministries by the Governors is unconstitutional, repugnant to the conception of autonomy and in total defiance of the overwhelming public opinion in each of those provinces The Working Committee is further of opinion that those who have accepted ministerships in these circumstances have by their unpatriotic conduct rendered a disservice to the country The Committee advises that public meetings be held denouncing the action of these so-called ministers and challenging them to face the legislatures and justify their conduct But the Committee is of opinion that hostile black flag demonstrations and the like should be avoided

[1] *Ibid* pp 278 82

Congress men should realise that parliamentary work is but a minor part of the national programme and that the great objective of complete independence can only be secured by sustained efforts by every Congress man and Congress woman in carrying out the programme outside the legislatures as laid down from time to time In furtherance of this objective, members of the legislatures should establish living touch with the electors in their respective constituencies and carry the message of the Congress and commend to them the constructive programme including the use of khaddar to the exclusion of mill cloth, the local production of khaddar in villages by hand spinning and hand weaving creating public opinion in favour of total prohibition promotion of communal unity by collective and individual effort and the eradication of the evil of untouchability in every form

Contact with Non-Congress Ministries

Resolved that no Congress member of the Provincial Legislatures shall have any dealings or interviews with the so-called ministers who have been unconstitutionally appointed in provinces where Congress commands a majority and the ministries in other provinces, except with the express permission of the Leader of the Congress party

Zanzibar

The Working Committee feels deeply concerned over the publication of the recent draft Bills by the Zanzibar Government perpetuating complete internal and external monopoly of dealing in cloves in the hands of a close corporation practically excluding the Indians therefrom and depriving them of all means of recovering their just and legitimate dues from the clove-growers and inflicting a deathblow upon the vital economic interests of the Indian people in Zanzibar [1] The passing of these decrees is sure to create a grave situation in Zanzibar and this Committee is informed that the exasperated Indian community may have to resort to passive resistance for the restoration and preservation of their legitimate rights

In the opinion of this Committee these measures are in direct violation of the just rights of the Indians and of the Zanzibar treaties of 1816 and 1898 which guarantee security of property for Indians and prohibit the establishment of clove monopoly

It is the further considered opinion of this Committee that this legislation, though ostensibly designed to benefit the Arab clove growers, is really intended to assist the British capitalists denying the just claims of Indians who have raised Zanzibar to its present prosperous, stable, agricultural position

This Committee assures our countrymen overseas in Zanzibar of its sympathy in their present situation, extends its support in their struggles and is of opinion that retaliatory measures should be taken forthwith by the Indian Government

[1] The question had been earlier raised in the Indian Legislative Assembly on 23 August 1937 in the form of S Satyamurti's motion of adjournment seeking to protect Indian interest in Zanzibar Jinnah also spoke on the subject In his speech Jinnah did not subscribe to the allegation of racial considerations' advanced by the leader of the opposition and was 'not convinced' that the House 'should pass a vote of censure against the Government ' He voted against Stayamurti s motion See Waheed Ahmad, (ed), *Quaid i Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Speeches* op cit., pp 234-40

The Jute Mill Strike

The Working Committee views with alarm and concern the grave situation of the Jute workers of Calcutta who have been conducting a heroic struggle for the last twelve weeks for the recognition of their elementary right to form a union and for securing redress of their legitimate grievances The Jute workers' struggle has assumed a great national importance The strike has made rapid strides and today something like two hundred thousand workers are involved in it.

The Committee offers its heartfelt sympathy to the strikers and expresses its admiration for the determined and peaceful manner in which they are struggling against the combined forces of employers and the Government

The Committee puts on record its sense of disappointment at the attitude of the employers who by refusing to satisfy the reasonable demands of the workers are prolonging the strike and deepening the misery of the strikers

The Committee is of opinion that it is the imperative duty of the Government to intervene in the conflict and to secure speedy settlement of the dispute on the basis of the recognition of Workers' rights and satisfaction of their just demands The Committee, however, notes with regret that the Government is taking the side of the employers in this dispute and places on record its strong condemnation of the repressive policy of the Government which seeks to suppress the workers' struggle by promulgation of prohibitory orders under Section 144, Cr P C , arrest of labour leaders and workers and various acts of police and military violence The Committee, in particular, records its strongest protest at the reported entry of the police and military into the workers quarters the assault on one of the Labour Members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the prohibition of these members including the President of the Trade Union Congress from entering their constituencies and the firing on unarmed workers including little boys

Italy and Abyssinia

The Working Committee expresses its abhorrence of the brutal massacre of peaceful masses of Ethiopians by Italian intruders and offers its sympathy to the victims of Fascist imperialism

The Working Committee takes strong exception to the closing of the Mohammed Ali Stores in Abyssinia and regards this as an act of grave injustice The Committee is of opinion that the Italian Government should withdraw this ban and grant adequate compensation to the owners of the stores

Organising Secretary

Shri Jairamdas Daulatram was appointed the Organising Secretary for the whole of India in terms of the Faizpur Congress resolution on Mass Contacts

Labour Committee

The last year s Labour Committee consisting of Shris Jairamdas Daulatram, Shankerlal Banker, V V Giri, M R Masani and J.B Kripalani (Convener) was reappointed

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Wardha, Working Committee Meeting, 5-8 July 1937[1]

1 Faizpur Congress Surplus

Resolved that half of the balance of Rs 24,689 11 9 left over from the Faizpur session of the Congress be paid to the AICC office and the other half be retained by the Maharashtra PCC

AICC Funds

Resolved that out of the balance of Rs 93,727 3 9 to the credit of the AICC office with Messrs Bachhraj & Co, Rs 25 000 be kept for current expenses and the rest be invested by the Treasurer, Shri Jamnalal Bajaj, in consultation with Shri Bhulabhai Desai

Auditors

As the firm of Messrs Chotalal and Agarwal, the Congress auditors, has been dissolved and the two partners Mr Chotalal H Shah and Mr Narayanlal Agarwal have started separate firms of their own, resolved that both the firms of Messrs Chotalal H Shah & Co and Messrs Narayanlal Agarwal & Co be appointed as Honorary Auditors of the Congress

By-Election of Delegates

On a reference being made from Bombay, the Committee reiterated its decision that the by-election of delegates is to be regulated by its resolution passed at Wardha June-July 1936, which runs thus

'7 In a constituency where for any reason a by election of a delegate becomes necessary the members entitled to vote and be candidates for such a vacancy shall be,

(a) those included in the list mentioned in Art (VI)(a) and
(b) new members enrolled since the closing of the said list and three months prior to the by-election '

Election of Leader in Bombay & Shri Nariman's Correspondence with the President

The Committee issued the following press communique

'Shri K F Nariman having made representations to the President in his letter dated May 13, June 3, July 3 and July 2, he was invited to come in person to make matters clear and explain what he desired to be done Shri Nariman appeared before the Working Committee on July 8 and intimated to them that he had not intended to ask in his letters for the reopening of the subject by the Working Committee and he definitely stated that he did not seek any reopening of the Committee's decision of March 20 and that he accepts it as finally deciding the question He further stated that he does not want any other matter referred to in the correspondence to be inquired into by the Committee '

[1]A M Zaidi and S G Zaidi, *The Encyclopaedia of the Indian National Congress*, Vol XI, pp 282 86

Office Acceptance in Provinces with Congress Majorities

The following resolution was passed

The All India Congress Committee, at its meeting held in Delhi on March 18, 1937, passed a resolution affirming the basic Congress policy in regard to the new Constitution and laying down the programme to be followed inside and outside the legislatures by Congress members of such legislatures It further directed that in pursuance of that policy permission should be given for Congress men to accept office in provinces where the Congress commanded a majority in the legislature, and the leader of the Congress Party was satisfied and could state publicly that the Governor would not use his special powers of interference, or set aside the advice of ministers in regard to their constitutional activities In accordance with these directions the leaders of Congress Parties, who were invited by Governors to form ministries, asked for the necessary assurances These not having been given, the leaders expressed their inability to undertake the formation of ministries But since the meeting of the Working Committee on April 28 last, Lord Zetland Lord Stanley and the Viceroy have made declarations on this issue on behalf of the British Government The Working Committee has carefully considered these declarations and is of opinion that though they exhibit a desire to make an approach to the Congress demand they fall short of the assurances demanded in terms of AICC resolution as interpreted by the Working Committee resolution of April 28 Again the Working Committee is unable to subscribe to the doctrine of partnership propounded in some of the aforesaid declarations The proper description of the existing relationship between the British Government and the people of India is that of the exploiter and the exploited, and hence they have a different outlook upon almost everything of vital importance The Committee feels however that the situation created as the result of the circumstances and events that have since occurred, warrants the belief that it will not be easy for the governors to use their special powers The Committee has moreover considered the views of Congress members of the legislatures and of Congress men generally

The Committee has therefore come to the conclusion and resolves that Congress men be permitted to accept office where they may be invited thereto But it desires to make it clear that office is to be accepted and utilised for the purpose of working in accordance with the lines laid down in the Congress election manifesto and to further in every possible way the Congress policy of combating the new Act on the one hand and of prosecuting the constructive programme on the other

The Working Committee is confident that it has the support and backing of the AICC in this decision and that this resolution is in furtherance of the general policy laid down by the Congress and the AICC The Committee would have welcomed the opportunity of taking the direction of the AICC in this matter but it is of opinion that delay in taking a decision at this stage would be injurious to the country s interests and would create confusion in the public mind at a time when prompt and decisive action is necessary

All India Parliamentary Sub-Committee—Division of Work

The All India Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee met at Wardha on July 8, 1937, and passed the following resolution

Resolved that in cases of emergency, members named below be authorised to deal with matters coming within the purview of the Sub Committee in the provinces mentioned against their names respectively

Shri Vallabhbhai Patel

1 *Bombay Presidency*, comprising the Congress Provinces of Gujarat, Maharashtra, Bombay City and Karnatak

2 *Madras Presidency*, comprising the Congress Provinces of Andhra, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Karnatak

3 *Central Provinces*, comprising the Congress Provinces of Nagpur, Mahakoshal and Berar

4 *Sindh*

Shri Abul Kalam Azad

1 Bengal, 2 United Provinces, 3 Punjab and 4 North West Frontier Province

Shri Rajendra Prasad

1 Bihar, 2 Orissa and 3 Assam

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Wardha, Working Committee Meeting, 14-17 August 1937[1]

Hunger Strike In the Andamans

The situation created by the hunger strike of the political prisoners in the Andamans was discussed Shris Shibnath Banerji and Debendra Sen, who had come to Wardha to represent the prisoners' cause, were invited by the Committee to participate in the deliberations Shri Tulsi Goswami, the Deputy Leader of the Congress Assembly Party in Bengal, was also present during the discussion The Committee passed the following resolution

'The Working Committee has learnt with the deepest concern of the hunger strike of hundreds of political prisoners in the Andaman Islands The Committee has long been of opinion that the use of the Islands as a penal settlement, more especially for political prisoners, is barbarous Official enquiries and reports have already condemned such use and non official opinion has unanimously demanded that no prisoners be sent there Repeated hunger strikes by the political prisoners have demonstrated their desperation at the continuance of conditions which they cannot bear, and the present hunger strike has brought matters to a head and grave consequences are feared Public opinion all over India is agitated and strongly in favour of the release of the political prisoners there as they have already undergone many years of imprisonment under conditions which are far worse than those prevailing in Indian prisons

'The Committee's attention has been drawn to the public statement issued by some ex prisoners, who were till recently imprisoned in the Andaman Islands and have been now released, in which they have stated on their own behalf and on behalf of the other political prisoners there, their dissociation from and disapproval of the policy of terrorism They have frankly stated that they have come to realise that such a policy is wrong and injurious to the national cause and they propose to have nothing to do with it This statement has been confirmed from other sources also

[1] *Ibid* pp286 294

'In view of all these circumstances the Committee is emphatically of opinion that the political prisoners in the Andamans should be discharged The committee is further of opinion that the non-political prisoners in the Andamans should be repatriated and the penal settlement in the Islands closed Any delay in taking adequate action is likely to lead to alarming consequences

'The Committee appeals to the prisoners in the Andamans to give up their hunger strike '

In pursuance of the last paragraph of the resolution the President sent a telegram to the prisoners on hunger strike, through the Home Secretary to the Government of India, appealing to them, on behalf of the Committee, to give up their hunger strike

To this following reply was received

'Government of India thank you for your telegram of yesterda's date the text of which is being communicated to Andamans prisoners '

Bengal, Punjab and Sindh Representation

The Committee invited Shri Tulsi Goswami (Bengal), Shri Gopichand Bhargava (Punjab) and Dr Choithram Gidwani (Sindh) to place before it, the Parliamentary situation in and the views of their respective provinces The subjects discussed were (1) The formation of Congress ministries in minority provinces (2) Salaries and allowances of members (3) Social intercourse (4) Congress programme and policy in the minority provinces

About ministries in minority provinces the Committee after discussing the position in Bengal, Assam and North West Frontier Provinces passed the following resolution

'The Working Committee, having heard representations from Bengal, desires to make it clear that there is nothing to prevent a minority Congress Party in a Provincial Assembly co operating with other groups in the Assembly for general or specific purposes, in connection with the parliamentary work in the legislatures But such co-operation must not involve any sacrifice of Congress principles or policy and should aim at strengthening the Congress opposition in such legislatures It should be borne in mind, however, that such co operation does not involve commitments regarding the possible formation of a ministry to which the Congress is a party In regard to the day to-day work of the Congress Parties the Leaders of the Parties have been given ample latitude subject to the general policy as laid down by the Working Committee

Salaries and Allowances

The following resolution was passed both for the majority and minority provinces

'The Working Committee is of opinion that, in accordance with Congress policy, salaries and allowances of ministers and others should be reduced to the lowest possible limit consistently with efficiency The Committee realises however that the immediate and full application of the principle is not easy, and it m y not be possible to introduce the desired changes at this stage In view of varying circumstances in the different provinces, the Committee does not wish to lay down hard and fast rules and wishes to leave a large measure of discretion in this matter to the Congress Ministries The Committee trusts that the Ministries will keep in mind the basic policy of the Congress in the matter of salaries and allowances and will always endeavour to conform to it to the greatest extent possible

The Committee, however lays down the follwing general rules for the guidance of Congress Ministries

1 Congress Ministers' salaries should in no event exceed Rs 500 per month House allowance Rs 100 a month and motor car allowance Rs 150 a month Thus the total allowances for house and car should not exceed Rs 250 In the event of a Minister not requiring a house allowance because he has a house of his own, this allowance should not be drawn Ministers who do no wish to draw any allowances need not do so

The State may provide cars for Ministers but no such special provision need be made unless it is considered necessary

2 The salaries and allowances, if necessary, of parliamentary secretaries are left to the discretion of Congress Ministries

3 **Members** The Present scale of payment of daily allowances and travelling expenses is heavy and has to be completely overhauled It may be difficult to bring about this complete overhaul immediately but in any event travelling expenses should be charged at the rate of double third class fare

If it is desired to keep the present scale of daily allowance for the days of attendance at an Assembly session, no change need be made for the present But in no event should this exceed Rs 10 a day, there being no additional payment by way of salary

If, on the other hand, it is desired to introduce system of paying salaries to members, this may be done, provided that such salary shall not exceed Rs 75 a month In addition to such salary an allowance not exceeding Rs 2 8 0 a day may be given to members for the days of attendance at an Assembly session or Committee meeting

Even if a system of paying salaries to the members is introduced, such members as do not require these salaries should not draw them

4 In the provinces where these standards cannot be applied as non Congress Ministries have already fixed much higher salaries and allowances, Congress members of those legislatures should only accept payment for themselves in accordance with the above direction They may however draw the full sums allowed by the rules and hand over the balance to the All India Congress Committee through the Party Leader This amount should be kept in a special fund earmarked for the province concerned

Social Intercourse

The Committee's instructions in this behalf for minority provinces were that invitations for social functions where official business was not the main purpose should be rejected Where social intercourse was merely an accident and business was the main purpose of a gathering, the function could be attended The Committee's previous instruction that the leader of the party be consulted in doubtful cases held good

The Committee also approved of the following instruction recenly issued by the President of the All India Parliamentary Sub-Committee

'All members of the Congress parties in the Legislatures should avoid as hitherto, official functions like receptions, farewells to incoming and outgoing Governors, etc The Prime Ministers should make it clear that no discourtesy or disrespect is intended and therefore they need not be invited on these occasions

'It should be made absolutely clear that while the Ministers will aim at working in a spirit of utmost harmony with the services, they can take no part in social functions like parties or dinners The very poverty of the land precludes their taking part in amenities of this nature Strictly official relations should therefore be maintained throughout '

Congress Policy and Programme in Minority Provinces

The Committee's advice to the minority provinces on this was that as many bills and resolutions embodying the Congress policy and programme as possible should be introduced by their party members This will educate and familiarise the public with Congress aims and policies

Prohibition

Inasmuch as Prohibition has been one of the chief planks of the Congress since the inauguration of the N C O movement in 1930, and thousands of men and women have had to suffer imprisonment and physical injury in furtherance of this cause, the Working Committee is of opinion that it is incumbent upon the Congress Ministries to work to this end The Committee expects them to bring about total prohibition in their respective provinces withing three years The Working Committee appeals to the Ministries in the other provinces and to the Indian States also to adopt this programme of moral and social uplift of the people

Expert Committees

The Working Committee recommends to the Congress Ministries the appointment of a Committee of Experts to consider urgent and vital problems the solution of which is necessary to any scheme of national reconstruction and social planning Such solution will require extensive surveys and the collection of data, as well as a clearly defined social objective Many of these problems cannot be dealt with effectively on a provincial basis and the interests of adjoining provinces are interlinked Comprehensive river surveys are necessary for the formulation of a policy to prevent disastrous floods, to utilize the water for purposes of irrigation to consider the problem of soil erosion to eradicate malaria, and for the development of hydroelectric and other schemes For this purpose the whole river valley will have to be surveyed and investigated, and large scale state planning resorted to The development and control of industries require also joint and coordinated action on the part of several provinces The Working Committee advises therefore that, to begin with, an interprovincial committee of experts be appointed to consider the general nature of the problems to be faced, and to suggest how, and in what order, these should be tackled This Expert Committee may suggest the formation of special committees or boards to consider each such problem separately and to advise the provincial governments concerned as to the joint action to be undertaken

In particular the Working Committee wishes to draw the attention of the governments of the U P and Bihar to the urgent necessity of taking immediate action in regard to the sugar industry, in order to prevent a repetition of recent happenings which brought calamity and widespread misery to the cane growers in these two provinces The two Governments concerned should take immediate steps to appoint a committee, consisting of experts and those concerned with the industry, to investigate the problems and suggest ways and means to control and co ordinate the industry and to utilize such by-products as are being wasted today The minimum price of cane should be fixed and the interests or cane growers protected by encouraging their organisation and in other ways The attention of other provinces is also drawn to this problem of the sugar industry

The question of a moratorium in regard to debt also involves interprovincial consideration

The Committee was also of the view that the Congress provinces should appoint committees of their own to deal with their particular and peculiar problems The Ministers dealing with particular departments should also meet in conference to consider the problems arising in their particular departments

AICC Office

The Committee suggested the addition of one more department to the AICC Office to keep in touch with the Governments of the six Congress provinces and find out their difficulties and render them help and advice with a view to bring about as much coordination between the provinces and the AICC as possible

Ministerial Offices

The Committee's resolution passed at Delhi March last about Ministerial Offices and Membership of Congress Executives is to apply not only to Ministers but also to Speakers, Presidents of Councils and Parliamentary Secretaries

Delhi resolution 'In the event of any offices of Ministers being accepted by Congress men, the Working Committee considers it advisable that such Ministers should not continue to remain members of Congress Executive Committees But they may retain membership of general bodies like the AICC and the PCCs '

Zanzibar

The Committee expresses again its full sympathy with Indians in Zanzibar in their brave struggle against the new decrees which are sure to result in ruining Indian incrests in Zanzibar and the internal and export trade of the Indian community which has been settled for so long in the country and which has helped greatly in promoting the prosperity of Zanzibar The Committee is of opinion that in order to give adequate help in this struggle and protect Indian interests in Zanzibar it is essential that an embargo be laid on the import of cloves into India The Committee further calls upon the people to refrain from the use of cloves until the new decrees are rescinded by the Zanzibar Government

Meerut District

The Committee considered the letter of the Meerut District Congress Committee and resolved that in view of the desire of the Meerut DCC to join the UPPCC and further because it appears that the UP is agreeable to this and the Delhi PCC has preferred no objection in spite of opportunity given, the committee is of opinion that the proposed change is desirable and recommends accordingly to the AICC This change will necessitate certain consequential changes in the constitution and in the number of delegates and members of the AICC allotted to the two provinces Further the transfer of Meerut to UP may make it desirable for Muzaffarnagar also to be transferred to UP These matters should be considered in all their bearings and reference made to the parties concerned in regard to them so that the AICC may be in a position to decide the matter finally

Labour Committee

Shri Jaiprakash Narain was appointed as an additional member of the Congress Labour Committee

Shri Nariman's Case

The President informed the Committee that he had intimated Shri K F Nariman that he had full permission to have whatever inquiry he wanted and the Working Committee will not object to this

President's Gift

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru informed the Committee that he had decided formally to transfer to the nation the ownership of all caskets, public addresses and other articles he had received during his various tours in India, Burma, Malaya and Ceylon The collection includes caskets, etc, received by the late Pandit Motilal Nehru as well as Shrimati Kamala Nehru The articles at present are kept in the Municipal Museum Allahabad The Museum authorities have been given the articles for display and safe custody on the clear understanding that as soon as a national museum is started by Congress, the exhibits will be handed over to that museum The articles include one gold casket received from the Indian community of Singapur, a large number of silver lacquers and other caskets and some personalia belonging to the late Pandit Motilal Nehru

The Committee gratefully accepted the collection for the nation and recorded its thanks for the valuable gift

Budha-Gaya Temple

The Committee was of the opinion that the Budha Gaya Temple, exclusive of the property attached to it and in possession of the Budha Gaya Mahant, should be under the management of a committee consisting both of Hindus and Indian, Burmese and Cylonese Budhists Babu Rajendra Prasad was requested once again to use his influence with the Budha-Gaya Mahant to accept the arrangement suggested by the Working Committee

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Calcutta, Working Committee Meeting, 26 October-1 November 1937[1]

Resolutions for the AICC

The Committee recommended resolutions on the following subjects for adoption by the AICC

(1) Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund, (2) Condolence—Shri Manilal Kothari, (3) Dr Rabindranath Tagore's Recovery, (4) Ratification of Working Committee Resolution on Office Acceptance, (5) Federation, (6) Japan's Aggression in China (7) Midnapore Congress Organisation (8) Detenus and Andamans Prisoners, (9) Repression in Bengal and Punjab, (10) Indian Exiles Abroad, (11) Indians in Zanzibar, (12) Palestine, (13) Meerut and Muzaffarnagar Districts, (14) Slump in Cotton Prices

Note—For the text of the resolutions see the proceedings of the AICC

The following further resolutions were passed by the Committee

Minority Rights

The Congress has solemnly and repeatedly declared its policy in regard to the rights of the minorities in India and has stated that it considers it its duty to protect these rights and ensure the widest possible scope for the development of these minorities and their participation in the fullest measure in the political, economic and cultural life of the nation The objective of the Congress is an independent and united India where no class or group or majority or minority may exploit another to its own advantage, and where all the elements in the nation may co-operate together for the common good and the achievement of the people of India This objective of unity and mutual co-operation in a

[1] *Ibid* pp 294 308

common freedom does not mean the suppression in any way of the rich variety and cultural diversity of Indian life, which have to be preserved in order to give freedom and opportunity to the individual as well as to each group to develop unhindered according to its capacity and inclination

In view, however, of attempts having been made to misinterpret the Congress policy in this regard, the All India Congress Committee desire to reiterate this policy The Congress has included in its resolution on Fundamental Rights that

i Every citizen of India has the right of free expression of opinion the right of free association and combination, and the right to assemble peacefully and without arms, for a purpose not opposed to law or morality

ii Every citizen shall enjoy freedom of conscience and the right to freely profess and practise his religion, subject to public order and morality

iii The culture, language and script of the minorities and of the different linguistic areas shall be protected

iv All citizens are equal before the law irrespective of religion caste, creed or sex

v No disability attaches to any citizen by reason of his or her religion, caste, creed or sex in regard to public employment office of power or honour and in the exercise of any trade or calling

vi All citizens have equal rights and duties in regard to wells, tanks, roads, schools and places of public resort, maintained out of State, or local funds or dedicated by private persons for the use of the general public

vii The State shall observe neutrality in regard to all religions

viii The franchise shall be on the basis of universal adult suffrage

ix Every citizen is free to move throughout India and to stay and settle in any part thereof, to acquire property and to follow any trade or calling, and to be treated equally with regard to legal prosecution or protection in all parts of India

These clauses of the Fundamental Rights resolution make it clear that there should be no interference in matters of conscience, religion, or culture, and a minority is entitled to keep its personal law without any change in this respect being imposed by the majority

The position of the Congress in regard to the Communal Decision has been repeatedly made clear in Congress resolutions and finally in the Election Manifesto issued last year The Congress is opposed to this decision as it is anti-national, anti democratic and is a barrier to Indian freedom and the development of Indian unity Nevertheless the Congress has declared that a change in or supersession of Communal Decision should only be brought about by the mutual agreement of the parties concerned The Congress has always welcomed and is prepared to take advantage of any opportunity to bring about such a change by mutual agreement

In all matters affecting the minorities in India, the Congress wishes to proceed by their co-operation and through their goodwill in a common undertaking and for the realization of a common aim which is the freedom and betterment of all the people of India

Damodar Canal Tax

The Working Committee sympathises with the brave struggle carried on by the

agriculturist population of the Damodar Canal area of Burdwan District against the imposition of an unjust and excessive tax for the supply of water from the Damodar Canal

Punjab Unity Conference

The Working Committee have fully considered the recommendations of the Executive of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee in regard to Congress participation in the provincial Unity Conference and have heard the representatives of the PCC and of the Congress Party in the Punjab Assembly on this subject The Committee appreciate the weight of the objections advanced by the Executive of the Punjab PCC and feel that, in view of the repression of political activity and the arrest of Congress men by the Punjab Government, and repeated attacks on the Congress by the Punjab Ministers, it is difficult to extend any measure of co-operation to that Government The Committee furhter realise that the withdrawal of prominent Sikh and other representatives from the Conference make any satisfactory settlement by the Conference difficult of achievement Nevertheless the Committee are of opinion that the Congress should not withhold its co-operation from any effort to solve communal problem Such co operation should however, be offered on the basis of Congress principles and an agreement should be sought in accordance with those basic principles The Working Committee therefore recommends that the Congress representatives on the Conference should remain there until further directions are given

K F Nariman

The Working Committee considered the report of Shri M K Gandhi and Shri D N Bahadurji regarding the issues raised by Shri K F Nariman The Committee also considered the covering letter of Shri M K Gandhi and the two statements issued by Shri K F Nariman in regard to the report of the Inquiry Committee The Committee are of opinion that in view of the findings in this report and his acceptance of them and his subsequent recantation, his conduct has been such as to prove him unworthy of holding any position of trust and responsibility in the Congress organisation

In view of these facts the Working Committee directs that the report and the letters accompanying it be published in the press

Membership Year

The Committee gave the following interpretation of Article III Clause *(f)*

A Primary member who has enrolled himself in any particular year shall continue to be on the electoral roll till the next annual electoral roll is prepared

It was also decided that between the period of completion of the electoral roll and the next general elections the enrolment of primary members should stop

Art VI (g)

Interpreting Article VI (g) the Committee decided that the number of primary members entitled to elect a delegate in any province should be the same and not vary from district to district

N -W F Province

As the Congress organisations in the Frontier Province were under ban until recently the Committee as an exceptional case extended the last date of the enrolment of primary members to December 15, 1937

The *Bande Mataram* Song

The following statement was issued by the Working Committee with regard to the controversy about the national song *Bande Mataram*

A controversy having recently arisen about the *Bande Mataram* song, the Working Committee desire to explain the significance of this song This song appears in Bankim Chandra Chatterji's novel *Anandamath* but, it has been pointed out in his biography, that the song was written independently of and long before the novel, and was subsequently incorporated in it The song should thus be considered apart from the book It was set to music by Rabindranath Tagore in 1896 The song and the words *Bande Mataram* were considered seditious by the British Government and were sought to be suppressed by violence and intimidation At a session of the Bengal Provincial Conference held in Barisal in April 1906, under the Presidentship of Shri A Rasul, a brutal lathi charge was made by the police on the delegates and volunteers and the *Bande Mataram* badges worn by them were violently torn off Some delegates were beaten so serverely as they cried *Bande Mataram* that they fell down senseless Since then, during the past thirty years, innumberable instances of sacrifice and suffering all over the country have been associated with *Bande Mataram* and men and women have not hesitated to face death even with that cry on their lips The song and the words thus became symbols of national resistance to British imperialism in Bengal especially and generally in other parts of India The words *Bande Mataram* became a slogan of power which inspired our people, and a greeting which ever reminds us of our struggle for national freedom

Gradually the use of the first two stanzas of the song spread to other provinces and a certain antional significance began to attach to them The rest of the song was very seldom used and is even now known by few persons These two stanzas described in tender language the beauty of the motherland and the abundance of her gifts There was absolutely nothing in them to which objection could be taken from the religious or any other point of view The song was never sung as a challenge to any group or community in India and was never considered as such or as offending the sentiments of any community Indeed the reference in it to thrity crores of Indians makes it clear that it was meant to apply to all the people of India At no time, however, was this song, or any other song, formally adopted by the Congress as the National Anthem of India But popular usage gave it a special and national importance The Working Committee feel that past associations, with their long record of suffering for the cause as well as popular usage, have made the first two stanzas of this song a living and inseparable part of our national movement and as such they must command our affection and respect There is nothing in these stanzas to which any one can take exception The other stanzas of the song are little known and hardly ever sung They contain certain allusions and a religious ideology which may not be in keeping with the ideology of other religious groups in India

The Committee recognise the validity of the objection raised by Muslim friends to certain parts of the song While the Committee have taken note of such objection in so far as it has intrinsic value the Committee wish to point out that the modern evolution of the use of the song as part of national life is of infinitely greater importance than its setting in a historical novel before the national movement had taken shape Taking all things into consideration therefore the Committee recommend that wherever the *Bande Mataram* is sung at national gatherings only the first two stanzas should be sung with perfect freedom to the organisers to sing any other song of an unobjectionable character, in addition to, or in the place of, the *Bande Mataram* song

But while there can be no question about the place that *Bande Mataram* has come to occupy in the national life, the same cannot be said as to the other

songs People have adopted songs of their choice, irrespective of merit An authentic collection has long been felt as a desideratum The Committee therefore appoint a sub-committee consisting of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri Subhas Chandra Bose and Shri Narendra Dev to examine all current national songs that may be sent to it and those who are so inclined are invited to send their compositions to this sub-committee The sub-committee will, out of the songs so received, submit to the Working Committee the collection that it may choose to recognise as being worthy of finding a place in a collection of national songs Only such songs as are composed in simple Hindustani or can be adapted to it, and have a rousing and inspiring tune will be accepted by the sub-committee for examination the sub-committee shall consult and take the advice of poet Rabindranath Tagore

The Working Committee recommends to PCCs to take similar steps in regard to songs in the provincial languages

Note—In the above statement attention is drawn to the reference in the *Bande Mataram* song to thirty crores of Indians It should be remembered that this figure crept in at a later stage when the song came to have a national significance As Bankim Chandra Chatterji wrote it, the figure was seven crores This applied to the then province of Bengal which included Bihar Even then it referred to the entire population of the province without any religious distinction

The Committee sanctioned the following budget for the period Octber 1937 to September 30, 1938

Receipts

	Heads of Receipt	Rs
1	Surplus from Congress Sessions	25 000[1]
2	Purse Fund Collections	10 000[2]
3	Provincial Contribution	8,500[3]
4	AICC Membership subscription	3,600[4]
5	Delegation Fee	9,200[5]
6	Interest	
	(a) Our Office	50
	(b) Treasurer's Office	850
7	Sale Proceeds of Old Publications	500[6]
		57,700

Publication Department

1	Sale proceeds of publications	4,500
2	Value of stock in hand at the end of the period	1,450
		5,950

[1]Includes Rs 10,000/ from Faizpur received in 1937-38 We expect some surplus from the Haripura Congress

[2]Rs 5 500 received already Last year the whole of Burma and Malaya collections came to us

[3]The Arrears of Rs 2 500 realised in 1937 38 included

[4]For 330 members, total being 368 the arrears of Rs 300 realised in 1938 also included

[5]For 2 300 delegates total being 2 882 This year owing to increased membership the number of delegates has increased One fifth of the amount is paid to the Province where the Congress holds its session

[6]Old publications have since greatly diminished

The Committee sanctioned the following budget for the period Octber 1937 to September 30, 1930

Expenditure

	Heads of Expenditure	Rs
1	Establishment	18,000[1]
2	Postage and Telegrams	3,300
3	Stationery and Printing (Bulletins and Office)	2,000
4	Travelling expenses	3,000
5	Rents and taxes (including electricity and phone)	700[2]
6	Furniture	1,500
7	Library	2,000[3]
8	Repairs to Swaraj Bhawan	1,000
9	Miscellaneous	800
10	Provident Fund contribution	350
11	Membership fee for the World Peace Conference	2,000[4]
12	Lorry fitted with loudspeakers	8,000[5]
13	Excess of Receipts over payments	15,050
		57,700

Publication Department

1	Printing	5,700[6]
2	Postage	250

Assam

A recent decision of the Working Committee lays down that during a particular session no primary members be enrolled from the date of the closing of the membership list to the date of the general elections By this rule during the current session there could be no enrolment of primary members between September 30, 1937 and January 16, 1938 When the President was in Assam, Congress workers there placed before him the hardship that this rule would work in the case of their province where the harvest season is in December and January when alone the Kisans can afford to pay the membership subscription The President, subject to the sanction of the Working Committee allowed the Assam PCC to continue enrolling primary members, subject to this that the new members enrolled after September 30 1937 should be entered in a fresh register and be not mixed up with the members enrolled up to September 30, 1937 The new members will not be entitled to vote in the general elections in December 1937 and January 1938 They may, however, vote at any by-election which may take place after January 16, 1938 provided they have been on the rolls for 3 months previous to such by-election

The Working Committee confirmed this action of the President

[1]The present salary bill is for Rs 1 100 per month The proposal is to add a new department to keep in touch with the provincial governments About Rs 400 per month will be needed by this department

[2]The well is fitted with an electric water pump This will increase the electricity charges

[3]We have appointed a Librarian to build up a Library

[4]Resolution of the Working Committee passed in December 1936 at Bombay President was authorised to take steps for affiliation with the organisation Amount should be an annual subscription

[5]Resolution of the CWC passed in October 1937 at Calcutta

[6]Rs 3 000 for new publications of different departments Rs 2 000 for Brochures and Rs 700 for other publications (Constitution, etc), excluding the Bulletin

Bengal and Punjab

Some primary members had been enrolled in Bengal and the Punjab before the above rule was made by the Working Committee The President allowed the members so enrolled in the two provinces to continue to be primary members for the next session subject to the same conditions as in the case of Assam

This action of the President was confirmed by the working Committee

Independence Day

The Independence Pledge drawn up in 1930 described in some detail the moral and material harm done to India by British imperialism It was thought that a recital of this was not necessary every year The old pledge was issued on the eve of the civil disobedience movement Portions of it were therefore not suited to the present altered circumstances The Committee therefore decided to issue the following new Pledge for the Independence Day on January 26, 1938

Resolution For Independence Day

'We believe that it is the inalienable right of Indian people as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth We believe also that if any government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and h as ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually We believe therefore that India must sever the British connection and attain *Purna Swaraj* or complete independence

'We recognise that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence India has gained strength and self reliance and marched a long way to *Swaraj* following peaceful and legitimate method, and it is by adhering to these methods that our country will attain independence

'We pledge ourselves anew to the Independence of India and solemnly resolved to carry on non violently the struggle for freedom till *Puran Swaraj* is attained '

Cotton Committee

The Cotton Committee Report was placed before the Committee The Committee adopted the report and passed the following resolution

Cotton Committee Report

'The report of the Cotton Committee appointed by the All India Congress Committee was placed before the Working Committee The Working Committee are of opinion that the situation created by the world slump in cotton prices is one of extreme gravity and fraught with disastrous consequences for the cotton cultivators all over the country and prompt and effective measures are necessary to save the cultivators from the misery that faces them The Committee generally accept the recommendations made in the Report and direct that the Report be forwarded to the Congress Party in the Central Legislature and the Provincial Governments where Congress Ministries are functioning Further that the Report be issued to the Press '

Donation for Natural Calamities

Shri Uttamchand from Sind offered to the Committee three Government Promissory Notes of the value of Rs 3,000 bearing 5 1/2% interest on condition that the interests be utilised for the relief of the sufferers from natural calamities

The Committee accepted with thanks the donation earmarked for the purpose indicated by the donor

Implementation of Congress Programme by Congress Ministries

Mr Masani's motion on this subject had been referred by the last AICC at Calcutta to the Working Committee The Committee passed the following resolution

'The Working Committee have considered the motion relating to the release of political prisoners, the repeal of repressive laws and other allied matters, which was referred to them by the AICC at Calcutta The Committee after full and careful consideration of the situation in the various provinces and the difficulties inherent in the present position, record their approval of the work done so far by the Congress Ministries, and appreciate that further efforts are being made to enlarge the bounds of civil liberty and implement the Congress programme The Committee are confident that such efforts will be continued by the Ministries and will have the full co operation of all Congress men

The Committee are of opinion that in order to facilitate and expedite progress in this direction, as well as to strengthen the Congress organisation in the struggle for *Swaraj*, it is necessary to adhere to the Congress policy of non violence and to discourage all incitements to violence The Committee appeal to Congress Committees and individual Congress men to help to create an atmosphere of peaceful disciplined action in the country and to warn any erring Congress men against any tendency which militates against our policy of non violence Where necessary Congress Committees should take disciplinary actions against Congress men who offend against the Congress policy

'Congress Ministries must guide themselves by the principle of civil liberty and the democratic approach by means of persuasion rather than by coercive action But in spite of every desire to avoid it, coercive action may become necessary, and in such cases Ministries will inevitably have to undertake it Such coercive action should only be undertaken where there has been violence or incitement to violence or communal strife '

Kisan Sabha Workers in Bihar

The Committee considered the resolution of the Executive of the Bihar PCC regarding the activities of some workers of the Kisan Sabha who were also members of the Congress A memorandum on behalf of the Kisan Sabha in this connection was also considered The following resolution was passed

'The Working Commmittee considered the resolution of the Executive of the Bihar PCC regarding the activities of some members of the Kisan Sabha in that province and also considered representations in connection therewith The Committee desire to made it clear that while the Congress fully recognises the rights of Kisans to organise themselves in Kisan Sabhas it cannot associate itselft with any activities which run counter to the basic principles of the Congress The Working Committee are in agreement with the executive of the Bihar PCC in disapproving of the activities of those Congress men who as members of the Kisan Sabha help in creating an atmosphere of violence Such conduct renders them liable to disciplinary action and the Bihar PCC should take such action wherever necessary after due notice to the parties concerned '

Congress Election in Bihar

Reports had appeared in the press and complaints had been received by the Working Committee about unconstitutional methods and violence used in the election of delegates in some places in Bihar The Committee passed the following resolution in this connection

'The Working Committee has learnt with strong disapproval that in the course of recent Congress delegates' elections in some provinces, violence and other objectionable behaviour was resorted to by some candidates or their supporters Such behaviour on the part of Congress men cannot be tolerated and the Provincial Congress Committees concerned should institute immediate enquiries and take strongest action whenever called for '

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Wardha, Working Committee Meeting, 3-6 February 1938[1]

Obituary

The Congress expresses its sense of sorrow and loss at the deaths of Shrimati Swruprani Nehru, Sir Jagdish Chandra Bose, Shri Sarat Chandra Chatterjee

Hunger Strike

1 The Working Committee have heard with profound grief of the death of Syt Harendra Munshi, a political prisoner in the Dacca Jail The Committee conveys their heartfelt condolence to the bereaved family of Syt Harendra Munshi

2 In view of repeated hunger strikes that have occurred in recent months, the Working Committee feel it imperative to define their attitude on this question The Committee definitely disapproves of the policy of resorting to hunger strikes on the part of political prisoners in order to obtain their release and believe that such a step, on the contrary, stands in the way The Committee strongly endorses the appeal recently made by Mahatma Gandhi to the hunger strikers in the Dacca Jail and urge the hunger strikers in all jails in India to give up hunger strike

3 The Committee desires to point out that the Congress Ministries and this Committee have had constantly before them the question of the release of detenus and political prisioners and the former have by now released a very large number and are taking active steps for the release of the remainder So far as the provinces with non-Congress ministries are concerned, the Committee feels that this question has not been approached by them in the same spirit as by the Congress Ministries and that the releases in those provinces have consequently been inadequate and unsatisfactory

The Committee deplores the conditions in the Dacca Jail and other jails in Bengal and call upon the Government of Bengal to immediately remove the legitimate grievances of the political prisoners in that jail as well as in other jails in that province

The Committee trusts that with the strenuous and unceasing efforts of Mahatma Gandhi and the vigilance of public opinion, the question of release

[1] *Ibid* pp 448 50

will be satisfactorily solved at an early date and hopes that all detenus and political prisoners will co-operate to this end by exercising patience and self-restraint and that the public will do likewise by maintaining an atmosphere of non violence

The Committee passed draft resolutions on the following subjects to be placed before the Subjects Committee of the Congress at Haripura.

1 Congress Ministries
2 Zanzibar
3 Indians in Kenya
4 Indians in Ceylon
5 Indian States
6 World War
7 China

Delegates and Members of the AICC from N -W F P

The following resolution was passed

> The Committee considered the letter of the General Secretary N -W F P Congress Committee dated 27th January In view of the special circumstances mentioned therein, the newly elected PCC be provisionally recognised and delegates selected be considered as valid delegates for the Haripura Congress But fresh elections should take place according to rules by 31st May

Punjab Elections

The President placed before the Committee the question of the election disputes that had arisen in the Punjab He informed the Committee that he had deputed Shri Sri Prakasa to go to the Punjab and make preliminary enquiries into the matter and report to the Working Committee at Haripura

Allowances of Members of Legislature in Bengal

The letter of Shri Sarat Chandra Bose, the Leader of the Parliamentary Party in Bengal, in this connection was placed before the Committee The Committee accepted the suggestions made therein that each member should pay a monthly sum of Rs 75 to the general fund that was to remain with the AICC office for work in the province The payment was to begin from January 1938

Constitution

The Committee discussed the changes to be introduced in the Constitution They approved of the idea of fixed constituencies for delegates election They also approved of the idea of a system of indirect elections for delegates But for all such and other material changes in the Constitution the Committee suggested the appointment of a Constitution Committee by the Congress at Haripura.

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Haripura, Working Committee Meeting, 14-22, February 1938[1]

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Vithal Nagar, Haripura from 14 to 22 February 1938 From 14th to 16th February, Shri Jawaharlal

[1] *Ibid*, pp 450-2

Nehru presided Thereafter Shri Subhas Chandra Bose presided Besides the two Presidents, the members present were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Smt. Sarojini Naidu, Shris Vallabhbhai Patel, Jamnalal Bajaj, Jairamdas Daulatram, Bhulabhai Desai, Narendra Dev, Shankarrao Deo, Achyut Patwardhan and J B Kripalani

Minutes

The minutes of the last meeting held at Wardha from 3 to 6 February 1938 were read and passed

Accounts

The audited accounts for the period 16th November 1936 to 30th September, 1937 were presented and passed

Draft Resolutions

Draft resolutions on the following subjects to be placed before the Subjects Committee were passed

(1) Condolence, (2) Excluded Areas and Commissioners Provinces and Delhi (3) Indians Overseas, (4) British Guiana (5) Ajmer Merwara and the Indian States (6) Palestine (7) Guidallo, (8) Minority Rights, (9) National Education, (10) Kisan Sabhas, (11) Ministerial Resignations in U P and Bihar, (12) Midnapur, (13) Constitution Committee

Noted The draft resolution on Congress Ministries passed by the Working Committee at Wardha was replaced by the new draft on Ministerial Resignations in U P and Bihar

Indian States

The States Peoples resolution passed at Wardha was reconsidered in the light of the talks the Committee had with a deputation of States people led by Dr Pattabhi The Committee was of the view that the only change that they could accept in the resolution passed at Wardha was that some provision be made for the recognition of the existing Congress Committees in the States The following addition was therefore made

In regard to Congress Committee which are functioning at present in any of the States, the Working Committee should consider the position of each of them and determine whether they should continue the function and, if so, under what conditions in conformity with the general policy of this resolution, they should function

Kenya

The Draft resolution prepared at Wardha for the Subjects committee was altered and the following new draft was substituted

The Congress is of opinion that the administrative practice of excluding British Indians from acquiring lands in the Highlands of Kenya Colony while a European of any nationality is free to do so constitutes a humiliating disability to the Indians settled in Kenya and is a deliberate offence to the Indian people

'This congress further condemns the proposal to promulgate an Order-in-Council defining the boundaries of the White Highlands which is calculated to perpetuate statutorily the erstwhile iniquitous practice which should have been abolished long ago in accordance with the declarations of the

Government of India at the time of the issue of the White Paper of 1923 The pledge given by the Government of India to get the subject reopened still remains and will become totally incapable of being carried out in the event of the proposed Order-in-Council being passed '

Note The draft resolutions prepared and Constitutional changes suggested by the Woring Committee at Wardha and Haripura were discussed by the Subjects Committee of the 51st Session of the Congress and with alterations accepted by the Subjects Committee were placed before the Open Session

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Haripura, Working Committee Meeting, 22 February 1938[1]

The first meeting of the new Working Committee was held in Vithal Nagar Haripura on February 22, 1938 at 2 p m Shri Subhas Chandra Bose presided The members present were Maulana Azad, Smt Sarojini Naidu, Shris Jawaharlal Nehru Vallabhbhai Patel Jamnalal Bajaj Jairamdas Daulatram Bhulabhai Desai Pattabhi Sitaramayya Sarat Chandra Bose Harekrishna Mehtab and J B Kripalani

Punjab

The Committee descussed the situation created by dissensions among Congress men in the Punjab and passed the following two resolutions

1 The Working Committee gladly recognises the growth of Congress influence and organisation in the Punjab during the past year, but it still feels that effective work is impeded by internal friction and dissension among Congress men The Committee is confident that the courage and capacity for sacrifice of the Punjabees, which have been so evident in the past can be organised to greater advantage and appeals to the people of the Punjab to work to this end In order to help in this work the Committee requests Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to visit the Punjab at an early date to enquire into the situation there and to make such suggestions, organisational or otherwise as he may consider necessary The Maulana will have full authority to deal with the situation and his decisions may be given effect to

2 In view of various election complaints received from the Punjab Shri Sri Prakasa be requested to visit the Punjab and inquire into the principal complaints and make his recommendations thereon In making the enquiry he should ask for the co-operation of a representative of the PCC and a representative of the complainant Shri Sri Prakasa's recommendations should be sent to the AICC and the Punjab PCC and to Maulana Azad and the action to be taken in regard to them should be under the direction of Maulana Azad

[1] *Ibid* pp 452 5

N.-W.F.P.

The Committee also considered the question of Congress organisation in the N.-W.F.P. The following resolution was passed:

> The Working Committee requests Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to visit the Frontier Province at an early date and to confer with the Congress workers there and to advise them about their future work and organisational activities. The Maulana will have authority to make such changes in the present organisation as he may consider necessary and desirable so as to make the organisation more efficient.

Certified Khadi

The Secretary, A.I.S.A. sent a draft resolution on the encouragement of Khadi certified by his organisation which carried out the rule about minimum wage to the spinners. The Committee discussed the draft and passed the following resolution:

> This Committee notes with satisfaction the policy adopted by the All India Spinners' Association for ensuring adequate wages to the spinners and other artisans engaged in the production of Khadi and the steps taken by it in that behalf and calls upon all Congress men and the public in general to give full co-operation and assistance in making this policy a success by purchasing only that Khadi which is certified by the All India Spinners' Association.

Mysore Parliamentary Board

The letter of the President, Mysore Parliamentary Board, regarding the by-elections to the Mysore Assembly was considered. It was decided that the President of the Board be informed that the Board could function as usual for the by-elections to be held on March 5, 1938. After that date Congress resolution about Indian States was to be given effect to in Mysore as in other Indian States.

Parliamentary Sub-Committee

As the old Parliamentary Sub Committee came to an end with the Congress Session, the Working Committee passed the following resolution appointing the new Sub-Committee for the current session:

> Resolved that the Parliamentary Sub-Committee consisting of the same members as before namely Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shris Vallabhbhai Patel and Rajendra Prasad be formed for the current session to keep in close and constant touch with the Congress Parties in all legislatures in the provinces, to advise them in all activities and to take necessary action in any case of emergency. The members of the committee are individually to perform the same functions as before.

22

Calcutta, Working Committee Meeting, 1-6 April 1938[1]

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Calcutta from April 1 to 6, 1938. Shri Subhas Chandra Bose presided.

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 455-60.

The members present were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shris Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel Rajendra Prasad, Jamnalal Bajaj, Jairamdas Daulatram, Bhulabhai Desai Sarat Chandra Bose, Hareknishna Mehtab and J B Kripalani

Minutes

The minutes of the last two meetings held at Haripura during Congress Session already circulated were confirmed

Timetable

The Committee approved of the following timetable fixing the final date for the enrolment of primary members and the dates for various elections in connection with the next session of the Congress

1 Congress to meet—Last week of February, 1939
2 Announcement of President's election—February 2, 1939
3 Meeting of delegates to elect the President and members of the AICC—January 29, 1939
4 Presidential nominations up to—January 16 1939
5 Election of delegates—January 8, 1939
6 Last date of enrolment of primary members—October 1, 1938

Bihari-Bengali Controversy

The Committee discussed the question in the light of facts kept before them by Shri Rajendra Prasad and passed the following resolution

> 'Considered representation on behalf of the domiciled Bengali community in Bihar and resolved that the matter be referred to Shri Rajendra Prasad and he be requested to deal with it '

Dry Fruit Merchants

Considered the representation of the dry fruit merchants from the North West Frontier Province The Committee appreciate the difficulties of the Frontier merchants and have full sympathy with them The Committee are of the opinion that the difficulty can best be solved by friendly negotiations carried on with the Afghan Consul in India and if need be with the authorities in Kabul The Committee request Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to interest himself in this matter and carry on the necessary negotiations

Detenus and Political Prisoners in Bengal

Resolved that the recently released detenus and political prisoners in Bengal be allowed when enrolled as primary members to contest seats on Congress Committees and in by-elections without being on the membership rolls for three months as provided for in the Constitution

Congress Affairs in the Punjab

Resolved that as Maulana Abul Kalam Azad is unable to proceed to the Punjab in near future for reason of health, Shri Jairamdas Daulatram be requested to go there in his place and with the power the committee had given to Maulana Saheb by its resolution of February 22, 1938 passed at Haripura.

N.-W.F.P. Organisation

In view of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad being unable to visit N.-W.F. Province owing to ill-health, the Working Committee request Shri Jairamdas Daulatram to go to that province to confer with the Congress workers there and to advise them about their future work and organisational activities. Shri Jairamdas will have authority to make such changes in the present organisation as he may consider necessary and desirable so as to make the organisation more efficient.

Apportionment of Expenditure

A Sub-committee consisting of Shris Vallabhbhai Patel, Jairamdas Daulatram and Bhulabhai Desai was appointed to go into the matter. Shris M. S. Aney and Ram Rao Deshmukh representing Berar and Shris Ravi Shanker Shukla and Dwarka Prasad Misra representing the C. P. The Sub-committee conferred with them. It was decided that a member of the Working Committee should be deputed to go to C. P. and look into the matter of allotment of revenues as between C.P. and Berar. Shri Vallabhbhai was requested by the Working Committee to go to C. P. and bring about the necessary adjustment.

Foreign Affairs Sub-Committee

In view of the critical international situation and the possibilities of crisis which must involve India's interests, a Foreign Affairs Committee consisting of the President, the General Secretary and Jawaharlal Nehru be appointed. This Committee will keep in touch with the international situation and advise the Working Committee thereon, and will take such steps as it may deem necessary to make clear to the people of foreign countries the Congress viewpoint and policy in regard to international affairs, as contained in the Haripura Congress resolution on foreign policy and other resolutions.

Foreign Companies in India

The Working Committee view with grave concern the rapid increase in the number of companies owned and managed by foreign nationals and describing themselves with designations such as 'India Ltd.' or similar words in the hope or with the object of being regarded as genuine Indian concerns. The establishment of these companies has the effect of robbing India of such advantage or benefit as is expected from the policy of discriminating protection, which has been pursued by the Government of India for the development and growth of Indian industries.

The Congress has always opposed the new Constitution not only becuase it is a negation of political freedom but also because of the inclusion in the Constitution Act of provisions described as safeguards against discrimination. The Working Committee are of opinion that these provisions are not in the interests of India but are intended and calculated to preserve to foreign nationals and particularly British capitalists the exloitation of the natural wealth and resources of this country. The Working Committee manintain that India has the right to discriminate, if that word must be used, against non-national interests whenever and wherever the interests of India demand or require it.

The Working Committee have no objection to the use of foreign capital or to the employment of foreign talent when such are not available in India or when India needs them but on condition that such capital and such talent are under the control, direction and management of Indians and are used in the interests of India.

The Working Committee are further of opinion and declare that no concern can or shall be regarded as *Swadeshi* unless its control, direction and management are in Indian hands The Working Committee would prefer to delay the further development of Indian industries if it can only result in the dumping of foreign industrial concerns who would exploit the natural resources of India The Working Committee therefore hold that the development of India's resources should be achieved by building up industries under the control, direction and management of Indians which is essential for India's economic independence

Subjects of Indian States

Considered the representation of the All India Marwari Federation In the opinion of the Working Committee all the disqualifications in the way of Government service and franchise affecting State subjects in the provinces should be removed The Congress Governments be requested to take steps as may be necessary to have this done under Section 262 of the Government of India Act

Release of Non-Political Prisoners

The Working Committee have taken note of the crisis that has arisen in C P in connection with the exercise of clemency by the Minister of Justice in respect of a prisoner who was convicted for the offence of committing rape The Working Committee have seen some of the C P Ministers in the matter In the course of the proceedings of the meeting of the C P Congress Parliamentary Party the Minister concerned expressed his regret and offered his resignation The Working Committee take note of the fact that the Ministers and C P Congress Parliamentary Party are satisfied with the apology the Minister has tendered in that, not realising the gravity of the case he was dealing with, he did not share with his colleagues the responsibility of his action In the opinion of the Working Committee, in order to arrive at a just decision the real question to be considred is whether the Minister committed a grave error of judgement amounting to a miscarriage of justice If he did then the resignation was the only proper course in the interest of justice, purity of administration and honour of womanhood If on the other hand, there is no miscarriage of justice there is no need for resignation nor possibly for an apology The Working Committee have not sufficient material before them for coming to a decision on merits, and they are reluctant to pass judgment straightaway on a matter requiring special and close investigation

In the course of the proceedings of the Working Committee another case of clemency in respect of a prisoner who had been guilty of insurance fraud was also brought to light Before coming to a decision the Working Committee have thought it necessary to invite a reputed lawyer to examine both the cases, and advise the Working Committee as to whether, there has been a grave error of judgment amounting to a miscarriage of justice

The Woring Committee appeal to the public to await their final decision in the confidence that it will be given without fear or favour The Working Committee appeal to the public and the press not to give the case communal character and assure women who are rightly agitated over the case that the Committee hold the honour of womanhood no less dear than they

Acting governorship in Orissa

The Working Committee have learnt with surprise that an official of the Orissa service subordinate to the Ministers has been appointed to act as Governor in the absence on leave of the present incumbent Such an appointment is highly undersirbale and is in contravention of the usual

convention prevailing in other countries It is difficult for Ministers to act as Ministers to those who have been their subordinates and who might have fallen into disfavour with them The Working Committee understand that the Orissa Ministers have lodged their protest against the appointment and expressed their strong disagreement with it The Committee invite the Governor-General or the Secretary of State as the case may be, to revise the appointment The Working Committee suggest the adoption of the recognised convention of appointing the Chief Justice as Acting Governors

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Bombay, Working Committee Meeting, 15-19 May 1938[1]

A meeting of the Wokrng Committee was held in Bombay from 15th to 19th May 1938 Shri Subhas Chandra Bose presided The members present were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shrimati Sarojini Naidu, Shris Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad Jamnalal Bajaj, Jairamdas Daulatram, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Harekrishna Mehtab and J B Kripalani

The Premiers of Madras Bomaby, U P, C P, N-W F P Utkal and Dr Syed Mahmud from Bihar were present by special invitation

The minutes of the last meeting already circulated were confirmed

Zanzibar Clove Boycott

The Working Committee read the report of the Clove Boycott Committee and considered the agreement which has been arrived at by the Indian Committee in Zanzibar and the Zanzibar Government in respect of the clove trade This agreement is subject to the confirmation of the Indian National Congress and the Colonial Office of the British Government The Working Committee accept the recommendation of the Indian National Association of Zanzibar and confirm the said agreement The Committee trust that the agreement will be acted upon by the Zanzibar Government in a way so as to give full satisfaction to the Indian community and so as not to raise any doubt or suspicion of discriminatory treatment

In view of this settlement, the Clove Boycott Committee is hereby authorised to lift the boycott of cloves which has been in operation since September last as and when and under such conditions as it thinks proper

On the ending of the boycott the Committee trust that the general public and particularly the retailers will patronise those firms that have loyally adhered to the boycott in preference to those who have not

The Committee congratulate the Indian community in Zanzibar for the brave and successful stand it has made for the rights of Indians overseas

The Committee furhter express their gratitude to the merchants, specially in Bombay, who by their loyal co-operation and support even at considerable sacrifice have contributed so greatly to the successful termination of this issue

The Committee wish also to record its appreciation of the labours of the Clove Boycott Committee

[1] *Ibid* pp 460 65

Parties Using the Name 'Congress'

The Committee discussed the question It was their view that it was undersirable for parties and groups inside or outside the Congress to use the name of the Congress without due permission The matter was however left to be dealt with by the General Secretary as occasion arose

Ambulance for China

Resolved that a Committee consisting of the President, Dr Jiveraj Mehta, Dr Sunil Chandra Bose, Dr R M Lohia and Shri G P Hatheesing (Convener), with power to co opt, be appointed to take necessary steps to send a motor ambulance unit with neccessary doctors and nurses to the Chinese National Government and Dr M Atal be requested to be in charge of the unit

The Name 'Congress' for State Organisations

Haripura Congress came to the decision that in order to encourage the development of the national struggle in the Indian States, independent organisations should be started or continued where they already exist and internal struggles of the people of the States must not be undertaken in the name of the Congress The Working Committee welcome the formation of such independent organisations but have noted that some of these bear the name of the Congress While strictly speaking there can be no monopoly in the use of the word Congress , it is clear that in order to give effect to the letter and spirit of the Haripura Congress resolution nothing should be done which produces any confusion in the public mind as to the constitutional relation between the Congress and the independent State organisations The Committee feel that the use of the word Congress' in the name of the State organisations is bound to create such confusion

The Committee also wish to draw attention to the fact that under the Haripura resolution Congress Committees continue to exist in the States Thus there are at the same time Congress Committees and the independent organisations which might sometimes develop in membership and work If the independent organisations bear the name 'Congress' then it is inevitable that confusion will arise This will come in the way of Congress Committee functioning in the States

For these and other reasons the Working Committee feel that it is undesirable to have the word 'Congress' in the name of the independent organisations and trust therefore that the use of the word in this connection will be avoided

Mysore Happenings

The Working Committee have read the popular and the official versions of the recent firing that took place near Viduraswatham (Mysore) on unarmed crowds The Committee deeply deplore the fact that the State authorities felt called upon to resort to firing But seeing that the Mysore Government have appointed a tribunal in order to inquire into the causes that led to the firing, the Working Committee refrain from expressing any opinion about the tragedy

But the Working Committee think that His Highness the Maharaja should establish Responsible Government in his State so that the responsiblity for Law and Order, including firing whenever it is deemed necessary will be shouldered by a government answerable to the people The Working Committee send their condolences to the members of the bereaved families and express their sympathy with those who have suffered injuries

The Working Committee approve of the settlement effected by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Acharya Kripalani as between the State and the Mysore State Congress The Working Committee note with satisfaction that in furtherance of the settlement the Mysore Government have issued a communique and congratulate His Highness the Maharaja and his advisors on the prompt manner in which they are carrying out the settlement The Working Committee hope that the settlement will be strictly carried out also by the Mysore State Congress

On the question of the hoisting of the National Flag the Working Committee hope that care will be taken not to do anything that might imply disrespect to the State Flag by the State Congress The status of the Flag will depend not upon the ability to exercise compulsion, but upon the correct conduct of Congress men and the progressive record of service that the Congress establishes in the country It should further be borne in mind that the National Flag is a symbol of non violence and national unity to be brought about by means strictly truthful and non-violent It should further be borne in mind that though there is a growing party among Congress men who seek the total abolition of States as a relic of Middle Ages, the policy of the Congress as a whole has hitherto been and remains one of friendliness to the States in the hope that they will recognise the signs of the times and establish responsible government within their borders and otherwise extend and guard the liberty of the people under their jurisdiction

Clemency Cases in C P

The report of the findings of Sir Manmath Nath Mukerji was placed before the Committee It was decided that the report be sent to Mr M Y Shareef, the Minister of Law and Justice in C P, and he be requested to take the necessary steps that follow logically from the findings of Sir Mukerji Shri Shareef has since resigned his ministership

Disciplinary Action Against Shri Satyendra Chandra Mitra

Shri Satyendra Chandra Mitra was elected to the Bengal Council on the Congress ticket and after signing the Congress pledge according to which he was bound to carry out the Congress directions He was called upon in common with other Congress legislators to pay the excess of his salary to a special earmarked fund for use in the province and in spite of repeated requests and reminders he has not paid this or any sum and has finally refused to do so, thereby violating his pledge The Working Committee therefore decide that he should cease to be a primary member of the Congress and should be ineligible for such membership till the Committee decide otherwise Further that he should be ineligible to stand as a Congress candidate for any local body or legislature

Oppressive Misrule in Bugti

The attention of the Working Committee has been drawn to the oppressive and tyrannical administration under which the people of the Bugti area, lying between Sind and Baluchistan have since long been suffering at the hands of the present Nawab of Bugti and to the sense of grave insecurity of life and property which has been prevailing in that area The Committee understand that the inquiry instituted by the Agent to the Governor-General at Quetta in 1932 under Major Beetham amply confirmed the correctness of the camplaints made by the people against the Nawab

In the opinion of the Committee it is essential, if the administration of the Bugti area is at all to improve, that the aforesaid report should be published by the Government. The Committee are strongly of the view that the authorities

in India and England who have assumed responsibility for the welfare of the people of the area have signally failed to discharge that responsibility The Committee condemn the continuance of the present autocratic and irresponsible system of administration under which the inhabitants of the Bugti area have had to live and suffer all these years, and expect that the authorities will take immediate measures to remedy the present state of things and place the administration of the area on a proper democratic basis

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Wardha, Working Committee Meeting, 23-27 July 1938[1]

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Wardha from 23 to 27 July 1938 Shri Subhas Chandra Bose presided

The members present were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Smt Sarojini Naidu Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad Jamnalal Bajaj Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Bhulabhai Desai, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Sarat Chandra Bose, Shankarrao Dev, Harekrishna Mehtab and J B Kripalani

Minutes

The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed

Andhra, Kerala and Karnatak Deputations

The Andhra and Kerala Separation and the Karnatak Unification deputations waited on the Working Committee The Committee heard them at great lenght and passed the following resolution

> 'Having heard the views of the deputations of the Andhra PCC, the Andhra Mahasabha, the Karnatak Unification Committee, the Karnatak PCC and the Kerala PCC on the question of redistribution of provinces in India on a linguistic basis for administrative purpose, this Committee declares that the resolution of the Madras legislature on linguistic provinces and of the Bombay legislature on the separation of the Karnatak province were passed with the previous sanction of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee and the full approval of this Committee This Committee desires to assure the people of the area concerned that the solution of this question would be undertaken as a part of the future scheme of the Government of India as soon as the Congress has the power so to do and calls upon the people of these areas to desist from any further agitation in this behalf which may divert attention from the main issue now before the country '

Provincial Quota

The Committee considered the letter of the Sind PCC for the reduction in the provincial quota The opinion of the Committee was that no reduction was possible

[1] *Ibid*, pp 465-75

Complaints About Local Bodies

Resolved that no complaints in connection with election and other affairs of the municipal and other local bodies be addressed to or entertained by the Working Committee until after such complaints have been placed before the final provincial authority and decided upon

Dry Fruit Trade

The Working Committee appreciate the action of the Afghan Government in abolishing the monopolistic arrangements made by them for controlling the export trade in dry fruit which were detrimental to the interests of Indian merchants in Afghanistan and India The Committee welcome the restoration of status quo in this behalf which will help to improve friendly feelings between the people of India and Afghanistan

Late Shri Raja Rau

The Working Committee express their sorrow at the premature and sudden death of Shri B Raja Rau, the former Office Secretary of the AICC and convey their condolence to the family of the deceased

Resolved that a gratuity of Rs 1,000 be granted to the widow of Shri B Raja Rau in recognition of his loyal services to the Congress organisation

> Note Shris Bhulabhai Desai and Sarat Chandra Bose were good enough to contribute half of this amount The remaining half (Rs 500) was to be paid from the AICC funds

Expert Committee

With reference to the resolution passed by the Working Committee at Wardha on August 14-17, 1937, relating to the appointment of an Expert Committee to explore the possiblities of an All India Industrial Plan, it is resolved that as a preliminary step the President be authorised to convene a conference of the Ministers of Industries at an early date and call for a report of the existing industries operating in different provinces and the needs and possibilities of new ones

Bihari-Bengali Controversy

Resolved that Shri Rajendra Prasad be authorized to go into the Bihari Bengali controversy relating to the questions of (1) Domicile, (2) Public Services, (3) Education and (4) Trade and Commerce, and settle it finally

Pending the settlement of this controversy, the Working Committee appeal to all concerned particularly to the Press of Bihar and Bengal to desist from any further agitation in this behalf and help in creating a proper atmosphere for the just and harmonious solution of the whole problem

Vaids and Homeopaths

The deputation waited upon the Working Committee The views of the Deputation were heard at some length and the following resolution was passed

> The Working Committee received a deputation of medical practitioners other than allopaths The Committee are of opinion that innumerable persons in towns and villages of India are receiving the benefit of treatment under other systems like Ayurveda, Unani and Homeopathy and they should receive recognition and help from Congress Governments The Committee are further of opinion that while measures may be adopted to ensure efficiency

of such practitioners, nothing should be done to penalise any particular system As regards the objections to particular proposals in the Bill pending before the Legislative Assembly of Bombay, the matter is referred to the Parliamentary Sub-Committee

Indian States

a By the Haripura resolution the Congress Committees in the Indian States were placed under the direct control of the Working Committee In this connection the following resolution was passed

'Resolved that for the time being, the State Congress Committees do function as heretofore under the jurisdiction of their respective Provincial Congress Committees '

b congratulations to Mansa and other States

The following resolution was passed

'The Working Committee congratulate the people of Mansa, Wala, Ramdurg Jamkhandi and Miraj on the success they have achieved in their brave and non-violent struggle for the vindication of their economic and political rights '

c Sympathy for Nilgiri (Utkal)

'The Working Committee express their sympathy for the people of Nilgiri state in Orissa on the non violent struggle they have been carrying on against the regulations banning meetings, processions and the formation of associations within the State '

Coorg

The Haripura resolution about Coorg has not been properly recorded in the Bulletin It is recorded that Coorg be united with Karnatak in the province of Bombay ' It should be that Coorg be united 'with Karnatak in the province of Madras ' The Committee authorised the correction

Sikar

Having heard the account of the settlement of Jaipur-Sikar dispute from Shri Jamnalal Bajaj the Committee congratulate the people of Sikar on having listened to his counsel and shown the true spirit of bravery in having decided to give up the idea of armed resistance and adopt the method of non violence resulting in the prevention of bloodshed which was imminent.

The Working Committee regret the needless loss of life that resulted during the recent firing in Sikar on the 4th July and express their condolences to the families of the deceased

The Working Committee hope that in the future dealings with the people of Sikar, the Jaipur authorities will act in a spirit of conciliation so as to restore friendly relations between the State and the Rao Raja and the people of Sikar

Local Bodies and Party Discipline

On a reference made by Mahakoshal PCC whether the Presidents of local bodies who were congress men were above party discipline, it was decided that the Presidents of such bodies if they were Congress men were as much bound by the Congress discipline as any other Congress man

The C P Ministerial Crisis[1]

The Committee as it met on the 23rd was informed of what had happened upto then by Shri Vallabhbhai Patel, the Chairman of the Parliamentary Sub Committee The compromise arrived at Pachmarhi had not been carried out obviously by the Premier The Ministry was not therefore working smoothly There were press reports that two Ministers had put their resignations in the hands of the Premier on July 15 Dr Khare sent a report to Shri Vallabhbhai Patel that he and some of his colleagues had not come to any agreement about some of the items of the Pachmarhi compromise At the same time the Premier wrote that he would not take any precipitate action and leave the matter to Shri Vallabhbhai for final decision and would keep him informed about further developments He did not however mention anything about any resignations from his Cabinet Shri Vallabhbhai sent word to Dr Khare not to precipitate matters as the whole question would be gone into and decided upon by the Parliamentary Sub-Committee and the Working Committee meeting on the 23rd July On the morning of the 21st however Nagpur and the whole of India were surprised and shocked to learn that Dr Khare along with two of his colleagues, Shris Gole and Deshmukh had resigned and their resignations had been accepted by the Governor The remaining three Ministers, Shris Shukla, Misra and Mehta who had refused to resign were dismissed by the Governor Not only this but during the course of the night of the 20th a new Ministry had been formed without the consent and permission of the Congress authorities

What had happened was that on the noon of the 19th Dr Khare had enquired of his colleagues if they would resign in the event of his resigning The three Mahakoshal ministers informed him they would not, without orders from the Congress higher authorities and that he himself should not precipitate matters on the eve of the meetings of the Parliamentary Sub Committee and the Working Committee Dr Khare however sent his resignation and that of the two consenting ministers Thereupon the Governor invited the three remaining ministers to put in their resignation They asked for time to consult the Congress authorities They put themselves in touch with Shri Rajendra Prasad who was at Wardha on the night of the 20th Shri Rajendra Prasad advised them not to resign and sent letters to Dr Khare, Gole and Deshmukh advising them to withdraw their resignations or at least not insist upon their acceptance till the Working Committee had met These letters had no effect The Mahakoshal Ministers informed the Governor that as instructed by the Congress authorities they were unable to resign Thereupon the Governor accepted the resignations of the Premier and the two Ministers who had resigned and terminated the office of the remaining three Ministers At 5 a m on the 21st he called Dr Khare to form a new ministry Dr Khare gave the names of Shris Gole, Deshmukh, Agnibhoj and Pyarelal Singh as his new colleagues All this drama was enacted during the course of one night

The Parliamentary Sub Committee that met at Wardha on the 22nd called Dr Khare The President was also present The President and the Committee had some discussion with Dr Khare who was now convinced that he had committed a grave error of judgment in resigning himself and calling upon his colleagues to do likewise without consulting either the Parliamentary Sub Committee or the Working Committee The only course therefore left for him was to undo the wrong that had been done Dr Khare with the advice of the President and the Parliamentary Sub-Committee returned to Nagpur and placed the following letter of resignation in the hands of the Governor on the 23rd

[1]See *Supra* pp 702 03

'Dear Sir Francis,

Since my resignation and formation of the new Cabinet, I have had opportunities of consulting the Congress President and the Parliamentary Sub Committee As a result of this consultation I have come to realise that in submitting resignation and forming a new cabinet I have acted hastily and committed an error of judgment I, therefore, hereby tender resignation on behalf of myself and my colleagues '

On the evening of 23rd Dr Khare was again called to Wardha to meet the Working Committee The Committee indicated to him that the natural consequence of his resignation as the Premier was that he should resign the leadership of the C P Parliamentary Party He accepted this position but informed the Committee that after his resignation was accepted by the party, he would again put himself forward as a candidate for the same position The Committee indicated to him that after all had happened, it would not be proper for him to adopt such a course In the event of his persisting the Committee would be constrained to pronounce their judgment on the series of events culminating in his forming the new ministry Dr Khare however insisted upon what he called his right to contest the election for the leadership

The Committee also advised Dr Khare to call the meeting of the party on the 27th at Wardha In this connection he issued the following notice calling a meeting of the C P Parliamentary Party

A special meeting of the C P and Berar Congress Assembly Party will be held at Wardha on Wednesday the 27th July at 9 a m to consider

1 The situation created by the resignation of the Premier and his two colleagues, the dismissal of the three Mahakoshal Ministers, the reformation of the new Ministry and its subsequent resignation,

2 Resignation of the Leader,

3 The election of the Leader

Under some misapprehension telegrams have been sent to some members of the party informing them that the above meeting will be held at Nagpur They will please note that the above meeting will be held at Wardha and not at Nagpur

On the 25th evening Dr Khare along with the Congress President and some members of the Working Committee met Gandhiji at Segaon After some discussion it was proposed that Dr Khare should make a statement and issue it to the Press Dr Khare accordingly prepared a statement Some additions and alterations were suggested by Gandhiji After considering these, Dr Khare changed his mind and wanted time to consult his friends at Nagpur and decide whether he would issue the statement or not He said that if by 3 p m on the 26th the Working Committee did not hear from him it must be considered that he was not prepared to issue any statement At 3 p m on the 26th the Working Committee were informed by a phone message from Nagpur that Dr Khare was not prepared to issue the statement in question The working Committee thereupon passed the following resolution

Resolution

'After having heard the Parliamentary Sub-Committee and given the most anxious consideration to the circumstances that have happened since the agreement arrived at in Pachmarhi between the Ministers in the presence of the members of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee and the Presidents of the three Provincial Congress Committees concerned and after having

had several interviews with Dr Khare, the Working Committee have reluctantly come to the conclusion that by the series of acts committed by Dr Khare culminating in his resignation of his charge and demanding the resignation of his colleagues of their charge, Dr Khare was guilty of grave errors of judgment which have exposed the Congress in the C P to ridicule and brought down its prestige He was also guilty of gross indiscipline in that he acted in spite of warning against any precipitate action His resignation was the direct cause of the exercise, for the first time since office acceptance by the Congress, by a Governor of his special powers whereby Dr Khare's three colleagues were dismissed

'The Working Committee note with satisfaction that these three Congress Ministers showed their loyalty to the Congress by declining, without instructions from the Parliamentary Sub Committee, to tender their resignations which were demanded by the Governor Dr Khare was further guilty of indiscipline in accepting the invitation of the Governor to form a new ministry and contrary to the practice of which he was aware in actually forming new ministry and taken oath of allegiance, without any reference to the Parliamentary Sub-Committee and the Working Committee, specially when he knew that the meetings of these bodies were imminent By all these acts of his, Dr Khare has proved himself unworthy of holding positions of responsibility in the Congress organisation He should be so considered till, by his services as a Congress man, he has shown himself well balanced and capable of observing strict discipline and discharging the duties that may be undertaken by him

'The Working Committee have also come to the reluctant conclusion that H E the Governor of the C P has shown by the ugly haste with which he turned night into day and forced the crisis that has overtaken the province that he was eager to weaken and discredit the Congress in so for as it lay in him to do so The Working Committee hold that knowing as he must have, what was going on among the members of the then cabinet and the instructions of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee he ought not to have, with unseemly haste, accepted the resignation of the three Ministers and demanded the resignation of the other three, dismissed them on their refusal to resign and immediately called upon Dr Khare to form a new Ministry and sworn in the available members of the new Ministry without waiting for the meeting of the Working Committee which was imminent '

The Working Committee passed another resolution prescribing the procedure to be followed in the party meeting called for the 27th at Wardha The resolution said

'With reference to the meeting of the CP Congress Parliamentary Party convened at the instance of the Working Committee the Working Committee decided that in the special circumstances that have arisen, the President do preside over the meeting, comunicate to it the resolution of the Working Committee passed on the 26th July, 1938 relating to the ministerial crisis in CP and conduct its proceedings The Working Committee also decide that the meeting be held at the Navabharat Vidyalaya, Wardha '

The CP Parliamentary Party met as directed at Wardha on the 27th at 9 a m , President Subhas Chandra Bose presided Those present were the members of the C P Parliamentary Party the members of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee, the General Secretary of the Congress and the Presidents of the three PCCs—Mahakoshal, Nagpur and Berar In the voting however only the members of the party participated The President began the proceedings by reading the resolution of the Working Committee He then placed the

resignation of Dr Khare from the leadership of the party before the meeting This was accepted He thereafter called upon the members to elect their new leader One member proposed the name of Dr Khare and asked for the ruling of the President if his name could be proposed The President pointed out that the resolution of the Working Committee was before the meeting and if in the face of that Dr Khare's name was proposed he would not accept the proposal and allow voting thereon On the President giving this ruling, the name of Dr Khare was withdrawn The other names proposed were those of Shris Jajuji, Shukla, Gupta, Khandekar, Mehta and Deshmukh As Jajuji's consent had not been taken his name was withdrawn Shris Gupta, Khandekar and Mehta declined to stand There thus remained only 2 candidates in the field, Shris Shukla and Deshmukh Votes were taken Shri Shukla got 47 and Shri Deshmukh 12 votes 13 members remained neutral The President declared Shri Shukla as the duly elected Leader of the CP Parliamentary Party

Congress and the Muslim League

The committee approved of the draft of the letter to be sent by the President in answer to the letter of Mr M A Jinnah and the resolution of the Muslim League [1]

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Delhi, Working Committee Meeting, 22 September-2 October 1938[2]

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Delhi from September 22 to October 2, 1938

The members present were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Smt Sarojini Naidu, Shris Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Jamnalal Bajaj, Bhulabhai Desai, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Shankarrao Dev, Harekrishna Mehtab and J B Kripalani

Owing to sudden illness, the President could not be present at the meetings of the Working Committee till the afternoon of the 26th In his absence Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided From the afternoon of the 26th onwards Shri Subhas Chandra Bose presided

The Premiers of the Congress provinces who had been invited to attend were present at most of the meetings of the Working Committee upto the 26th September

Minutes

The Minutes of the last meeting held at Wardha from July 23 to 27, 1938 were confirmed

Budget for the Year 1938-39

Resolved that the following budget for the AICC office for the year beginning from October 1, 1938 and ending with September 30, 1939 be sanctioned

[1]See appendices XIX 2, 3 and XXII 25 for the Muslim League resolution

[2]A M Zaidi and S G Zaidi *The Encyclopaedia of The India National Congress,* Vol XI, op cit, pp 475-90

Budget Estimates for the period from October 1, 1938 to September 30, 1939 of the AICC Office, Allahabad

Income

Heads of Receipt	Estimated Receipts Rs a p
1 Surplus from Congress Sessions	5000 0 0
2 Purse and General Fund Collections	6000 0 0
3 Provincial contribution	6000 0 0
4 AICC Membership subscription	3000 0 0
5 Delegates Fees	9000 0 0
6 Interest	
1 Allahabad Office	50 0 0
2 Treasurer's Office	4000 0 0
7 Sale proceeds of old publications	2200 0 0
8 Congress Publications	500 0 0
Total	35750 0 0

Expenditure

Heads of Expenditure	Estimated Expenditure Rs a p
1 Establishment	18000 0 0
2 Postage and Teleg	3300 0 0
3 Stationery	1000 0 0
4 Printing (office and Bulletins)	1000 0 0
5 Travelling expenses	5000 0 0
6 Rents and Taxes (electricity)	425 0 0
7 Telephone charges	500 0 0
8 Furniture	800 0 0
9 Library	1000 0 0
10 Repairs to Swaraj Bhawan	1000 0 0
11 Miscellaneous	800 0 0
12 Provident Fund contribution	350 0 0
13 Membership fee for IPC	2000 0 0
14 Travelling expenses of delegates to IPC	500 0 0
15 Excess of receipts over payments	75 0 0
Total	35750 - 0 - 0

Wafdist Invitation

The Committee requested the President to extend on behalf of the Congress an invitation to the Wafdist Party of Egypt to visit India specially at the time of the Annual Session of the Congress The Committee also authorised the President to

thank the Wafdist Party on behalf of the Congress for their kind invitation conveyed through their leader Nahas Pasha, to send a delegation to their Party Conference to be held at the end of November this year and to say that the Working Committee will try to send representatives to the Conference of the party

Last Date of Enrolment

In response to the urgent demand from several Provincial Congress Committees it is resolved that the last date of enrolment of the primary members be extended to October 31, 1938 and a suitable timetable be drawn up by the AICC office for subsequent elections

The followoing timetable was issued by the office

Timetable

1 Congress Session — Last week of February 1939

2 Announcement of President's election — February 3, 1939

3 Meeting of delegates to elect President and AICC members —January 29, 1939

4 Presidential nominations upto — January 15, 1939

5 Election of delegates — January 8, 1939

6 Last date of enrolment — October 31, 1938

Membership Fee

It was the opinion of the Committee that the net proceeds of the membership of any year should be held in reserve for use by the new Committees Provincial, District, Tehsil, Town etc that come into existence after the annual elections

Nagpur PCC

The Committee sanctioned the change of the head office of the Nagpur PCC from Nagpur to Wardha.

Punjab Dispute

The two parties in the Punjab Congress organisation met the members of the Committee on the 23rd September at 5 p m The one party was represented by Dr Gopichand and the other by Shris Raja Ram, Dunichand and others The Committee heard them at great length

The Committee saw no reason to interfere with the award of Shri Jairamdas Daulatram and they upheld the interpretation of the award given by Shri J B Kripalani in his judgment communicated to the parties By this the Working Council constituted by Shri Jairamdas Daulatram was to function as the executive authority of the Congress organisation in the Punjab in spite of the resignations of Dr Satyapal and Shri Dunichand Dr Satyapal however could choose any two representatives of his party to be on the Working Council The Office, for the day to day work of the PPCC, was to be in charge of the Secretary of the Working Council, namely, Dr Gopichand At the time of the meetings of PCC Shri Raja Ram was to have free access to all the papers and the files necessary for the conduct of business of these meetings

This decision of the Working Committee was communicated to the parties

Shri Dunichand however met the Committee again on the 28th September He

said that the Congress work in Punjab could not go on satisfactorily if only one party, as at present, worked the Congress machinery It was pointed out to him that Dr Satyapal had himself brought about this state of affairs by his resignation It was their considered opinion that Shri Jairmadas Daulatrams s remarks on the election petition against Dr Satyapal were in no way derogatory to his character as the objections raised were of a technical character and the election was not set aside Under these circumstances the Committee saw no reason why Dr Satyapal should not withdraw his resignation Shri Dunichand said that he would inform Dr Satyapal about the talk he had with the Committee and he hoped that he might succeed in inducing Dr Satyapal to withdraw his resignation

On the 29th the Committee was informed that Dr Satyapal had withdrawn his resignation Thereupon the General Secretary was authorised to issue the following statement on behalf of the Committee

'The deputation of the two parties in the Punjab Congress organisation waited upon the Working Committee The Committee heard them at length The Committee was of the view that Dr Satyapal had resigned under a misapprehension and the remarks of Shri Jairamdas Daulatram on the election petition against him implied no reflection upon him as the objections raised against his election were of a technical character The Committee suggested that the whole question could be settled if Dr Satyapal withdrew his resignation We are glad to know that Dr Satyapal has accepted the suggestion of the Working Committee and withdrawn his resignation We hope now that Dr Satyapal having withdrawn his resignation, the Working Council constituted under the award of Shri Jairamdas Daulatram will work as before '

Audit of Accounts

The Committee also decided that an auditor be sent from AICC office to audit the accounts of the Punjab PCC

C P Ministerial Crisis

The following draft resolution to be placed before the AICC was adopted

'The AICC approves of the prompt and decisive action taken by the Working Committee in the handling of the Central Provinces Ministerial crisis and fully endorse the views expressed by the Working Committee regarding the conduct of Dr Khare and that of H E the Governor of the C P in this unfortunate episode

The AICC is further clearly of opinion that the conduct of Dr N B Khare since his resignation from the C P ministry deserves the severest condemnation '

In the AICC the resolution was passed with the following amendment added — and recommends to the Working Committee to take disciplinary measure against Dr Khare'

The Working Committee had therefore to take disciplinary action against Dr Khare in terms of the AICC resolution The Committee at its sitting on September 28, 1938, however, decided to give Dr Khare a further opportunity to clear his position and sent him the following telegram

'All India Congress Committee having endorsed Working Committee action against you, condemned your subsequent conduct and directed Working Committee to take disciplinary action The Committee prefers hearing you on or before first October if you so desire Please wire '

To this Dr Khare replied

'Your wire Having accused Working Committee I prefer independent impartial tribunal since Working Committee as contending party can't in fairness sit in judgment over me Please reply '

The Working Committee's reply to this telegram was

'No appeal can lie against AICC decision Unless therefore you appear before Working Committee yourself or by proxy on 2nd October decision will be taken '

Dr Khare failed to appear or send his representative by the 2nd The Working Committee was therefore constrained to pass the following resolution

'In pursuance of the resolution passed by the All India Congress Committee to take disciplinary action against Dr Khare, the Working Committee before taking any action gave him opportunity to explain his conduct, but he declined to avail himself of it The Working Committee disqualifies Dr Khare from being a Congress member for the next two years from today i e till 1st October 1940 This necessarily involves his immediate resignation from all Congress organisations and also from the C P Legislative Assembly Accordingly, the Working Committee calls upon Dr Khare to resign from the C P Legislative Assembly '

Draft resolutions for the AICC

Draft resolutions were adopted on the following subjects to be placed before the AICC

(1) Federation (2) Indian States (3) Palestine, (4) Burma Riots (5) Repression in Bugti (6) Civil Liberty (7) Interference with Administration

Note All these resolutions except the last (Interference with Administration) were passed by the AICC with slight verbal changes

For text of resolutions see resolutions adopted by the AICC

War Danger

The Working Committee adopted the following resolution to be placed before the AICC

In the event of war breaking out in Europe the AICC delegates its powers to the Working Committee to deal with the situation as it arises from time to time in the light of the Haripura resolutions on foreign policy and war danger '

The Working Committee took the following further decision

In view of problems arising out of war situation the Working Committee will continue to sit from day to day at Delhi '

Czechoslovakia

The following resolution of sympathy was passed

'The Working Committee have been following with great anxiety the events as they have been developing in Europe They view with great concern the unabashed attempt that is being made by Germany to deprive Czechoslovakia of its independence or reduce it to importance The Working Committee send their profound sympathy to the brave people of Czechoslovakia in their struggle to preserve their freedom Being

themselves engaged in a war, though non-violent but not the less grim and exacting, against the greatest Imperialistic power on earth, India cannot but be deeply interested in the protection of the Czechoslovakian freedom The Committee hope that the better part of human nature will still assert itself and save humanity from the impending catastrophe '

In pursuance of this resolution the President sent the following message by cable President Benes

'Congress passed resolution expressing profound sympathy for your brave people in their struggle to preserve freedom We hope better part of human nature will still assert itself and save humanity from impending catastrophe Pray accept personal regard and admiration '

ıterference in Administration

It has come to the notice of the Working Committee that Congress Committee terfere with the ordinary administration of the country's affairs seeking to fluence officers and other members of the services The Working Committee lvises Congress men not to interfere with the due course of administration This owever does not mean that there should not be the utmost mutual co-operation etween Congress men and the members of the services in matters of public oncern

Note This resolution could not be discussed in the AICC for want of time It was therefore passed by the Working Committee as its own resolution

'onstitution Committee Report

The Report of the Constitution Sub Committee was placed before the ommittee and was adopted

arliamentary Sub-Committee

The Sub Committee appointed by the U P Provincial Congress Committee at s meeting held on the 11the July, 1938 to consider the draft of the Tenancy Bill nd to make recommendations to the Government on its behalf is perturbed by the port that the Parliamentary Sub-Committee is anxious to arrive at a settlement ith the big Zamindars of the Province over the question of agrarian legislation and as with this view agreed to receive their deputation

The Committee while recognising the right of the Parliamentary Sub-ommittee to advise the Congress Party in all its activities is aware of the fact that s a rule the Parliamentary Sub-Committee has refrained from tendering advice in ny matter unless it is specially sought for by the Congress Government or the Party self The Committee is emphatically of opinion that in the present case there is bsolutely no reason why the rule of practice established by the Parliamentary Sub-ommittee should be departed from

It is obvious that all effective work in the legislatures must have the sanction of he people behind it and that the Congress is pledged to implement the agrarian rogramme of the Congress as enunciated in the election manifesto and the grarian programme of the Provincial Congress Committee The Congress Party n each province has been directed by the Working Committee to consult the 'rovincial Congress Committee and the U P Congress Party has in the rules ramed by it laid it down as its primary duty to carry out the resolutions of the PCC

The Parliamentary Party and the PCC have set up Sub-Committees to consider he government proposals and make their recommendations to the Government nd a machinery has also been devised to settle differences of opinion, if any, etween these two bodies

The Government proposals are quite modest and inadequate to give a sufficiently large measure of relief to the peasantry at a time when its economic burdens are becoming more and more intolerable The big Zamindars are forcibly dispossessing their tenants in order to deprive them of the new rights that might accrue to them under the new Act They are organising themselves to create difficulties in the way of the Government and are using threats of violence in order to coerce the Government into submission The Government has gone far to appease them and has done its utmost to meet them half way The new proposals in consequence fall far short of the propsals enunciated in our Agrarian Programme and the recommendations of the PCC Where immediate action was urgently called for, the agrarian legislation is being unduly delayed owing to the delaying tactics of the big Zamindars and the Congress and peasant organisations have been making insistent demands for improving the proposals The peasantry is getting restive and if the process is not speeded up and all talk of compromise with the big Zamindars is not given up it is bound to lead to disastrous results

The Committee is credibly informed that the Congress Government is not prepared to make any further concessions to the big Zamindars and regards itself as quite competent to deal with the situation with the assistance of the Congress organisation of the province It has not approached the Parliamentary Sub Committee with any request nor has it ever sought its advice in this matter

The Committee, therefore, trusts that the Parliamentary Sub Committee will not depart from the rule of practice which it has laid down for its guidance and will, instead of holding out any hopes to the big Zamindars or giving them any encouragement, simply refer them to the Congress Party in the province

Resolved that in view of the fact that a doubt has been raised regarding the function of the Parliamentary sub-Committee the Working Committee desires to make it clear that in accordance with the resolution appointing it, the Parliamentary Sub-Committee is required to be in close and constant touch with the work of the Congress Parties in all the legislatures in the provinces, to advise them in all their activities and take necessary action in any case of emergency The Parliamentary Sub-Committee is entitled to do so *suo moto* and not only on reference being made by Parliamentary Parties or Provincial Congress Committee The Committee regrets that the Agrarian Sub-Committee of the U P Provincial Congress Committee should have questioned the authority of the Parliamentary Sub Committee and passed a resolution to that effect The U P resolution is particularly objectionable as there is absolutely no justification for the assumption on which it is based

Bannu Raids

Resolved that Mr Asaf Ali be deputed to go to the Frontier and enquire into the causes and circumstances of the recent Bannu raids and report to the Working Committee

Dr Ashraf's Resolution on Hindustani

The Committee decided to support it with the deletion of the portion about the appointment of a Committee

The resolution was however defeated in the AICC

The Working Committee therefore passed the following resolution to dispel any doubts that might have arisen regarding the Congress attitude in this question

Hindustani

With reference to the non-official resolution regarding Hindustani moved by Dr Ashraf at the recent meeting of the AICC the Working Committee regrets that it

fell through owing to the confusion of issues created by a variety of amendments But the rejection of the resolution does not in any way affect the position of the Congress as defined in the following article of the Constitution

Article XIX—

(a) The proceedings of the Congress the All India Congress Committee and Working Committee shall ordinarily be conducted in Hindustani The English language or any provincial language may be used if the Speaker is unable to speak in Hindustani or whenever permitted by the President

(b) The proceedings of the Provincial Congress Committee shall ordinarily be conducted in the language of the province concerned Hindustani may also be used

Hindustani according to the practice of the Congress is the language of the bulk of the people of the North and written either in Devanagari or Urdu script

Indeed it has been the policy of the Congress more and more to insist on the use of Hindustani at all the meetings and in proceedings of Congress Committees The Working Committee hopes that by the end of the year Congress men will prepare themselves to speak and write in the national language so that it may become unnecessary thenceforth to make use of English at Congress meetings or in the offices of the Congress Committees so far as inter provincial communications are concerned, provided that the Chairman may whenever necessary permit the use of English

Correspondence with Muslim League—Mr Jinnah's Letter to S C Bose[1]

The letter of 2nd October of the President was considered by the Executive of the Muslim League at its meeting at Karachi held on October 9 1938 The Council authorised the President Mr Jinnah to reply to the Congress President as Follows

I am in receipt of your letter dated October 2, which was placed before the Executive Council of the League I am authorised to state in reply that the Executive Council regret very much that the Working Committee of the Congress should have entirely misread my letter of August 2 which was quite clear and did not require any elucidation or further interpretation The Muslim League is still ready to proceed with negotiations for a settlement of the Hindu Muslim question on the basis defined in my letter referred to above and would appoint its representatives to meet a committee that may be appointed by the Congress on the footing indicated by us in our three resolutions of June 5, already communicated to you

Yours sincerely,

M A Jinnah

[1]The text of letters Jinnah to Bose, 2 August 1938 and Bose to Jinnah, 2 October 1938 printed here in the Congress Working resolutions are already reproduced, see appendix XIX 2 3

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Wardha, Working Committee Meeting, 11-16 December 1938[1]

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Wardha from 11th to 16th December, 1938 Shri Subhas Chandra Bose presided

The members present were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Shrimati Sarojini Naidu, Shris Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Jairamdas Daulatram, Bhulabhai Desai, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Sarat Chandra Bose, Shankarrao Dev, Harekrishna Mehtab and J B Kripalani

Supplementary Budget

Resolved that the following supplementary Budget for the year 1938-39 be sanctioned

		Rs
(i)	Travelling Expenses for the members of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee	1,200
(ii)	Expenses for Treasurer's Office	600
(iii)	Bannu Enquiry Expenses	457

Note Messrs Bachchraj & Co Ltd , of Bombay were doing the work of the Treasurer's office with the help of their staff for which they charged nothing from the AICC Funds They requested that a grant of Rs 600 per year may be made for the expenses incurred by them in this connection

Late Shri Abdul Waheed's Widow

Resolved that a monthly allowance of Rs 20 be paid to the widow of Late Shri Waheed, Typist in the AICC office, for a period of five years from November, 1938

Next Congress Session

In accordance with the request of the Reception Committee of the next Congress to be held at Tripuri, (Mahakoshal) following dates were fixed for the meeting of the Subjects Committee and the Open Session

(i) Subjects Committee — 7th, 8th, 9th March, 1939

(ii) Open Session — 9th, 10th 11th March 1939

Maulana Shaukat Ali

The Working Committee express their great sorrow at the sudden death of Maulana Shaukat Ali and place on record their deep appreciation of his invaluable sacrifices and services to the cause of India's freedom

[1]A M Zaidi and S G Zaidi, *The Encycleopaedia of the Indian National Congress*, Vol XI op cit. pp 491 500

Indian States

The Working Committee welcome the awakening of the people of the Indian States in many parts of the country and consider this as a hopeful prelude to the larger freedom, comprising the whole of India, for which the Congress has laboured The Committee support the demand for civil liberty and responsible government under the aegis of the Rulers in the States and express their solidarity with these movements for freedom and self-expression While appreciating that some Rulers of the States have recognised this awakening as a healthy sign of growth and are seeking to adjust themselves to it in co-operation with their people, the Committee regret that other Rulers have sought to suppress these movements by banning peaceful and legitimate organisations and all political activity and, in some cases, resorting to cruel and inhuman repression In particular, the Committee deplore the attempt of some Rulers to seek the aid of the British Government in India to suppress their own people, and the Committee assert the right of the Congress to protect the people against an unwarranted use of military or police forces lent by the British authorities for the suppression of the legitimate movement of the people for responsible government within the States

The Committee desire to draw attention afresh to the resolution of the Haripura Congress which defines Congress policy in regard to the States While it is the right and privilege of the Congress to work for the attainment of civil liberty and responsible government in the States, existing circumstances import certain limitations of this work and considerations of prudence prevent the Congress from interfering organisationally and directly in the internal struggles of the States This policy was conceived in the best interests of the people, to enable them to develop self-reliance and strength It was also intended as a measure of the goodwill of the Congress towards the States and of its hope that the Rulers, of their own accord, would recognise the spirit of the times and satisfy the just aspirations of their people Experience has proved the wisdom of this policy But this was never conceived as an obligation The Congress has always reserved the right, as it is its duty, to guide the people of the States and lend them its influence With the great awakening that is taking place among the people of the States, there must be an increasing identification of the Congress with the States people

The policy laid down by the Haripura Congress, which has been so abundantly justified, must continue to be pursued While therefore, the Working Committee welcome the movements in the States for the attainment of responsible government, they advise the people, not belonging to the States concerned against taking part in civil disobedience and the like Participation by such people will bring no real strength to the movement, and may even embarrass the people of the States concerned and prevent them from developing a mass movement on which strength and success depend

The Committee trust that all movements in the States will adhere strictly to the fundamental Congress policy of non-violence

Congress Membership

The Working Committee have received reports from various parts of the country to the effect that some of the membership registers contain names of fictitious persons or those who have not fulfilled the qualifications for membership In certain, instances, it is reported, that groups of people have been nominally made members their subscriptions having been paid by someone else The Committee are strongly of opinion that such fictitious membership must be ended, and all names that are found, after due enquiry, not to fulfil the qualifications of membership must be removed from the rolls

2 The Congress has prided itself in the past not only on its inspiring objective of freedom for India's millions but also on the purity of its methods and it is by

adhering to these methods that it has achieved success in its high tasks and built up a reputation worthy of the great cause it served While welcoming millions of our people to its membership rolls and deriving vitality and strength from the sympathy of scores of millions of others, the Congress has held that its effectivenss as a fighting organisation lay in the disciplined workers in its ranks and not merely in a large ineffectual membership

3 The Working Committee therefore are of opinion that immediate and effective steps must be taken to inspect and revise all membership registers, with a view to make them conform with reality and the rules of the Congress The Committee desire and request all Provincial Congress Committees to undertake this task at an early date and to complete it at the latest by the 31st of March, 1939 when a full report of the steps taken should be presented to the office of the AICC in the course of this inquiry, as errors are discovered in the membership rolls, they should be immediately rectified and the names of fictitious or unqualified persons removed The inquiry should not interfere with the course of the various elections during the next three months except in so for as corrections are made from time to time in the membership rolls The General Secretary of the AICC will give every assistance to the PCCs in this inquiry

4 The Working Committee are further of opinion that certain rules of procedure and constitutional changes are necessary in order to prevent the enrolment of fictitious or unqualified members to make Congress a stronger organisation of effective workers These rules must ensure that existing qualifications, like that rule requiring habitual wearing of khadi are strictly adhered to, and further qualifications are laid down for all office bearers and members of elective committees in the province Such further qualifications should be as laid down in Clause 6 below subject to the period of continuous membership being varied having regard to the nature and functions of the committee concerned, such as, district, taluqa, thana or mandal committees

5 Every Primary member will be entitled to vote at any Congress election only if he goes personally to the office of his primary committee, gets his name registered in a separate roll of voters , and obtains a voter's card Provided that in the case of women people who are ill, and those who may be absent from their primary area, registration may be effected by correspondence or through some other person

6 The Working Committee recommends that Article V of the Congress Constitution be amended so that the following qualifications, in addition to the habitual wearing of khadi be laid down for those seeking election as delegates to the Congress

(i) Continuous membership of the Congress for the three years previous to the date for election, provided that it shall be open to the Provincial Executive or other competent body to reduce this period for any particular candidate, more especially in individual cases for women, political prisoners, minorities and backward classes

(ii) The candidate must have performed a prescribed task for the Congress during the previous year, such task being either spinning personally by hand at least 5000 yards of yarn, or doing some other task prescribed previously by the Provincial Executive All candidates must have a certificate stating that they have performed this task and fulfilled this qualification

7 The Working Committee invite PCCs to make further suggestions for the amendment of the constitution or the framing of rules in order to strengthen and purify the Congress organisation

Congress and Communal Organisations

Resolved that for the purpose of Article V(c) the following organisations are declared as communal organisations

(1) The Hindu Mahasabha

(2) The Muslim League [1]

Article V(c) reads 'No person who is a member of any elected Congress Committee shall be a member of any similar Committee of a communal organisation, the object or programme of which involves political activities which are in the opinion of the Working Committee, anti-national and in conflict with those of the Congress '

Ratio

Since the fixation of the ratio at 1s 6d to the rupee all trade in India and public bodies have protested that this measure was against the vital economic interests of India and insistently demanded its revision The Government of India have hitherto resisted all these attempts and last issued a communique on the 6th of June 1938 declaring that it did not intend making any change in the ratio for the time being and in support of that declaration, sought to rely merely on the instability and uncertainty during the period of readjustment which according to them was likely to cause greater loss to Indian interests than any corresponding gain from a change to a lower ratio

Since June last, the balance of trade has turned more and more against India The Committee are of opinion that the rate of exchange of 1s 6d to the rupee has hit hard the agriculturists of this country by lowering the price of agricultural commodities and has given an undue and unfair advantage to imports into this country

The Working Committee are satisfied that the rate of 1s 6d cannot any longer be maintained on the balance of trade During the last seven years that rate has been maintained by the large exports of gold which have been very injurious to the country Matters have now reached a stage when the rate can only be maintained by a policy of contraction of currency and credit by further depletion of the gold and sterling resources of India and particularly of the paper currency reserve Those sterling resources have already been used up to an alarming extent and there is a danger of further serious depletion taking place if efforts continue to be made by the Government of Indian to maintain the present ratio The Working Committee look upon such prospect with the utmost concern and anxiety

In view of this situation, the Working Committee have come to the conclusion that the best interests of the country demand that efforts to maintain the present exchange level should henceforth cease and urge upon the Governor-General- in-Council the necessity of taking immediate steps to lower the rate to 1s 4d to the rupee

Palestine

The Working Committee have passed resolutions from time to time dealing with the changing situation in Palestine and sympathising with the struggle of the Arabs to maintain their political and national integrity Reports are continuously coming in from a variety of reliable sources of unnameable atrocities committed by the British Army and Police on the plea of maintaining law and order in this mandate Territory The courage, determination and sacrifices made by the Arabs in this life

[1]For the position of the Muslim League on this question see appendix XVIII-17, resolution 12

and death struggle have evoked the admiration of the people of India who once more wish to convey to them their good wishes for complete success in the attainment of their objective

The Working Committee wish to express their condemnation of the ruthless policy now being pursued by British Imperialism in Palestine which must lead to grave consequences, and reiterate their opinion that the issue of the future government of Palestine should be left to be decided on the principle of self determination

While sympathising with the plight of the Jews in Europe and elsewhere, the Committee deplore that in Palestine the Jews have relied on British armed forces to advance their special claims and thus aligned themselves on the side of British Imperialism The Committee trust that Arabs and Jews will endavour to find a basis for direct co-operation with a view to establishing a free democratic State in Palestine with adequate protection of Jewish rights

Independence Day

Resolved that the anniversary of Independence Day, January 26th, be celebrated all over the country and the form of pledge, as taken last year, be repeated at public meetings

Pledge

'We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth We believe also that if any government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually We believe therefore that India must sever the British connection and attain *Purna Swaraj* or complete independence

'We recognise that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence India has gained strength and self-reliance and marched a long way to *Swaraj* following peaceful and legitimate methods, and it is by adhering to these methods that our country will attain independence

'We pledge ourselves anew to the Independence of India and solemnly resolve to carry on non violently the struggle for freedom till *Purna Swaraj* is attained '

Muslims in Congress Committees

The Working Committee issued the following instructions to the Provincial Congress Committees with regard to the representation of Muslims in Congress Committees

The Working Committee having learnt that in some local committees Muslims are not sufficiently represented, advises all committees to arrange for their adequate representation This representation should be, if necessary, provided for in the constitution, but meanwhile conventions should be established to give effect to it

Provincial Constitutions

Vidarbha and Sindh

The Committee sanctioned the changes made by the PCCs of Vidarbha and Sindh in their respective constitutions

U P

The following resolution was passed

"The Working Committee approves of the amendments sent by U P PCC in its Constitution, excepting the portion relating to qualifications and disqualifications of Congress delegates which require changes in the Constitution of the Congress before they can be given effect to "

Nagpur

The Committee approved of the amendments in the Constitution of the Nagpur PCC except the clause which authorises the President of the PCC to nominate three members to the PCC The Committee was of the opinion that nomination to Committees was against the spirit of the Congress Constitution

Burma

In view of the special position assigned to Burma in the Congress organization the Constitution submitted by the Burma PCC framed on the old lines when Burma was a province of India was not sanctioned by the Committee The Committee were of the opinion that a special Constitution be made for separated Burma in consonance with the peculiar position that it occupies in the Congress organization In the meantime the Committee assigned to Burma 20 delegates and 3 members of the AICC to be elected acording to the rules of the Constitution submitted by the Burma PCC

Congress and Muslim League

The Committee considered Mr Jinnah's letter dated 9th October, 1938 from Karachi It was the opinion of the Committee that in view of the position taken up by the Council of the Muslim League no useful purpose will be served by prolonging the correspondence with League The President was authorised to write to Mr Jinnah closing the correspondence The following letter was written by the President to Mr M A Jinnah

Camp Wardha
December 16, 1938

Dear Mr Jinnah,

The Working Committee have considered your letter of October 10 1938[1] and regret the decision contained therein Since the Committee do not find it possible to agree with the Council of the Muslim League as to the basis of the negotiations and since the Council insist that an agreement as to the basis is a *sine qua non* of any negotiations between the Congress and the League, the Working Committee regret that they are not in a position to do anything further in the direction of starting negotiations with the League with a view to arriving at a settlement of the Hindu Muslim question

I am sorry for the delay in replying to your letter but I did not want to say anything till the Working Committee met and considered the matter

[1]See *supra*, p 292

Since the previous correspondence has been published already, I am taking the liberty of issuing this to the press

Yours sincerely,
S C Bose

Fund Created from Excess Allowance in Non-Congress Provinces

It was decided that 25 per cent of the fund created from excess allowances of Congress members of the Legislatures in non-Congress provinces be spent at the discretion of the President of the PCC and the Leader of the Congress party in the Legislature, for general Congress work in the province

Shri Pattabhi for Ceylon

There was a desire expressed by the Ceylonese Indians that some member of the Working Committee should visit Ceylon for the purpose of studying the condition of Indians there and establishing contacts The committee requested Shri Pattabhi to visit Ceylon to study the situation there and establish the necessary contacts

27

Bardoli (Gujarat), Working Committee Meeting, 11-14 January 1939[1]

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Bardoli from 11 to 14 January, 1939 Shri Subhas Chandra Bose presided

The members present were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Smt Sarojini Naidu, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad Jairamdas Daulatram, Bhulabhai Desai, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Shankarrao Dev, Sarat Chandra Bose Harekrishna Mehtab J B Kripalani Shri Jamnalal Bajaj was also present for some time

Minutes

The minutes of of the last meeting were confirmed

Hindu-Muslim Question

The question was discussed at length and the General Secretary was authorised to issue the following statement to the press

'The Working Committee have always been anxious to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of the communal question in consultation with and with the co operation of all the parties concerned It was with this object in view that the Congress President conferred with the President of the Muslim League but the last communication received from the Muslim League on this subject left little hope of a mutual understanding being established at present.

'The Congress has on many previous occasions declared its policy on the communal question, and in relation to the minorities That policy holds and it covers principal aspects of the problem, but the course of event and the development of the political situation raise new problems and new doubts which require elucidation The Committee were therefore of the opinion that the Congress should, in order to pave the way to a fuller understanding, endeavour to remove doubts by further elucidating its policy on the communal questions that have arisen with a view to making a further

[1]*Ibid.*, pp 501-07

declaration The Working Committee have given earnest consideration to the matter

'They have, however, come to the conclusion that for the present no useful purpose will be served by making such a declaration and this might even at this stage, result in delaying the very consummation, which they earnestly desire, namely a satisfactory settlement that is acceptable to all concerned The Committee therefore, do not make any further statement on this subject at present, but they will continue their efforts in accordance with the basic policy of the Congress and its many declarations to ensure justice to all communities as well as to remove such doubts as may arise from time to time In this task they seek and would welcome the co-operation of all concerned '

Bengali-Bihari Controversy

The Committee adopted the report of Shri Rajendra Prasad and passed the following resolution for the guidance of the Bihar and other Congress Governments

Resolution

The Working Committee have considered the report of Babu Rajendra Prasad in regard to the Bengali Bihari controversy and also various memoranda including one from Mr P R Das The Committee wish to express their appreciation of the careful and exhaustive report prepared by Babu Rajendra Prasad and their general agreement with the conclusions arrived at by him In view of the fact that several of these conclusions are capable of general application, the Committee formulate them hereunder

1 While the Committee are of opinion that the rich variety of Indian culture and diversity of life in the various parts of the country should be preserved and cherished, the idea of a common nationality and a common background of our cultural and historical inheritance must always be encouraged, so that India should become a free and strong nation built upon a unity of purpose and aim Therefore the Committee wish to discourage all separatist tendencies and a narrow provincialism Nevertheless the Committee are of opinion that in regard to services and like matters the people of a province have a certain claim which cannot be overlooked

2 In regard to services the Committee are of opinion that there should be no bar preventing the employment of any Indian, living in any part of the country from seeking employment in any other part But certain considerations must govern such employment, apart from the essential condition of merit and efficiency, which is of particular importance in the higher services and in the selection of specialists and experts These considerations are

i A fair representation of various communities in the province

ii The encouragement, as far as possible, of backward classes and groups so that they might develop and play their full part in the national life

iii A preferential treatment of the people of the province It is desirable that this preferential treatment should be governed by certain rules and regulations framed by provincial governments in order to prevent individual officers from applying different standards Further it is desirable that similar rules should be applicable in all provinces

3 In regard to Bihar no distinction should be made between Bihari properly

so called and the Bengali-speaking residents of the province born or domiciled there The term Bihari should in fact include both these classes and in the matter of services, as well as other matters, an identical treatment should be given to both It is permissible to give a certain preference in services to these residents of the province over people from other provinces

4 The practice of issuing certificates of domiciles should be abolished Applicants for services should state that they are residents of or domiciled in the province In all appropriate cases the Government will have the right to satisfy itself about the correctness of the statement before making an appointment

5 Domicile should be proved by evidence that implies that the applicant has made the province his home In deciding that he has done so, length of residence possession of house or other property and other relevant matters should be taken into consideration and the conclusions arrived at on the totality of the evidence available However, birth in the province or ten years' continuous residence should be regarded as sufficient proof of domicile

6 All persons holding appointments under Government should be teated alike and promotions must be based on seniority coupled with efficiency

7 There should be no prohibition against any one carrying on trade or business in the province It is desirable that firms and factories, carrying on business in a province, should develop local contacts by giving appointments wherever possible, to residents of the province But suggestions made by provincial Government to firms and factories in the matter of appointments may be misunderstood and should be avoided.

8 When accommodation is limited in educational institutions, places may be reserved for different communities in the province, but the reservation should be in a fair proportion Preference in such educational institutions may be given to people of the Province

9 In Bihar in the areas where Bengali is the spoken language, the medium of instruction in primary schools should be Bengali, but in such areas provision should also be made for instruction in Hinudstani in the primary schools for those whose mother-tongue is Hindustani, if there is a reasonable number of students speaking Hindustani Similarly in Hindustani speaking areas, education in primary schools should be given in Hindustani, but, if there is a reasonable number of Bengali-speaking students, they should be taught in Bengali In secondary schools education should be given through the medium of the language of the province, but the State should provide for education through the medium of any other language where there is a demand for it on the part of the residents of any district where this other language is spoken

The Working Committee earnestly trust that the above conclusions will be accepted and acted upon by all the parties concerned in Bihar and the regrettable controversy in the province will cease

These conclusions should also guide the general policy of other provincial adminstrations in these matters herein dealt with

Runpur State Tragedy

Shri Harekrishna Mehtab who had been on the scene four hours after the tragedy related what he had seen and heard The Committee passed the following resolution

Resolution

The Working Committee record their deep regret at the killing of Major Bazalgette by a crowd at Runpur in Orissa and are of opinion that such acts of violence do great injury to the cause of freedom in the States The Committee have welcomed the awakening among the people of the States and look forward to their deliverance, but they are convinced that resort to mob violence will delay that deliverance The Committee therefore earnestly trust that people of the States as well those in other parts of India will strictly adhere to peaceful methods in the struggle for freedom

Jaipur Ban on Shri Jamnalal Bajaj

Shri Jamnalalji placed before the Committee all the facts leading to the ban placed on his entry into Jaipur State and the declaration by the State authorities of the Prajamandal as an unlawful organisation Jamnalalji informed the Committee that he intended to break the order passed against him and to offer *Satyagraha*

The Working Committee deplores the ban placed on the entry into the Jaipur State of Seth Jamnalalji by the Jaipur authorities whilst he was on his way to Jaipur, his native place, for famine relief work and to attend the meeting of the Jaipur Rajya Prajamandal of which he is the President The Working Committee hope that wiser counsels will prevail and the authorities will withdraw the ban and prevent an agitation both in the Jaipur State and outside

Uncertified Khadi

Complaints were received from several provinces by the AICC office and the AISA about Congress men encouraging the production and sale of uncertified khadi by themselves purchasing such khadi by opening production and sale centres for the same, by performing opening ceremonies of production and sale centres and generally by offering their co-operation and patronage Some Congress Committees had gone so far as to issue certificates to private producers and dealers of uncertified khadi The Committee were strongly of the view that such conduct on the part of Congress men and Congress organisations was highly objectionable as it defeated the object of the AISA s new policy of giving a minimum living wage to the spinner The Committee therefore passed the following resolution for the guidance of the Congress men, Congress organisations and Congress governments

Resolution

The Working Committee is of opinion that the policy adopted by the All India Spinners' Association and the efforts made by it to secure adequate wages to the spinners and other artisans engaged in Khadi work are of great importance as being conducive to the welfare of the rural population and likely to pave the way for a proper wage standard for them The Committee, therefore, considers it to be the duty of all Congress organisations and Congress men to offer wholehearted co-operation and support to the Association and its affiliated organisations in order to make this policy a success

The Committee expresses its strong disapproval of the harmful activities of uncertified producers and dealers who have been exploiting the growing demand for khadi by offering cheaper stuff produced with the help of low and inadequate wages and who have been misleading those Congress organisations and Congress men as have not yet become aware of the difference between genuine khadi produced by the AISA and its affiliated organisations and the cheaper stuff offered by uncertified producers and dealers The Committee, therefore, considers it necessary to lay down

following instructions for the guidance of Congress organisations Congress men and all those who are interested in the development of genuine khadi

1 In the opinion of the Congress 'khadi' means only such khadi as is produced by its own organisation, *viz*, the AISA and the institutions certified by it and all Congress organisations and Congress men should use and advise others to use only such khadi

2 Congress men should refrain from performing opening ceremonies of, or participating in the functions of or doing anything that would directly or indirectly give encouragement to such institutions, exhibitions or shops as sell or spread the use of uncertified khadi

3 No Congress organisation or Congress man should have any dealings under the name of khadi in any cloth other than khadi that is prduced by the AISA or the organisations certified by it

Communists and Congress Elective Bodies

Shri Sundarayya from Andhra filing his candidature for election as delegate had declared that he held communistic views Not only this, but he declared that as a follower of Marx and Lenin he believed that in last resort violence will have to be used for the attainment of independence He was therefore debarred from contesting election as a delegate The Committee in this connection gave the following ruling

'If a person who accepts Article I of the Congress Constitution and in token thereof signs the membership form and otherwise fulfils such other conditions of membership as may exist at the time he is entitled to become a Congress member and has a right to stand as a candidate for an elective office provided further he fulfils such other requirements as are laid down for the prupose It should be clearly understood however that every activity leading to promotion of violence is a violation of Article (1) of the Constitution and therefore renders a person indulging in such activity liable to disqualification '

In the light of this opinion of the Committee Shri Sundarayya's case was to be decided by the Andhra PCC

28

Calcutta, Working Committee Meeting, 1 May 1939[1]

A meeting of the Working Committee was held in Calcutta at Maulana Azad's residence on May 1, 1939 Babu Rajendra Prasad presided

The members present were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shrimati Sarojini Naidu Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Shris Bhulabhai Desai, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Shankerrao Dev, Harekrishna Mehtab, Profulla Chandra Ghosh, B C Roy and J B Kripalani Shri Jawaharlal Nehru was also present

Resolutions on the following subjects to be placed before the AICC were drafted and adopted

(1) Condolence (2) War Danger and Amendment of the India Act (3) Reform in the Congress Machinery (4) Bengal Political Prisoners (5) Kenya Highlands

[1]A M Zaidi and S G Zaidi (eds), *The Encyclopaedia of the Indian Nationa Congress*, Vol XII, op cit p 174

29

Bombay, Working Committee Meeting, 21-27 June 1939[1]

A meeting of the Working Committee was held in Bombay from 21st to 27th June, 1939 Shri Rajendra Prasad presided The members present were

(1) Shrimati Sarojini Naidu, (2) Shri Vallabhbhai Patel (3) Shri Pattabhi Sitaramayya, (4) Shri Jairamdas Daulatram, (5) Shri Bhulabhai Desai (6) Shri Shankerrao Dev, (7) Shri Bidhan Chandra Roy, (8) Shri Harekrishna Mehtab, (9) Shri Profulla Chandra Ghosh, (10) Shri J B Kripalani

Shris Jawaharlal Nehru and Rajagopalacharya were present by special invitation

Minutes

The minutes of the last meeting held at Calcutta were confirmed

Constitution Committee's Report

The report was considered and generally approved of A few minor changes were suggested In deference to the wishes of certain minorities within the Congress the amendment to Clause 5 (C) which included other organisations along with Communal Organisations to be banned if their activities were in the opinion of the Working Committee anti national and in conflict with those of the Congress, was dropped (Note The Constitution as it was finally amended and adopted at the AICC is published separately)

Time Table

The Following timetable for the enrolment of Primary Members and for the various Congress elections for the year was adopted

1	Congress Session	Last week of December 1939
2	Announcement of President's Election	December 3, 1939
3	Meeting of Delegates to elect President and AICC members	November 29 1939
4	Presidential nominations upto	November 15, 1939
5	Election of delegates	November 8, 1939
6	Last date of enrolement	September 15, 1939

Parliamentary Sub-Committee

The appointment of the Parliamentary Sub Committee made by the President is confirmed

The Members of the Sub-Committee are Shri Rajendra Prasad, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Shri Vallabhbhai Patel (Chairman)

[1]*Ibid*, pp 174-6

Nagpur PCC

The Committee sanctioned the change of the Nagpur PCC office from Wardha to Nagpur

Appointment of the Tribunals

July 31st was fixed by the Committee as the last date by which the Provincial and the local Tribunals in terms of Article VIII Cl 6 of the new Constitution were to be appointed

Assam Assembly

The Committee decided that in the by-election from Sylhet for the Assam Assembly the candidate for the seat must be nominated by the Assam PCC on the recommendation of the Sylhet District Congress Committee If, however, the two Committees—the Assam PCC and the Sylhet DCC differed about the selection of the candidate the final decision will lie with the Parliamentary Sub-Committee

Khadi Clause

It was decided that the ruling given by Ex-President, Shri Vallabhbhai Patel, and endorsed by the Working Committee at its meeting held at Patna in December 1934 when he was the President, should be adhered to as also the resolution passed by the Working Committee at their meeting at Jubbulpore, April 1935

Planning Committee

The Committee had been given 6 months to finish its labours But the Chairman, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru approached the President for extension of time upto the end of March 1940 as it was impossible for the Committee to finish its labours before that date The period of the work of the Planning Committee has therefore been extended to 31st March, 1940

30

Wardha, Working Committee Meeting, 9-12 August 1939[1]

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Wardha under the presidentship of Shri Rajendra Prasad from August 9 to 12 1939

The members present were Smt Sarojini Naidu, Shris Vallabhbhai Patel, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Bhulabhai J Desai, Shankerrao Dev, Bidhan Chandra Roy, Harekrishna Mehtab, Profulla Chandra Ghosh and J B Kripalani

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru was present by special invitation Gandhiji attended the afternoon sittings every day

Minutes

The Minutes of the last meeting were confirmed

[1]*Ibid*, pp 176-88

Budget

The following budget for the year 1939-40 was passed

Budget estimates for the period from October 1, 1939 to September 30, 1940, of the AICC office Allahabad

Receipts

Heads of Receipts	Estimated Receipts Rs	a	p
1 Surplus from Congress Sessions			
2 Purse and General Fund Collections	1,000	0	0
3 Provincial Contributions	6,000	0	0
4 AICC Membership Fee	3,500	0	0
5 Delegates Fees	10,000	0	0
6 Interest	4 000	0	0
7 Sale Proceeds of Publications	500	0	0
8 Excess of Expenditure over Income	8,450	0	0
Total	33,450	0	0

Expenditure

Head of Expenditure	Estimate of Expenditure Rs	a	p
1 Establishment—			
Allahabad Office	16 000	0	0
Treasurer's Office	600	0	0
2 Postage and Telegrams	3,300	0	0
3 Stationery	1,500	0	0
4 Printing (Office and Bulletins)	1,500	0	0
5 Travelling Expences —			
General	5 000	0	0
Parliamentary Sub Committee	1,000	0	0
6 Rents and Taxes (Electricity)	500	0	0
7 Telephone Charges	400	0	0
8 Furniture	500	0	0
9 Library	800	0	0
10 Repairs to Swaraj Bhawan	1,000	0	0
11 Miscellaneous	1,000	0	0
12 Provident Fund Contribution	350	0	0
Total	33,450	0	0

Congress Exhibitions

The opinion of the Committee was that any exhibitions organised by Congress Committees must be organised on the lines of the Congress policy as defined in the Working Committee's resolution on *Swadeshi* passed at Benares in 1934, coupled with the Congress resolution on Exhibitions and Demonstrations passed at the Bombay session, that is exhibitions by Congress Committees be organised jointly by the local branches of the All India Spinners' Association and the All India Village Industries Association

Benares, July 27 to 30, 1934

The Working Committee is of opinion that the activities of Congress organisations relating to *Swadeshi* shall be restricted to useful articles

manufactured in India through cottage and other small industries which are in need of popular education for their support and which will accept the guidance of the Congress organisations in regulating prices and in the matter of the wages and welfare of labour under their control

Bombay Session, October 26-28, 1934 — Exhibitions and Demonstrations

Inasmuch as it is desirable to free the Reception Committee from the distraction and expenses attendant upon the organisation of exhibitions and spectacular demonstrations that take place at the annual sessions of the Congress and as these make it impossible for smaller places to invite the Congress, the Reception Committees shall henceforth be relieved of the task of organising exhibitions and spectacular demonstrations But as exhibitions and spectacular demonstrations are a necessary part of the annual national gathering, the duty of organising these is hereby entrusted to the All India Spinners Association and the All India Village Industries' Association which bodies shall organise these functions as to combine instruction with entertainment of the general public especially of the villagers, with the view to illustrate and popularise the activities of the two associations and generally to demonstrate the potentiality of village life

Disciplinary Action—Shri A N Udhoji, MLA, C P

Read the letter of Shri A N Udhoji of July 20, 1939 in reply to the President's letter calling for an explanation of his conduct as a member of the C P Legislative Assembly

In view of the gross misconduct of Shri Udhoji in the C P Assembly and further in view of his attempt to justify his conduct by casting aspersions on the Congress organisation and prominent Congress men with intent to discredit the Congress and injure the Congress work this Committee is of opinion that Shri Udhoji has shown himself unfit for membership of the Congress Resolved therefore that his name be struck off the Congress Roll of Primary members and he be removed from all Congress Offices which he might be holding as a member of the Congress He will not be eligible to be enrolled as a primary member of the Congress for a period of three years from today Further he be called upon to resign from the membership of the C P Legislative Assembly to which he was elected on behalf of the Congress

This resolution be communicated to the Leader of the Congress party in the C P Assembly and the President of the Nagpur PCC for necessary action

Shri Subhas Bose

The Working Committee has given the most anxious consideration to the action of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose, the erstwhile President of the Indian National Congress in connection with two resolutions of the last meeting of the AICC known as '*Satyagraha* in provinces and 'Congress Ministries and the PCCs' The Working Committee has also considered the long letter of Shri Subhas Babu appended hereto The Working Committere with great sorrow and reluctance has come to the conclusion that Subhas Babu has wholly missed the main point raised by the President of the Congress as clearly set forth in his declaration also appended hereto As ex-President he should have also realised that after having received preemptory instructions from the President it was his clear duty as a servant of the nation to obey them implicitly even though he differed from the ruling of the President It was open to him, if he felt aggrieved by the ruling, to appeal to the Working Committee or the AICC But he was bound, so long as the President's instructions stood, to carry them out faithfully This is the first condition of the proper functioning of any organisation, much more so of

a vast organisation like the National Congress which is engaged in a life and death struggle with the best organised and most powerful imperialistic corporation in the world If, what seems to be Subhas Babu's contention in his letter, that every member is free to interpret the Congress Constitution as he likes prevails, there will be perfect anarchy in the Congress and it must break to pieces in no time

The Working Committee has come to the painful conclusion that it will fail in its duty if it condones the deliberate and flagrant breach of discipline by Subhas Babu The Working Committee therefore resolves that for his grave act of indiscipline, Shri Subhas Babu is declared disqualified as President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and to be a member of any elective Congress Committee for three years as from August 1939 The Working Committee trusts that Shri Subhas Babu will see the error of his ways and loyally submit to this diciplinary action

The Working Committee has taken note of the indiscipline of many other Congress men including responsible officials But it has refrained from taking any action as the members acted under the inspiration of Shri Subhas Babu The Working Committee however, leaves it open to Provincial organisations to take action if they think it necessary for the proper observance of discipline and especially if the offending members do not express regret for their indiscipline

The Committee further empowers the President to take disciplinary action against such members who instead of expressing regret by their speech or conduct for the indiscipline, persist in it

Ceylon

The Committee having considered the situation in Ceylon as placed before them by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru after his recent visit to the Island, passed the following resolution

> The Working Committee, having considered the report of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on his visit to Ceylon, as the representative of the Congress, to explore all possible means of bringing about a just and honourable settlement on questions relating to the Indian employees of the Ceylon Government, desire to record their appreciation of his labours and the success that has attended them in bringing the peoples of India and Ceylon near to each other The Committee regret, however that the Ceylon Government have not thought it fit to make any major change in the measures they had proposed in order to remove a large number of Indians from their employment under the Government, though the Committee are aware that assurances have been given that all cases of hardship will be carefully considered by the Government The Committee regretfully feel that the action of the Ceylon Government in respect of these measures is not in conformity with justice or international practice
>
> Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has drawn attention in his report to the background of the problem which Ceylon has to face, to the new spirit of nationalism and the mass awakening that is following in its wake, and to the economic distress and unemployment which Ceylon, like every other country, has to deal with The Working Committee desire to assure the people of Ceylon of every sympathy with this national awakening and of every desire to co operate in the solution of economic and other problems which afflict Ceylon and India alike Standing as they do for the ending of imperialism and all exploitation in their own country they must apply this same principle to other countries also, and more specially to Ceylon which is not only a near neighbour but which has been connected with India from time immemorial by links which cannot break While the Committee desire and

expect that every Indian who goes abroad will be treated honourably and with justice, they do not want Indians to go anywhere as unwanted outsiders who exploit the people of the country The Committee recognise the right of the people of Ceylon to be given preference in state service or otherwise in their country and are fully prepared to co-operate in this

Of the hundres of thousands of Indians who have gone to Ceylon and by their labour on the land and elsewhere produced wealth and increased the riches of the country, the great majority have settled down there and made Ceylon their homeland They have thus earned the right to be considered on a par with the other inhabitants of the island and to have all the privileges and to shoulder all the responsibilities of citizenship The other Indians, who have not been there for so long, have also given of their labour and service to Ceylon and deserve consideration and just treatment The Committee is prepared to co-operate in all steps to adjust relationship so as to give every opportunity to the people of Ceylon to advance and find self fulfilment But such steps when they affect two parties must not be taken unilaterally and should take into consideration the interests of those who, for no fault of their own, find themselves in their present situations

The Committee are convinced that for historical, geographical, cultural and economic reasons the fate of Ceylon is linked with that of India, and are desirous of strengthening these bonds for the mutual advantage of the two countries In view, however, of the circumstances that have arisen they are of opinion that all future emigration of labour from India to Ceylon must be completely stopped and they welcome the decision of the Government of India to this effect Because of this stoppage of emigration, there is no longer any necessity for an emigration dept and the Mandapam dept should therefore be closed In any event it is undesirable for a dept of this kind on Indian soil to be in charge of the Ceylon Government

Condolence

This committee expresses its deep sorrow over the sudden demise of Shri Toram Ram Phookan, who had led Assam in the struggle for national freedom and rendered invaluable services to his province and to the nation in various capacities for a period of over twenty years

War Preparation

The Working Committee have given their earnest consideration to the critical international situation and to the danger of war that overhangs the world In this world crisis the sympathies of the Working Committee are entirely with the peoples who stand for democracy and freedom and the Congress has repeatedly condemned fascist aggression in Europe, Africa and the Far East of Asia as well as the betrayal of democracy by British Imperialism in Czechoslovakia and Spain The Congress has further clearly enunciated its policy in the evemt of war and declared its determination to oppose all attempts to impose a war on India The Committee is bound by this policy of the Congress and will give effect to it so as to prevent the exploitation of Indian resources for imperialist ends The past policy of the British Government as well as the recent developments, demonstrate abundantly that this Government does not stand for freedom and democracy and may at any time betray these ideals India cannot associate herself with such a Government or be asked to give her resources for democratic freedom which is denied to her and which is likely to be betrayed

At its meeting held in Calcutta on May 1, 1939, the All India Congress Committee reiterated this policy of the Congress and expressed its disapproval of the despatch of Indian troops to foreign countries In spite of this clear expression of opinion, the British Government has sent, or is sending Indian troops to Egypt

and Singapore against the declared will of the Indian people Even apart from the War situation, the Central Legislative Assembly has previously declared that no Indian troops should be sent abroad without the consent of the Legislature The British Government has thus flouted the declarations of the Congress and the Assembly and has taken steps which might inevitably lead to India's entanglement in a war It has furhter prolonged the life of the Central Assembly by another year The Working Committee cannot accept these decisions of the British Government and must not only dissociate themselves from them but also take such steps as may be necessary to give effect to the Congress policy As a first step to this end the Committee calls upon all Congress members of the Central Legislative Assembly to refrain from attending the next session of the Assembly

The Committee further remind Provincial Governments to assist in no way the war preparations of the British Government and to keep in mind the policy laid down by the Congress to which they must adhere If the carrying out of this policy leads to the resignations or removal of the Congress Ministries they must be prepared for this contingency

In the event of a war crisis leading to danger to any part of India from the air or otherwise it may be necessary for protective measures to be taken The Committee will be prepared to encourage such measures if they are within the control of popular Ministries in the provinces The Committee is, however not agreeable to such protective measures being used as a cloak for war preparations under the control of the Imperial Government

Bengal Political Prisoners

The Working Committee are thankful that the hunger striking Prisoners of Dum Dum and Alipore Jails have suspended their strike for two months The Working Committee hope that the Bengal Government will duly appreciate the admirable restraint exhibited by the prisoners and appeals to them to honour the Indiawide demand for the early and unconditional release

The Working Committee also appeal to the Punjab Government and the Central Government, where the latter are concerned to release all the political prisoners within their jurisdiction, especially as these have abjured violence

The Working Committee express its strong conviction that it is wrong on the part of prisoners, political or otherwise, to resort to hunger strike for their release The Working Committee is of opinion that if prisoners can secure discharge by hunger strikes, orderly Government will become impossible

South Africa

The Working Committee congratulates the Passive Resisters of South Africa on their restraint in staying action in the hope of an honourable settlement The Working Committee appeals to the Union Government not to put the Indian settlers of South Africa to the severe test of suffering for the sake of merely retaining the democratic rights which were twice guaranteed to them Should, however, all attempts at an honourable settlement fail, the Working Committee assures the Passive Resisters that the whole of India will support them in their struggle

Prohibition in Bombay

The Working Committee congratulate the Bombay Government and the people of Bombay on the happy inauguration of prohibition in Bombay accompanied as it was by the magnificent demonstration in which all Bombay participated

The Working Committee call upon the Ministries in the Provinces with a Congress majority to speed up prohibition so as to complete the programme within the time prescribed by the Working Committee and where they have demonstrable financial difficulty to call upon the Central Government to make up the deficit

Harijan Temple Entry

The Working Committee congratulate the Madras Government on the determination in the face of difficulties with which they have passed the absolutely necessary legislation removing legal obstacles in the way of *Harijans* entering Hindu temples for worship, and more especially congratulate the vast body of the orthodox Hindu public who have co-operated with the trustees of the celebrated Meenakshi Temple of Madura and of other temples in opening these to *Harijans* The Working Committee hopes that this noble example will be followed by the trustees and worshippers of other temples

Shri D P Misra

About 11 Congress MLAs from Central Provinces had brought certain charges against Shri D P Misra, Minister of Local Self-Government, C P The Committee called their representatives Shris Kedar and P B Gole, and heard them about these charges at some length As they wanted to produce evidence to substantiate the charges, the Working Committee appointed Shri Bhulabhai Desai to investigate the allegations and to favour the Committee with his opinion

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Wardha, Working Committee Meeting, 8-15 September 1939[1]

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Wardha from September 8 to 15, 1939 Sri Rajendra Prasad presided

The members present were, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Smt Sarojini Naidu, Shris Vallabhbhai Patel, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Jairamdas Daulatram Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Bhulabhai J Desai, Bidhan Chandra Roy, Shankerrao Dev, Harekrishna Mehtab, Profulla Chandra Ghosh and J B Kripalani

Shris M K Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose, M S Aney,Narendra Deo, Jaiprakash Narain were present by special invitation The invitees were present during the discussions of the main question of war crisis and India's attitude towards it

Minutes

The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed

Delhi PCC

The following decision was taken in the matter of the composition of the Delhi PCC

> The Delhi Provincial Congress Committee consists of 40 members of whom 15 are elected delegates and the remaining 25 are the additional members whoare elected The District Congress Committee consists of 100 members In the constitution there is no provision as to how the 25 members have to be elected but the procedure that has been followed with the assent of the All India Congress Committee Office has been to

[1] *Ibid*, pp 188-99

allow them to be elected by the 100 members of the District Committee by the method of single transferable vote This procedure has been adopted with a view to enable all parties to be represented in proportion to their numbers in the District Committee

After the election of the delegates in January 1939 and before the presidential election some of the delegates approached the then President, Sri Subhas Chandra Bose asking for ruling from him in favour of the method of co-option of the 25 members of the PCC by the 15 delegates The PCCwhich was then functioning had no information about this Amongst the delegates out of 15 nine members belong to one group and 6 to another group On the day when the meeting for the election of the President was held and when AICC members were to be elected a ruling from the then President Sri Subhas Chandra Bose was produced to the effect that the 25 members should be co opted by the 15 delegates The nine delegates decided to have a meeting of the delegates for purpose of co option The General Secretary of the PCC protested against the change in the procedure and the ruling given by the then President but it was pointed out that the ruling was justified by the practice in other provinces In accordance with that ruling 9 delegates co-opted the 25 members of the PCC The other six members did not participate They have filed an appeal to the Working Committee challenging the validity of the formation of the new Provincial Congress Committee

This could not be taken up by the Working Committee on account of the Working Committee not being in existence for sometime and later on an explanation had to be called for from the Provincial Office The question is whether the delegates whose number is 15 are entitled to co opt 25 members to the Provincial Congress Committee It is admitted that there is no such rule in the Constitution of the Province There is no doubt also that the practice in the province has been to allow the members of the District Committee whose number is 100 to elect the 25 members The only question then is whether any practice in any other province can override the practice of the Delhi Province It is true that in Bombay and Nagpur the delegates co opt the additional members of the Provincial Congress Committee but there is distinct provision in their rules permitting such co option and the number of members co opted is very much less than the number of delegates Here in Delhi there is no rule and 15 members, if the contention is correct co opted 25 members As a matter of fact it was not even 15 members who co opted but only 9 who co opted the 25 members

In the opinion of the Committee this cannot be justified either under the rules or in principle The co option of the 25 members is therefore set aside and the District Congress Committee is directed to elect the 25 members to the Provincial Congress Committee by the method of single transferable vote as early as possible The Secretary will take early steps to see that the Provincial Congress Committee is reconstituted in accordance with this decision It may be added that a letter was addressed to the Secretary of the PCC on August 10 1939 asking for any explanation that the Committee might have to offer in regard to the points raised in the appeal and a copy of the letters addressed to this Committee was also enclosed but no explanation has been received

AICC Fund

The Committee decided that the AICC fund in Bengal created from the contributions of the Congress members of the legislature lying in deposit with the leader of the Congress Legislative Party be transferred to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad who may hold it on behalf of the AICC

Bengal PCC

A meeting of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee was held on August 30 1939 at which a resolution was adopted by it This resolution reviews two decisions of this Committee—one relating to disciplinary action which it felt obliged to take against its President and the other declaring null and void the proceedings of the meeting of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee held on July 26 1939 and the appointment of the Provincial Tribunal The resolution refers to many other matters which are wholly irrelevant to the decisions and in effect it refuses to give effect to the decision of the Working Committee It further calls upon elective Congress Committees in the Province to hold special meetings to give their opinion on the two resolutions

The Working Committee note with regret that not only the tone and temper of the resolution but also its contents are objectionable in the extreme, wholly unbecoming of a Provincial Committee in its relations to the Working Committee and such as would entitle this Committee to take serious notice of them

The reasons for the decisions which this Committee reluctantly took were fully stated and need not be repeated here The Committee sees no reason to revise them It desires to point out however that the action it took was called for in the interests of the Congress organisation which requires not only unity in Congress ranks but also discipline and obedience to its resolutions

It is accordingly resolved that the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee be called upon to give effect to the resolution of this Committee by electing a President The election of President is required also under the rules of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee according to which the Provincial Committee will remain incomplete without a President

Bengal Election Tribunal

The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee had failed to appoint an election Tribunal in terms of the Congress Constitution The Working Committee had therefore to appoint the Tribunal The President, however wrote to the Secretary, Bengal PCC that in spite of failure of the PCC to appoint the Tribunal if at that stage even the Secretary could suggest names for the Tribunal which were approved of by all the parties in the Bengal PCC, he would advise the Working Committee to appoint them At Wardha where the leaders of the different Congress groups in Bengal were present the President called the Secretary of the Bengal PCC who was also there and made to him the same proposal for the formation of the Tribunal The Secretary however could give no agreed list The Working Committee was therefore, constrained to appoint the Bengal Election Tribunal in terms of the Congress Constitution consisting of the following

1. Sri Satischandra Das Gupta
2. Sri Kishitish Prasad Chatterji
3. Sri Priyaranjan Sen

Utkal Election Tribunal

The Province of Utkal had failed to appoint its election tribunal in terms of the Constitution The Working Committee therefore appointed one in terms of the constitution consisting of Sri Gopabandhu Choudhry and Sri Harihardas about whom there had been general agreement in the Provincial Executive Council

Obituary—Rev U Ottama

The Committee express their deep sorrow on the death of the Rev U Ottama who for years represented the Province of Burma on the All India Congress Committee and rendered valuable services in the cause of Indian freedom

Complaint Against Shri D P Misra

The Working Committee had appointed Sri Bhulabhai Desai to look into the complaint, take the necessary evidence and report to the Working Committee He went to Nagpur but after a couple of days' inquiry Sri Kedar and his companions withdrew from the inquiry Sri Kedar sent a long statement to President giving reasons for their withdrawal and requesting him to grant an independent inquiry by a person of the position of a High Court Judge The Committee was of the view that what the complainants wanted was unreasonable The appointment of Sri Bhulabhai Desai had been with their consent They had themselves withdrawn from the inquiry without sufficient reason Any further decision in this matter was left to the President

Sri Chintamani Misra

In view of the report of Sri Rajendra Prasad on the charges brought against the Premier of Orissa by Sri Chintamani Misra, Office Secretary of Utkal PCC, this Committee calls upon Sri Chintamani Misra to offer full and frank apology for the charges which he had made and which have been found to be false and to resign his office from the Executive Committee of the Utkal PCC

Ajmer PCC

The Working Committee decided that the instructions of the General Secretary were to be carried out by the Ajmer PCC that is office bearers were to call a meeting of the PCC to decide the question about the vote of confidence in the President The Committee also decided that when the meeting of the PCC was called, an official from the AICC office should be present to observe the proceedings All those who were the members of the PCC before the present dispute arose were to be invited to participate Members who were disentitled to attend in terms of the Congress Constitution for failure to wear khadi etc may be precluded from participating in the meeting by the officer deputed by the AICC office

War Crisis

The Working Committee have given their earnest consideration to the grave crisis that has developed owing to the declaration of war in Europe The principles which should guide the nation in the event of war have been repeatedly laid down by the Congress, and only a month ago this Committee reiterated them and expressed their displeasure at the flouting of Indian opinion by the British Government in India As a first step to dissociate themselves from this policy of the British Government, the Committee called upon the Congress members of the Central Legislative Assembly to refrain from attending the next session Since then the British Government have declared India as a belligerent country, promulgated Ordinances, passed the Government of India Act Amending Bill, and taken other far-reaching measures which affect the Indian people vitally and circumscribe and limit the powers and activities of the Provincial Governments This has been done without the consent of the Indian people whose declared wishes in such matters have been deliberately ignored by the British Government The Working Committee must take the gravest view of these developments

The Congress has repeatedly declared its entire disapproval of the ideology and practice of Fascism and Nazism and their glorification of war and violence and the suppression of the human spirit It has condemned the aggression in which they have repeatedly indulged and their sweeping away of well established principles and recognised standards of civilised behaviour It has seen in Fascism and Nazism the intensification of the principles of Imperialism against which the Indian people have struggled for many years The Working Committee must therefore unhesitatingly condemn the latest aggression of the Nazi Government in Germany against Poland and sympathise with those who resist it

The Congress has further laid down that the issue of war and peace for India must be decided by the Indian people and no outside authority can impose this decision upon them, nor can the Indian people permit their resources to be exploited for imperialist ends Any imposed decision, or attempt to use India's resources, for purposes not approved by them will necessarily have to be opposed by them If co operation is desired in a worthy cause, this cannot be obtained by compulsion and imposition and the Committee cannot agree to the carrying out by the Indian people of orders issued by external authority Co operation must be between equals by mutual consent for a cause which both consider to be worthy The people of India have in the recent past, faced great risks and willingly made great sacrifices to secure their own freedom and establish a free democratic state in India, and their sympathy is entirely on the side of democracy and freedom But India cannot associate herself in a war said to be for democratic freedom when that very freedom is denied to her, and such limited freedom as she possesses, taken away from her

The Committee are aware that the Governments of Great Britain and France have declared that they are fighting for democracy and freedom and to put an end to aggression But the history of the recent past is full of examples showing the constant divergence between the spoken words, the ideals proclaimed, and the real motives and objective During the war of 1914-18 the declared war aims were preservation of democracy, self determination, and the freedom of small nations, and yet the very Governments which solemnly proclaimed these aims entered into secret treaties embodying imperialist designs for the carving up of the Ottoman empire While stating that they did not want any acquisition of territory, the victorious Powers added largely to their colonial domains The present European war itself signifies the abject failure of the treaty of Versailles and of its makers, who broke their pledged word and imposed an imperialist peace on the defeated nations The one hopeful outcome of that Treaty the League of Nations, was muzzled and strangled at the outset and later killed by its parent states

Subsequent history has demonstrated afresh how even a seemingly fervent declaration of faith may be followed by an ignoble desertion In Manchuria the British government connived at aggression, in Abyssinia they acquiesced in it In Czechoslovakia and Spain democracy was in peril and it was deliberately betrayed, and the whole system of collective security was sabotaged by the very powers who had previously declared their firm faith in it

Again it is asserted that democracy is in danger and must be defended and with this statement the Committee are in entire agreement The committee believe that the peoples of the West are moved by this ideal and objective and for these they are prepared to make sacrifices But again and again the ideals and sentiments of the people and of those who have sacrificed themselves in the struggle have been ignored and faith has not been kept with them

If the war is to defend the status quo, imperialist possessions, colonies, vested interests and privilege, then India can have nothing to do with it If, however, the issue is democracy and a world order based on democracy, then

India is intensely interested in it The Committee are convinced that the interests of Indian democracy do not conflict with the interests of British democracy or of world democracy But there is an inherent and ineradicable conflict between democracy for India or elsewhere and imperialism and fascism If Great Britain fights for the maintenance and extension of democracy, then she must necessarily end imperialism in her possessions establish full democracy in India, and the Indian people must have the right of self determination by framing their own constitution through a Constituent Assembly without external interference and must guide her own policy A free democratic India will gladly associate herself with other free nations for mutual defence against aggression and for economic co-operation She will work for the establishment of a real world order based on freedom and democracy, utilising the world s knowledge and resources for the progress and advancement of humanity

The crisis that has overtaken Europe is not of Europe only but of humanity and will not pass like other crises or wars leaving the essential structure of the present day world intact It is likely to refashion the world for good or ill politically socially and economically This crisis is the inevitable consequence of the social and political conflicts and contradictions which have grown alarmingly since the last Great War, and it will not be finally resolved till these conflicts and contradictions are removed and a new equilibrium establised That equilibrium can only be based on the ending of the domination and exploitation of one country by another and on a reorganisation of economic relations on a juster basis for the common good of all India is the crux of the problem, for India has been the outstanding example of modern imperialism and no refashioning of the world can succeed which ignores this vital problem With her vast resources she must play an important part in any scheme of world reorganisation But she can only do so as a free nation whose energies have been released to work for this great end Freedom today is indivisible and every attempt to retain imperialist domination in any part of the world will lead inevitably to fresh disaster

The Working Committee have noted that many rulers of Indian states have offered their services and resources and expressed their desire to support the cause of democracy in Europe If they must make their professions in favour of democracy abroad the Committee would suggest that their first concern should be the introduction of democracy within their own states in which today undiluted autocracy reigns supreme The British Government in India is more responsible for this autocracy than even the rulers themselves as has been made painfully evident during the past year This policy is the very negation of democracy and of the new world order for which Great Britain claims to be fighting in Europe

As the Working Committee view past events in Europe, Africa and Asia, and more particularly past and present occurrences in India, they fail to find any attempt to advance the cause of democracy or self-determination or any evidence that the present war declarations of the British Government are being or are going to be acted upon The true measure of democracy is the ending of imperialism and fascism alike and the aggression that has accompanied them in the past and the present Only on that basis can a new order be built up In the struggle for that new world order the Committee are eager and desirous to help in every way But the Committee cannot associate themselves or offer any co operation in a war which is conducted on imperialist lines and which is meant to consolidate imperialism in India and elsewhere

In view, however, of the gravity of the occasion and the fact that the pace of events during the last few days has often been swifter than the working of men's minds the Committee desire to take no final decision at this stage, so

as to allow for the full elucidation of the issues at stake the real objectives aimed at, and the position of India in the present and in the future But the decision cannot long be delayed as India is being committed from day to day to a policy to which she is not a party and of which she disapproves

The Working Committee therefore invite the British Government to declare in unequivocal terms what their war aims are in regard to democracy and imperialism and the new order that is envisaged, in particular how these aims are going to apply to India and to be given effect to in the present Do they include the elimination of imperialism and the treatment of India as a free nation whose policy will be guided in accordance with the wishes of her people? A clear declaration about the future pledging the government to the ending of Imperialism and Fascism alike will be welcomed by the people of all countries, but it is far more important to give immediate effect to it to the largest possible extent, for only this will convince the people that the declaration is meant to be honoured The real test of any declaration is its application in the present for it is the present that will govern action today and give shape to the future

War has broken out in Europe and the prospect is terrible to contemplate But war has been taking its heavy toll of human life during recent years in Abyssinia Spain and China Innumerable innocent men women and children have been bombed to death from the air in open cities cold blooded massacres, torture and utmost humiliation have followed each other in quick succession during these years of horror That horror grows and violence and the threat of violence shadow the world and unless checked and ended will destroy the precious inheritance of past ages That horror has to be checked in Europe and China but it will not end till its root causes of fascism and imperialism are removed To that end the Working Committee are prepared to give their co operation But it will be infinite tragedy if even this terrible war is carried on in the spirit of imperialism and for the purpose of retaining this structure which is itself the cause of war and human degradation

The Working Committee wish to declare that the Indian people have no quarrel with the German people or the Japanese people or any other people But they have a deep rooted quarrel with systems which deny freedom and are based on violence and aggression They do not look forward to a victory of one people over another or to a dictated peace but to a victory of real democracy for all the people of all countries and a world freed from the nightmare of violence and imperalist oppression

The Committee earnestly appeal to the Indian people to end all internal conflict and controversy and, in this grave hour of peril to keep in readiness and hold together as a united nation calm of purpose and determined to achieve the freedom of India within the larger freedom of the world

AICC Meeting

The Committee were of the opinion that this momentous question of the war crisis should be referred to the AICC for any final decision It was therefore decided that a meeting of the AICC be called at Wardha on October 7, 1939 and subsequent days

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru

The President nominated Shri Jawaharlal Nehru as a member of the Working Committee

War Committee

In view of the situation arising out of the European War and statement thereon issued by the Working Committee, the Committee hereby appoint a Sub-Committee consisting of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru (Chairman), Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Shri Vallabhbhai Patel to deal with the question in connection with the situation

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Wardha, Working Committee Meeting, 7-11 October 1939[1]

A meeting of the Working Committee was held from October 7 to 11 at Wardha Shri Rajendra Prasad presided

Members present were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Smt Sarojini Naidu Shris Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Jamnalal Bajaj, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Jairamdas Daulatram, Bhulabhai Desai, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Bidhan Chandra Roy, Shankerrao Dev, Profulla Chandra Ghosh, Harekrishna Mehtab and J B Kripalani

Shris Narendra Deo and Jaiprakash Narain were present by special invitation Maulvi Mufti Kifayatullah though invited could not be present owing to reasons of health Gandhiji was present throughout the sittings of the Working Committee

Minutes

The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed

Accounts

(a) China Fund Resolved that the money spent upon motor ambulance and other equipments as medicine etc in connection with the China Unit be written off

(b) Spanish Relief Fund Resolved that the sum of Rs 323-5-3 standing to the credit of this account be transferred to the China Account

War Situation

The situation arising out of the European war was discussed and two resolutions dealing with 'War Crisis' and 'Congress and Elections' were adopted to be placed before the meeting of the AICC as official resolutions For the text of the resolutions as they were finally passed by the AICC, see the Wardha AICC Proceedings

Provincial Constitution

The Constitutions of the Provinces of Gujrat, Kerala, Andhra Mahakoshal, were placed before the Working Committee and approved

N W F P

The NWFP PCC had made a rule that no member of the Congress can form a group inside or outside the Congress or carry on hostile propaganda against it or describe himself by any other name than that of a Khudai

[1] *Ibid*, pp 199 201

Khidmatgar or Congress man This rule was sent for the sanction of the Working Committee The Committee gave the following decision in the matter

'The Working Committee considered the new rule framed by the Frontier PCC recommending the addition of a proviso to Article IV of their constitution The Committee understand that the object of the proposed amendment is to secure uniformity of policy and practice among Congress men in the province and to ensure conformity to discipline The Committee realise that the Frontier PCC has to face peculiar difficulties in the carrying on of its work in view of the special circumstances prevailing in the province, and it is necessary to maintain discipline and to prevent disruptive tendencies from developing Such discipline and unity of effort are all the more necessary because of the grave crisis that confronts the country and which necessitates full preparation for united action

'The Committee are of opinion that the object aimed at by the proposed amendment can be achieved by the PCC taking disciplinary action against any Congress man who commits a breach of the fundamental policy of the Congress or who deliberately acts in such a way as to bring discredit on the Congress The PCC has power under the constitution to take such disciplinary action The proposed amendment to Article IV of the Provincial constitution will thus be unnecessary

'The Committee expect all Congress men in the Province to help Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the acknowledged and unrivalled leader of the Province in the difficult task that confronts him

The organisation of the Khudai Khidmatgars is Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's own creation and it has done signal service to the people of the province under his leadership In 1931, at Khan Sahab's suggestion this organisation of non-violent volunteers became part of the Congress organisation The *Khudai Khidmatgars* have ever since then been the volunteer organisation of the Congress in the Frontier Province under the supreme command of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan Their function is to serve the public and the Congress cause in the province and, if they are to retain their efficiency they must remain under his command and subject to his discipline Congress men in the Frontier Province should not form or associate themselves with any volunteer organisation other than the *Khudai Khidmatgars* It is open to the Khudai Khidmatgars to have a pledge for their members in keeping with Congress policy

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Wardha, Working Committee Meeting, 22-23 October 1939[1]

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Wardha on Ocotber 22 and 23, 1939 Shri Rajendra Prasad presided

Members present were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Smt Sarojini Naidu, Shris Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Jairamdas Daulatram, Shankerrao Dev, Profulla Chandra Gose Harekrishna Mehtab and J B Kripalani

Shri Rajagopalacharia was present by special invitation Gandhiji was present throughout the discussions

[1]*Ibid*, pp 201 04

Minutes

The Minutes of the last meeting were confirmed

Negotiation with the British Government

The Committee considered the Viceroy's declaration about British War Aims and India and passed the following resolution

The Working Committee is of opinion that the Viceroy's statement in answer to the Congress invitation for a clear declaration of the British war aims, particularly in their application to India is wholly unsatisfactory and calculated to rouse resentment among all those who were anxious to gain and are intent upon gaining India's independence This invitation was made not only on behalf of the people of India but for millions of people all over the world, who were weary of war and violence, and Fascist and Imperialist systems which exploited nations and peoples and were ultimately the cause of war and who yearned for a new order of peace and freedom The Viceregal statement is an unequivocal reiteration of the old imperialistic policy The Committee regard the mention of the differences among several parties as a screen to hide the true intention of Great Britain What the Committee had asked for was a declaration of war aims as a test of Britain's *bona fides* regarding India irrespective of the attitude of opposing parties and groups The Congress has always stood for the amplest guarantee of the rights of minorities The freedom the Congress claimed was not for the Congress or any particular group or community, but for the nation and for all communities in India that go to build that nation The only way to establish this freedom and to ascertain the will of the nation as a whole is through a democratic process which gives full opportunity to all The Committee must therefore, regard the Viceroy's statement as in every way unfortunate In the circumstances the Committee cannot possibly give any support to Great Britain, for it would amount to an endorsement of the imperialist policy which the Congress has always sought to end As a first step in this direction the Committee call upon the Congress Ministries to tender their resignations

The Committee earnestly appeal to the nation to end all internal controversies in this hour of great crisis and call upon all Congress Committees and Congress men generally to be prepared for all developments and eventualities and to show restraint of word and deed so that nothing may be said or done which is not in keeping with India's honour or the principles for which the Congress stands The Committee warn Congress men against any hasty action in the shape of civil disobedience, political strikes and the like The Committee will watch the situation and the activities of the British Government in India and will not hesitate to guide the country to take further steps whenever the necessity for this arises The Committee desire to impress upon all Congress men that a programme of resistance, commensurate with the magnitude of the issue before the country requires perfect discipline within Congress ranks and the consolidation of the Congress organisation

The Working Committee realise that the non-violent resistance offered by the Congress in the past has sometimes been mixed with violence The Committee desire to impress upon all Congress men that any resistance that may have to be offered must be purged of all violence and to remind them of the pledges taken to this effect as early as 1921 during the Congress session at Ahmedabad and repeated on many subsequent occasions

Instructions to Ministries and Legislative Parties[1]

The Parliamentary Sub-Committee with the approval of the Working Committee issued the following instructions for the guidance of ministries and Congress parties in the Congress provinces

The resolution of the Working committee calls upon Congress Provincial Governments to tender their resignation These resignations should be given after the Assembly meetings which have been convened for the purpose of discussing such urgent business as may be pending but it is expected that resignations will be tendered by October 31 1939

The Central Provinces and Orissa Assemblies have been convened to meet at the beginning of November and the Provincial Governments in these provinces will remain in office till after this meeting

Speakers and Deputy Speakers and members of the Assemblies Presidents and members of the Councils are expected to retain their offices and seats Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries are the only persons who are at present expected to resign

With regard to the resolution to be moved in the Assemblies on war aims suitable amendments should be made in view of the new developments

Shri D P Misra

The President informed the Committee that two of the Congress members of the C P Assembly out of the 12 who had brought charges against Shri D P Misra have apologised and the rest had yet done nothing in the matter The Committee decided that the 10 members who had not yet apologised to Shri Misra should be asked to do so by the end of October If however they failed in this suitable action be taken against them The President was to write to them in this connection

Constitution of Bombay PCC

The Provincial Constitution of Bombay was placed before the Committee and sanctioned

34

Allahabad, Working Committee Meeting, 19-23 November 1939[2]

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Allahabad from November 19 to 23 1939 Shri Rajendra Prasad presided

The members present were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mst Sarojini Naidu Shris Jawaharlal Nehru Vallabhbhai Patel Jairamdas Daulatram Bhulabhai Desai Pattabhi Sitaramayya Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Bidhan Chandra Roy, Shankerrao Dev, Profulla Chandra Ghosh, Harekrishan Mehtab and J B Kripalani

[1]Since ministries were to resign after individual provincial legistures in which Congress held a majority had passed resolutions disapproving the Viceroy's statement resignations were tendered in stages e g in Madras and U P on 30 October in Bombay on 31 October and in C P on 8 November 1939 No direct action was envisaged immediately following resignations See reports in *Star of India*, 23 24 26 27 28 30 and 31 October and 1 4 and 10 November

[2]*Ibid*, pp 205 14

Shris C Rajagopachariа and G B Pant were present by special invitation

Gandhiji participated in the discussion throughout the session

Minutes

The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed

Political Situation

The Committee discussed the political situation in India created by the war and the resignation of Congress Ministries and passed the following resolution

The Working Committee have noted with pleasure the response of the country to the policy enunciated by them in regard to the war crisis in Europe and its repercussions in India This policy based on numerous declarations of the Congress, was laid down in the statement issued by the Committee on September 14, 1939, and subsequent events have amply justified its wisdom and expedience The course of the war and the policy pursued by the British and French Governments, and, in particular the declarations made on behalf of the British Government in regard to India, seem to demonstrate that the present war like the world war of 1914-1918 is being carried on for imperialist ends and British imperialism is to remain entrenched in India With such a war and with this policy the Congress cannot associate itself and it cannot countenance the exploitation of India's resources to this end

The Working Committee's unequivocal demand was for a declaration of war aims in regard to democracy and imperialism and in particular how these aims were going to be applied to India These aims could only be considered worthy if they included the elimination of imperialism and the treatment of India as an independent nation whose policy would be guided in accordance with the wishes of her people The answer to this demand has been made on behalf of the British Government to create misunderstandings and to befog the main and moral issue In justification of this refusal to make a declaration in terms of the Working Committee s resolution, communal pleas have been advanced and the rights of minorities and of the Princes pleaded as a barrier to India's freedom

The Committee wish to declare with all emphasis that no communal considerations arise in meeting the demand of the Congress, and the minorities, whatever their other differences might be, do not oppose India s right to freedom and independence The Princes are represented by, and are the emblems of, the Paramount Power in India In the end it will be the people of the Indian states who will determine what part they will take in a free India, though the British Government has consistently ignored their wishes in a matter which vitally affects them In any event the wishes of those who may oppose India's independence are, and must be, irrelevant to the declaration of the British government's intentions The Committee can only interpret this attempt to avoid a statement of war aims and Indian freedom, by taking shelter under irrelevant issues, as a desire to maintain imperialist domination in India in alliance with reactionary elements in the country

The Congress has looked upon the war crisis and the problems it raises as essentially a moral issue, and has not sought to profit by it in any spirit of bargaining The moral and dominant issue of war aims and India's freedom has to be settled satisfactorily before any other subsidiary question can be considered In no event can the Congress accept the responsibility of government, even in the transitional period without real power being given to popular representatives The Working Committee, therefore, approve of and endorse the reply dated November 4, 1939 sent by the Congress President to the Viceroy

The Committee wish to declare again that the recognition of India's independence and of the right of her people to frame their constitution through a Constituent assembly, is essential in order to remove the taint of imperialism from Brititain's policy and to enable the Congress to consider further co-operation They hold that a Constituent Assembly is the only democratic method of determining the constitution of a free country, and no one who believes in democracy and freedom can possibly take exception to it The Working Committee believe too that the Constituent Assembly alone is the adequate instrument for solving the communal and other difficulties

This, however, does not mean that the Working Committee will relax their efforts for arriving at a solution of the communal problem This Assembly can frame a constitution in which the rights of accepted minorities would be protected to their satisfaction, and in the event of some matters relating to minority rights not being mutually agreed to they can be referred to arbitration The Constituent Assembly should be elected on the basis of adult suffrage, existing separate electorates being retained for such minorities as desire them The number of members in the Assembly should reflect their numerical strength

The declarations made on behalf of the British Government being inadequate have compelled the Congress to dissociate itself from British policy and war effort, and as a first step in non co operation, to bring about the resignation of all Congress Governments in the Provinces The policy of non-co-operation continues and must continue unless the British Government revises its policy and accepts the Congress contention The Working Committee would however, remind Congress men that it is inherent in every form of *Satyagraha* that no effort is spared to achieve an honourable settlement with the opponent While a *Satyagrahi* is ever ready for a non violent fight, if it has to come he never relaxes his effort for peace and always works for its attainment The Working Committee will, therefore, continue to explore the means of arriving at an honourable settlement, even though the British Government has banged the door in the face of the Congress The Committee must, however, resist, by the non-violent methods of the Congress, all attempts to coerce the people of India along paths which are not of their choice and everything that is against the dignity and freedom of India

The Working Committee appreciate and express pleasure at the readiness exhibited by Congress men for the launching of Civil Disobedience, should this become necessary But Civil Disobedience requires the same strict discipline as an army organised for armed conflict The army is helpless unless it possesses its weapons of destruction and knows how to use them So also an army of non-violent soldiers is ineffective unless it understands and possesses the essentials of non violence The Working Committee desire to make it clear that the true test of preparedness for Civil Disobedience lies in Congress men themselves spinning and promoting the cause of khadi to the exclusion of mill-cloth, and deeming it their duty to establish harmony between communities by personal acts of service to those other than members of their own community, and individual Hindu Congress men seeking occasion for fraternising with the *Harijans* as often as possible

Congress organisations and Congress men should therefore prepare for future action by promoting this programme They should explain to the people the message and policy of the Congress and the implications of the Constituent Assembly which is the crux of the Congress programme for the future

Congress men in Government Committees

In connection with the position of Congress men in the Committees appointed by the Congress Governments, and the Congress men engaged in executive work in departments like the rural reconstruction and prohibition it was decided that they were to continue to function if no effort was made to change their status and if nothing was done that was repugnant to their sense of national self respect

Bengal Disputes

The Working Committee have received complaints against certain acts and omissions of the Bengal Provincial Executive and obtained explanations regarding the same from the Executive of the Province The Working Committee have also considered the resolutions passed by the Executive Council of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee at its meeting held on the 30th October, 1939 The Working Committee have once again to note with regret that the tone and temper of some of those resolutions are highly objectionable and wholly unbecoming a provincial committee in its relations to the Working Committee and to record the warning that if persisted in, the Working Committee will feel compelled to take notice of the same

In particular the Working Committee record their decisions as follows

1 (a) The Working Committee note that the Executive Council have not been following sections 38 and 39 of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee Constitution requiring that the Treasurer shall be in charge of the funds of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and that all money realised for the Bengal PCC shall be deposited in the bank through the Treasurer and all withdrawals shall be made by cheques issued under the joint signatures of the President or Secretary and the Treasurer, and that the Secretary may keep with him upto Rs 100 as imprest cash Attention having been drawn to this serious breach of the Constitution the Working Committee are now informed by the Secretary of BPCC that an account has recently been opened with a bank The Committee direct that the sections of the Provincial Constitution in regard to funds and expenditure should be strictly complied with The Committee would take serious notice of any non-compliance

(b) The Secretary of the BPCC is required to submit without delay to the AICC office copies of the audit report made by the auditor appointed by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee under Section 40 of the Constitution for the years 1937 and 1938

(c) It is regretted that the accounts of the BPCC have not been inspected or audited by any inspector or auditor appointed by the AICC under Article XX (d) of the Constitution of the Indian National Congress They depute Messrs Dalal and Shah or Messrs Chotelal M Shah and Co the Auditors of the All India Congress Committee, to audit the accounts of the BPCC for the years 1937-1938 and for 1939 upto October 31 and to submit their report before the next meeting of the Working Committee In case the auditors of the All India Congress Committee are unable to conduct the audit within time the President is authorised to appoint any other person or firm of auditors to conduct the audit and submit a report The Executive of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee are directed to place all account books, vouchers and other necessary papers at the disposal of the auditors for the purposes of the audit and furnish explanations as may be required by the auditor The auditor will conduct the audit of not only the general

funds of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee but of all other special fund or funds earmarked for particular purposes to be imbursed by the Provincial Congress Committee or its Executive Council or any of its Executive office bearers In particular the auditor will audit the accounts of the funds raised out of contributions by the members of Legislatures under Resolution No 3 dated August 14 17 1937 and kept in custody of the Leader of the Congress Party in the Provincial Legislature The Leader of the Congress party is requested to place all accounts vouchers and other papers before the audit and to furnish explanations and give such other assistance in the audit as may be required by the auditor

(2) The Working Committee note that in spite of the resolution passed by it at Wardha at its meeting held on September 8 to 15 1939, calling upon the Leader of the Congress Legislative Party to transfer the fund created from the contributions of the Congress members of the Legislature which had been published in the Congress Bulletin No 5 dated September 25, 1939 at page 4, the Executive Council at its meeting on October 30 1939 passed a resolution requesting the Leader of the Party to hand over the fund to the BPCC to be utilised by it Further it is to be regretted that the Executive Council passed this resolution although it was aware that the fund was held by the Leader on behalf of the All India Congress Committee to whom it belonged in terms of the resolution of the Working Committee dated August 14 17, 1937 creating the fund subject to the limitation that it should be spent by the AICC within the Province The Committee is however informed that the fund is still in possession of the Leader and has not yet been transferred to the BPCC as desired by the Executive Council or to Maulana A K Azad as decided by the Working Committee The Working Committee request the Leader of the Party to transfer it without any further delay to Maulana A K Azad in terms of the resolution of the Working Committee referred to above

(3) The Working Committee disapprove of the resolution of the Executive Council relating to the Election Tribunal It is unnecessary in the opinion of the Committee to repeat the reasons which compelled it to declare the election of the Provincial Election Tribunal by the Executive Council null and void and which were fully stated by the President in his judgment dated July 17, 1939 published in Bulletin No 4 dated September 7, 1939 It is equally unnecessary to restate the circumstances in which the Working Committee was constrained to appoint the Provincial Election Tribunal on account of the inability or unwillingness of the Executive Council or its Secretary to suggest suitable persons and which are fully stated in the resolution of the Working Committee dated September 8 to 15 1939 and published at page 5 of the Bulletin No 5 dated September 25 1939

The Working Committee appointed persons whom it considers to be unconnected with any party and who by reason of their detached position are able to deal with disputes in an impartial manner The Committee has no reason to agree with the view expressed by the Executive Council in the resolution referred to above

In view of the fact that definite rules had not been framed for the guidance of the Election Tribunal some amount of overlapping of jurisdiction was inevitable But the Committee note with regret that even in cases of such overlapping there was no justification for the Secretary of the BPCC to issue orders and publish them in the Press countermanding the orders or decisions of the Tribunal In particular the Working Committee wholly disapprove of the action of the Secretary in countermanding the interim order of the Provincial Election Tribunal regarding certain disputes about Rajshahi district and directing the subordinate Committee through the Press to act in contravention of the orders of the Tribunal It is all the more regrettable that the Secretary has

not withdrawn his orders even after the decision of the Tribunal The Working Committee declares that the orders of the Secretary have no validity and calls upon him to formally withdraw the same and publish the act of such withdrawal in the Press

The Working Committee note that rules have now been framed under which the Tribunal will work and these rules have been considered by the Committee after hearing Sjt Khitish Chandra Charkarvarti, Advocate, who had been deputed by the President of the BPCC with full authority to represent the Committee The rules are sanctioned as per separate note

Now that rules have been framed it is hoped that no conflict will arise betweeen the BPCC Executive and the Provincial Election Tribunal The Working Committee direct that full co-operation be given by the Executive Council and its office-bearers to the Election Tribunal in their work and their orders whether final or *ad interim* be carried out by all Congress men and Congress Committees in Bengal including the Provincial Congress Committee and its Executive Council and all office-bearers of Congress Committees

Disciplinary Action

The Working Committee have considered the correspondence that has passed between the President and Sriyuts T J Kedar Jakatdar and Subedar, members of the Legislative Assembly of the Central Provinces and Berar In the opinion of the Committee there is no justification for non compliance with the order of this Committee on the part of the above mentioned members and the Committee has no option but to take disciplinary action against them The Committee accordingly decide that the said Sriyuts Kedar, Jakatdar and Subedar be debarred from becoming a primary member of the Congress for one year They are further disqualified from holding any executive office or membership of any elective body in the Congress organisation and from being members of legislative or municipal or local body on behalf of the Congress for a period of three years

Office-Bearers of Delhi PCC

The Working Committee have considered the correspondence and the explanation received from the Secretary of the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee The Committee consider the action of Lala Shankerlal President and Maulana Nooruddin Bihari, Vice president, and Sardar Bahal Singh Secretary, of the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee in taking part in the meeting held on July 9 1939, for demonstrating against certain resolutions of the All India Congrees Committee as entirely wrong and unworthy of responsible office-bearers in the Congress organisation and condemns the same In view, however, of the time that has elapsed since the offence was committed the Committee consider it unnecessary to take any further action in the matter

Utkal PCC

Complaints having been received that the yearly accounts of the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee were not placed before the Committee, it was decided that the AICC Auditor be sent to audit the accounts and report to the Working Committee

Timetable

The following timetable for different elections in connection with the next session of the Congress was passed

1 Congress Session—*3rd Week of March, 1940*
2 Announcement of President's election—*February 18, 1940*
3 Meeting of Delegates to elect President and AICC members —*February 15, 1940*
4 Presidential nominations upto—*February 4, 1940*
5 Election of Delegates upto—*January 28, 1940*

Sind and Assam PCCs Constitutions

The Constitutions submitted by the Sind and Assam Provincial Congress Committees were placed before the Working Committee and were approved

Mymensingh Municipal Elections

After considering the representations received and hearing M Abul Hayat and Manoranjan Babu I have come to the conclusion that the following gentlemen should be selected as Congress candidates from the wards mentioned against their names

General

Ward 2—Aghor Bandhu Guha
Ward 3—Dr Prabhat Chandra Sen
Ward 3—M Moazzam Hasan
Ward 4—Basiruddin Ahmad
Ward 6—M Abdul Jabbar

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Wardha, Working Committee Meeting, 18-22 December 1939[1]

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Wardha from December 18 to 22 1939 Shri Rajendra Prasad presided

The members present were Shrimati Sarojini Naidu, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shris Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Pattabhi Sitaramayya Jairamdas Daualatram, Bhulabhai Desai, Shankerrao Dev, Bidhan Chandra Roy, Profulla Chandra Ghosh, Harekrishna Mehtab and J B Kripalani

Shri C Rajagopalacharia was present by special invitation Gandhiji attended the afternoon sittings throughout

Minutes

The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed

Political Situation

The Working Committee took stock of the political situation and passed the following resolution

> The Working Committee have studied with regret the recent pronouncements of the Secretary of State for India His reference to the communal question merely clouds the issue and takes the public mind off the central fact that the British Government have failed to define their war aims especially with regard to India's freedom

[1] *Ibid*, pp 214 24

In the opinion of the Working Committee the communal question will never be satisfactorily solved so long as the different parties are to look to a third party through whose favour they expect to gain special privileges even though it may be at the expense of the nation The rule of a foreign power over a people involves a division among the elements composing it The Congress has never concealed from itself the necessity of uniting the various divisions It is the one organisation which in order to maintain its national character has consistently tried, not always without success, to bring about unity But the Working Committee are convinced that lasting unity will only come when foreign rule is completely withdrawn Events that have happened since the last meeting of the Committee have confirmed this opinion The Working Committee are aware that the independence of India cannot be maintained if there are warring elements within the country The Committee are therefore entitled to read in the British Government's raising the communal question reluctance to part with power The Constituent Assembly as proposed by the Congress is the only way to attain a final settlement of communal questions The proposal contemplates fullest representation of all communities with separate electorates where necessary It has already been made clear on behalf of the Congress that minority rights will be protected to the satisfaction of the minorities concerned, difference, if any, being referred to an impartial tribunal

Congress men must have by now realised that independence is not to be won without very hard work Since the Congress is pledged to non-violence, the final sanction behind it is civil resistance which is but a part of *Satyagraha* *Satyagraha* means goodwill towards all, especially towards opponents Therefore it is the duty of individual congress men to promote and seek goodwill Success of the programme of Khaddar as an accepted symbol of non violence, harmony and economic independence is indispensable The Working Committee, therefore, hope that all Congress organisations will, by a vigorous prosecution of the constructive programme, prove themselves fit to take up the call when it comes

Independence Day

In view of the present political crisis and the urgent necessity of preparing the country for the struggle that may be forced upon us in the near future by the attitude of the British government towards our demands it was felt that the Independence Pledge for this year should be so framed as to help in the preparation already on foot The following resolution was therefore passed

The Working Committee draw the attention of all Congress Committees, Congress men and the country to the necessity of observing properly and with due solemnity Independence Day on January 26, 1940[1] Ever since 1930 this day has been regularly observed all over the country and it has become a landmark in our struggle for independence Owing to the crisis through which India and the world are now passing and the possibility of our struggle for freedom being continued in an intenser form, the next celebration of this Day has a special significance attached to it This celebration must therefore not only be the declaration of our national will to freedom, but a preparation for that struggle and a pledge to disciplined action

The Working Committee, therefore call upon all Congress Committees and individual Congress men to take the pledge prescribed below in public meetings called for the purpose Where owing to illness or other physical disability, or to being in and out of way place, individual

[1]For Jinnah's reaction see *supra,* p 439

Congress men are unable to attend a public meeting, they should take the pledge in their homes, individually or in groups The Working Committee advise organisations and individuals to notify their Provincial Congress Committees of the meetings held as well as the individual or group pledges taken The Committee hope that none who does not believe in the contents of the pledge will take it merely for the sake of form Those Congress men who do not believe in the prescribed pledge should notify their disapproval, stating reasons therefor to the Provincial Congress Committee giving their names and addresses This information is required not for the purpose of any disciplinary action but for the purpose of ascertaining the strength of disapproval of anything contained in the pledge The Working Committee have no desire to impose the pledge on unwilling Congress men In a non-violent organisation, compulsion can have little place The launching of civil disobedience requires the disciplined fulfilment of the essential conditions thereof

Pledge

'We believe that it is an inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people to have freedom and enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth We believe also that if any Government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses and has ruined India economically politically, culturally and spiritually We believe, therefore that India must sever the British connection and attain *Purna Swaraj* or Complete Independence

'We recognise that the most effective way of joining our freedom is not through violence India has gained strength and self-reliance and marched a long way to *Swaraj* following peaceful and ligitimate methods and it is by adhering to these methods that our country will attain Independence

'We pledge ourselves anew to the Independence of India and solemnly resolve to carry out non violently the struggle for freedom till *Purna Swaraj* is attained

'We believe that non-violent action in general and preparation for non violent direct action in particular require successful working of the constructive programme of Khadi, communal harmony and removal of untouchability We shall seek every opportunity of spreading goodwill among fellow-men without distinction of caste or creed We shall endeavour to raise from ignorance and poverty those who have been neglected and to advance in every way the interests of those who are considered to be backward and suppressed We know that though we are out to destroy the imperialistic system we have no quarrel with Englishmen, whether officials or non-officials We know that distinction between the caste Hindus and *Harijans* must be abolished, and Hindus have to forget these distinctions in their daily conduct Such distinctions are a bar to non-violent conduct Though our religious faith may be different, in our mutual relations we will act as children of mother India, bound by common nationality and common political and economic interests

'*Charkha* and Khadi are an integral part of our constructive programme, for the resuscitation of the seven hundred thousand villages of India and for the removal of the grinding poverty of the masses We shall, therefore, spin regularly, use for our personal requirements nothing but Khadi, and so far as possible products of village handicrafts only and endeavour to make others do likewise

'We pledge ourselves to a disciplined observance of Congress principles and policies and to keep in readiness to respond to the call of the Congress whenever it may come for carrying on the struggle for the independence of India '

Central Assembly Attendance

The Committee decided that the members of the Central Assembly will continue their abstention from the Assembly except insofar as it may be necessary to retain their seats

Bengal PCC

The working Committee regret that they have once again to review the working of the Executive of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and to take action thereon During the last few months the affairs of the Congress in Bengal have come up for consideration on several occasions On the last occasion, the Working Committee noted with regret the tone and temper of the resolution of the Bengal PCC and its Executive Council The Working Committee disapproved of the resolution of the Executive Council of the BPCC and their general attitude as regards the Election Tribunal and in particular directed the Secretary of the BPCC to withdraw his instructions to the District of Rajshahi countermanding the orders of the Tribunal and to publish the withdrawal in the Press The Committee expressed the hope that there would be no further conflict between the Tribunal appointed by the Working Committee and the Executive of the BPCC and that full co operation would be given to the Tribunal The Working Committee regret that this hope has not been realised and as a result of complete lack of co-operation the members of the Tribunal have tendered their resignations The Secretary of the BPCC has failed to carry out the specific direction given to him by the Working Committee and neither the President of the BPCC nor the Executive Council have taken any action in that regard The Working Committee feel that this state of things is deplorable and that they would, in the circumstances be justified in taking action under Article XIII, clause (C) (ii) of the Constitution to make arrangements for carrying on the work of the Congress in the province In view, however, of the fact that fresh elections will be held soon, the Committee do not consider it necessary to take such an extreme step but they consider it absolutely essential to take steps to ensure that the elections be held in a fair and impartial manner The Working Committee resolve therefore that an ad hoc Committee consisting of the following persons, with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad as Chairman, be formed to make arrangements for and conduct elections of delegates to the next Congress and all other elections to the Primary, Sub divisional, and District Congress Committees according to the BPCC rules The ad hoc Committee shall also have authority to delimit and form constituencies and to exercise all other powers exercisable by the BPCC or its Executive Council or any of its office bearers in regard to these elections The BPCC and its Executive Council and office bearers as also all subordinate committees and their office-bearers in the Province shall deal with and give all co-operation to the ad hoc Committee and carry out all instructions by that Committee in regard to the elections aforementioned The ad hoc Committee shall function until the new BPCC is duly formed and its office bearers take charge of the work in the Province

The Working Committee request the members of the Election Tribunal to withdraw their resignations and to function in terms of the Constitution and the rules framed All pending complaints relating to elections as well as any disputes arising out of the elections to be held hereafter under the direction and authority of the ad hoc Committee shall be disposed of by the Election Tribunal

Complaints have been received that the funds of the BPCC were not kept in bank or otherwise dealt with as required by the rules of the BPCC The Working Committee appointed Messrs S R Batliboi & Company Incorporated Accountants Calcutta as auditors, who have gone into the accounts and sent in their report Serious irregularities including failure to deposit in bank a large cash balance as admitted are disclosed These matters have been dealt with in a separate resolution

Ad Hoc Committee

1 Maulana Abul Kalam Azad—Chairman
2 Dr B C Roy
3 Dr P C Ghosh
4 Sjt J C Gupta
5 Dr Suresh Chandra Banerji
6 Sjt Kiron Shanker Roy
7 Sjt Annada Prosad Choudhuri and
8 Sjt Benoyendranath Palit

AICC Fund in Bengal

Read the letter of Shri Sarat Chandra Bose the leader of Congress Party in the Bengal Assembly, addressed to Maulana Azad The Working Committee see no reason to alter its previous decision The Committee note with satisfaction that the balance of the fund has been handed over to Maulana Azad as directed but regret that Shri Sarat Chandra Bose declined to place the account books for audit by the auditors

The Working Committee note with regret that many of the Congress members of the Bengal Legislature have not paid their quota to the fund and a large amount remains unrealised The Leader of the Party is requested to recover the arrears and to take the co operation of Maulana Azad in this matter, if necessary, and to report to the next meeting of the Working Committee

Audit Report of Bengal PCC Accounts

The Working Committee have considered the audit report submitted by Messrs S R Batliboi & Co , Incorporated Accountants, Calcutta, who were appointed and asked to audit the accounts of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee in terms of the resolution of the Working Committee dated November 19 to 23, 1939

For the period April 1, 1937 to March 31, 1938 beyond a set of accounts prepared by Messrs P K Ghosh & Co , Incorporated Accountants, the auditors were not supplied with any books, papers or vouchers for the period The Secretary of the BPCC reported to the auditors that when he assumed office on April 10 1938 he was not handed over charge of the books by the then Treasurer and Secretary, and no attempts have been made to search for or trace those books of account, papers and vouchers The books papers and vouchers for the period Ist April, 1938 to 9th April, 1939 have not been produced and are said to be missing Accounts from 10th April, 1938 to 31st March, 1939 and papers produced are incomplete

The cash book which was produced to the auditors on the 9th December, which was written upto the 31st Octobr, 1939, showed a cash balance of Rs 17,718-8-1 and the balance as drawn was signed by the Secretary There were no entries in the Cash Book for the months of November and December upto the date of its production nor was any rough Cash Book produced for the period Thereafter, the Secretary called at the office of the auditors on the 13th December and stated that two items of cash receipt aggregating to Rs 880

were inadvertently omitted from the Cash Book and the omission was due to the hurry in submitting the Accounts to the Auditors

According to the accounts as produced by them there was a closing cash balance of Rs 18,598-8-1, no part of which was banked into the bank account of the BPCC or produced in cash or otherwise before the auditors The Secretary then gave to the auditors a certificate of cash balance reading as following

'I hereby certify that the cash balance of the BPCC Fund as at the close of business on 31st October 1939 was Rs 18 598 8 1 (Rupees eighteen thousand five hundred and ninety eight, annas eight and pie one only) and the said balance was in my custody as on that date '

The BPCC had no bank account upto 31st October, 1939, crossed cheques which were received had to be cashed through some persons having a bank account At the request of the auditors later on a passbook of the BPCC was shown being an account of the BPCC with the Pioneer Bank Ltd The Account appears to have been opened so late as the 21st November, 1939, with an initial deposit of Rs 560 But a cheque for that amount appears to have been dishonoured twice and ultimately credited as late as 9th December, 1939 The final balance on the 13th December 1939 was Rs 12,389 9 0

The following paragraph from the report deals with the cash balance and where and how it was held

'We asked the Office Secretary to explain the fact that on 31st October, 1939, the balance as per Cash Book was Rs 18,598 8-1 and yet the Bank Account started 21 days later with a balance of Rs 560 only We wanted to know what happened to the large cash balances on 31st October 1939 We were informed by the Office Secretary that the cash balance was with the Secretary and that it was in his own personal bank account and was being gradually credited to the BPCC account from time to time and in instalments and that the balance at bank on December 13 1939, after meeting expenditure was Rs 12 368 9 We understand that this bank balance includes Rs 4 163 0 6 from the AICC surplus '

It appears from the above facts that the Secretary of the BPCC failed to put its funds in a bank as he was bound to do From the certificate it is quite clear that the Secretary was not in a position to produce the whole or any part of the balance of the funds admitted by him to be with him on that day From the manner in which the account was sought to be opened on November 21, 1939, it is clear that the monies were not easily forthcoming from where the same were held The final balance in the bank includes Rs 4 163-0 6 surplus from the AICC meeting held at Calcutta It is clear that a sum amounting to Rs 10,371 3 7 was not produced nor banked by the Secretary upto December, 13, 1939 on which date and long prior thereto the whole of that money ought to have been with him and ought to have been ready for production and being banked Besides this, the state of affairs as disclosed by the audit show that books, papers and vouchers were not regularly kept

The Working Committee consider this state of things to be extremely unsatisfactory and detrimental to the prestige and efficient working of the Congress organisation in the Province The Provincial Executive cannot be considered to have discharge their duty properly and function in terms of the Constitution of the BPCC which specifically requires that all monies should be duly banked Even overlooking all other irregularities and the absence of proper accounts, which should be easily available for inspection and audit the Committee cannot tolerate that a large cash balance which at the lowest computation comes to over ten thousand rupees should remain unbanked or unproduced or otherwise unaccounted for even at the time of the special audit

The Working Committee direct that the admitted cash balance should be handed over to the Treasurer, Mr J C Gupta and be deposited by him in a bank without the least further delay The Treasurer is requested to treat the realisation and deposit of the fund as his personal responsibility and report to the President of the Provincial Congress Committee and to the General Secretary of the AICC

In order that the state of affairs disclosed by the audit report may be rectified the Secretary and the Treasurer should take immediate steps to keep proper accounts and see that monies are disbursed in strict accordance with the rules of the BPCC and the practice obtaining in all public organisations, in particular they should see that no cash remains with any individual beyond the amount permitted under the rules for petty expenses and that no monies are paid out except through bank and on proper sanction

Membership for the Year 1940

On a reference being made by the UP PCC it was decided that the enrolment of the primary members for the next year may be commenced from now care being taken that the new membership is kept separate from the membership of 1939

Fraction of a Lac

On a reference being made by the Sindh PCC it was decided that in the population of a district a fraction of less than half a lac be not taken into account and more than half a lac be considered as one lac for fixing the number of delegates returnable by a district

Kashmir

It was decided that for the election of Congress delegates, the Kashmir State was not under the jurisdiction of the Punjab PCC

Delegates from Mysore

The Executive of the Karnatak PCC had requested that there be no election of delegates from Mysore in view of the political struggle going on in the State The Committee had considered the representation and rejected it They were again approached to reconsider their decision The Committee saw no reason to alter their previous decision in the matter and decided that fresh elections of delegates be held for the next year in Mysore as in the rest of India

Provincial Constitutions

The constitutions submitted by the Bihar Punjab and Delhi Provincial Congress Committees were placed before the Working Committee and were approved

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Wardha, Working Committee Meeting, 19-21 January 1940[1]

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Wardha from January 19 to 21, 1940 Shri Rajendra Prasad presided

The Members present were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Messrs Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Pattabhi Sitaramayya Bhulabhai Desai, Bidhan

[1] *Ibid*, pp 225 32

Chandra Roy, Shankerrao Dev, Profulla Chandra Ghosh, Harekrishna Mehtab, J B Kripalani

Shri Rajagopalacharia was present by special invitation Gandhiji attended the afternoon sittings of the Committee

Accounts

Resolved that the expenditure incurred by the All India Congress Committee office under the following heads in the budget of 1938-39 be sanctioned

	Rs as p
Postage	3,374-13-9
Telephonic charges	576 11-4
Stationery	561 7-7
Printing	1 542-10-0

Turkish Relief Fund

Resolved that the action of the President granting Rs 1,000 towards the Turkish Earthquake Fund be confirmed and the money be sanctioned and the Treasurer be instructed to pay the amount

Authority to the Treasurer

Resolved that Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, the Treasurer of the Congress, is hereby expressly empowered

(1) From time to time to appoint remove and reappoint an attorney or attorneys to act either jointly or severally and to confer on such attorney or attorneys all or some of the powers and authorities of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj as such Treasurer, provided, however, that such delegation will not absolve the Treasurer from any personal responsibility to the Working Committee

(2) Resolved further that Seth Jamnalal Bajaj as such Treasurer is hereby expressly authorised to confer on such attorney or attorneys expressly all or any of the following powers

(a) To open , continue and operate upon any banking account with any bank, person, firm or company and to close such account whether such account be already opened or may be hereafter opened and to draw and sign cheques and otherwise operate upon such account

(b) To endorse transfer, negotiate any cheques, Bills of Exchange, Hundies, and other negotiable instruments and securities

(c) To receive sums of money and securities on behalf of the AICC (the Working Committee and the Congress) and to give effectual receipt and discharges for the same

Next Session

The Committee fixed the following dates for Committee meetings and the open session at Ramgarh

Working Committee	14, 15 and 16 March, 1940
AICC	17, 18 and 19 March, 1940
Open Session	19 20 and 21 March, 1940

Punjab Assembly By-Election

The Committee considered the resolution of the Working Committee of the Punjab PCC regarding the nomination of the candidate for the Punjab Provincial Assembly in the West Multan Rural constituency In the opinion of the Committee it is within the competence of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee to make the final nomination for election to the legislatures The Working Committee of a province is not justified in threatening resignation because its recommendation is not accepted by the Parliamentary Sub Committee

Utkal

Considered the representation of Shri Nabakrishna Choudhry and the explanation of Shri Nilkanth Das and Godavaris Misra regarding the proceedings of the meeting of the Utkal PCC held on December 22, 1939

In the opinion of the Committee the rulings of the Chairman were not correct and the resolution expressing want of confidence in the executive should have been permitted to be moved for the consideration of the meeting but in view of the fact that the new elections are taking place, it is unnecessary to take further steps in this regard

The Working Committee approved of the action of the President in entrusting the conduct of the elections in the province to Messrs Gopabandhu Choudhry and Harihar Acharya with full powers

Bengal

The Working Committee have considered the resolution of the BPCC recommending the postponement of Congress elections in Bengal The decision to hold the Congress elections in the country was arrived at after much consideration at a previous meeting of the Committee The Working Committee find no change in the political situation of the country since the previous meeting of the Committee to justify postponement of Congress elections The decision of the BPCC has bee taken at a time when all preparations were completed in all the other Provinces to hold the Congress elections The Working Committee, therefore, do not consider it desirable to postpone the Congress elections in Bengal alone and direct the ad hoc committee to push through the elections as quickly as possible

The Working Committee considered the request of the BPCC for permission to launch Civil disobedience in the Province as normal working of Congress organisations is said to have become impossible The Committee resolved that the Congress Committees in the Province should carry out all their normal activities at any cost If they are prevented from carrying them out in Bengal by the Government under the Ordinance or the Defence of India Act the BPCC is free to take any steps it considers necessary to meet the situation there It should be clearly understood, however, that any steps taken by the BPCC is in vindication of the ordinary civil right of the organisation to function, and for that limited purpose only, and should not be regarded as a part of the general movement of Civil Disobedience for the attainment of the Congress goal

The Working Committee have published their resolutions on the general question of civil disobedience in the country from time to time and there is nothing particular at this time to add to those resolutions

The other resolutions regarding amendment of the Independence Pledge and action to be taken on the 26th January, 1940 did not call for a separate treatment The first point was covered by the President's statement to the press

which he made under authority of the Working Committee and the second point did not arise as the Government of Bengal had withdrawn bans on the proceedings of 26th January

The resolution asking for a revision of the Working Committee's resolution appointing the ad hoc committee is dealt with separately

The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee had requested the Working Committee to reconsider their resolution by which they had appointed the Bengal ad hoc Committee to conduct the Congress elections in Bengal The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee had deputed Shri Sarat Chandra Bose to argue its case before the Working Committee Shri Sarat Chandra Bose pleaded the case of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee before the Working Committee at great length The Working Committee gave the following decision

Decision

The Working Committee heard Sjt Sarat Chandra Bose at great length on the 20th and 21st January 1940 at Wardha regarding the resolutions of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee dated the 6th January 1940, asking the Working Committee to reconsider their resolution dated the 18th to 22nd December, 1939 appointing an ad hoc committee for conducting Congress elections in Bengal and subsequently on the 22nd January 1940 Sj Sarat Chandra Bose gave a note summarising his arguments After giving full consideration to Sj Sarat Chandra Bose's arguments the Working Committee regret their inability to alter their decision The resolution of the Working Committee was arrived at after long and anxious consideration and was necessitated by a series of acts and omissions on the part of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and its Executive Council in defiance of the resolutions and policy of the Working Committee and the All India Congress Committee It may be noted that there has been no change in that attitude of the BPCC and its Executive Council When the Working Committee appointed the ad hoc committee the Executive Council of the BPCC met on the 30th December 1939 and passed a resolution the operative portion of which was a definite refusal to accept the Working Committee's decision and run as follows 'The Council, therefore, regrets its inability to accept this decision of the Congress Working Committee, regarding ad hoc committee and it resolves to continue functioning in accordance with the Constitution of the Indian National Congress and the BPCC ' This was followed up by a circular issued by the BPCC to all Congress Committees in the Province of Bengal and Surma Valley which after reciting the resolution of the Executive Council said 'All Congress Committees are, therefore requested to send all suggestions regarding delimitation etc , to BPCC office which is legally the competent body to deal in the matter They are also directed not to co operate with the ad hoc committee in all these matters The BPCC met on 6th January, 1940 and passed a resolution criticising at length the resolution of the Working Committee recording its protest against it and asking it to reconsider the resolution The BPCC took no notice of the resolution of the Executive Council refusing to accept the decision of the Working Committee and the circular issued by the Secretary asking all committees within the Province to disobey it and not to co operate with the ad hoc committee On the other hand the same resolution which asked for a review of the Working Committee's decision also contained a paragraph which reiterates its full confidence in the present Executive Council and the President Secretary and office bearers of the Committee and requests them to deal with the situation as it arises ' The action of the Executive Council in passing the resolution above mentioned and the circular issued by the BPCC to all Congress Committees of the Province are a clear defiance of the resolution of the Working Committee and the BPCC has by its own resolution endorsed the action of the Executive Council and its office bearers who

were responsible for the resolution and the circular

The Working Committee consider these the most recent actions of the BPCC and its Executive as being quite in keeping with the attitude they have adopted during the last several months and which had forced the hands of the Working Committee to appoint the ad hoc committee

The Working Committee in their resolution had expressly stated that they did not like to take drastic step in spite of sufficient provocation in view of impending elections but had contented themselves with appointing the ad hoc committee to ensure fair and impartial elections The need for such elections remain and the Working Committee are unable to alter their decision

Regarding the points raised by Sj Sarat Chandra Bose, it may be stated that the Working Committee did not like to repeat in their resolutions of 18th to 22nd December, 1939 all that had happened before and simply referred to the previous resolutions which had dealt with the situation as it had developed in Bengal during previous months and only mentioned some glaring facts Regarding the point of disobedience of specific instructions, it may be metntioned that Election Tribunal passed certain interim orders to the effect that Sj Saradindu Chakaravarti should function as the Secretary of the Rajshahi DCC pending final disposal of the dispute before it on the 29th September On the 30th September the Secretary of the BPCC issued a notice through the press countermanding the order of the Tribunal and saying that Sj Pravaschandra Lahiri should function as Secretary and this appeared in the papers of October 1, 1939 The matter came up before the President, who after receiving an explanation from the Secretary held on the 12th October that the *ad interim* order of the Tribunal should be given effect to and that Sj Saradindu Chakravarti should function as Secretary This was communicated to the BPCC and Sj Saradindu Chakravarti and Pravaschandra Lahiri The BPCC and Sj Pravaschandra Lahiri took no notice of this order for more than one and half months and when the Bengal affairs came up for review before the Working Committee on 18th to 23rd November the Committee gave specific instructions that the order of the Secretary should be withdrawn and the withdrawal published in the press

It appears from what Sj Sarat Chandra Bose stated before the Committee that after the resolution of the Working Committee the Secretary of the BPCC asked Sj Pravaschandra Lahiri to hand over charge to Sj Saradindu Chakaravarti that Sj Pravaschandra Lahiri wrote to the BPCC that he had asked Sj Radharamon Bhattacharya to hand over charge and some further correspondence passed to a similar effect Sj Radharamon wrote to the AICC Office at Allahabad on 14th December informing the Secretary that he had been ordered to hand over charge but this letter was not received till the Secretary had left for the meeting of the Working Committee at Wardha and was not before him or the Working Committee when the resolution of the Working Committee was passed It is admitted, however, that the other specific instruction of the Committee that the withdrawal should be published in the press was not carried out nor was the Tribunal at any stage informed of the fact that the countermanding order had been withdrawn by the Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee It is sought to explain that this was an omission or an oversight

The Secretary had thought it necessary to issued a press statement countermanding the Tribunal's order immediately after it had been passed but neither he nor the President of the BPCC nor the Executive Council considered it necessary to give effect to the order of the President of the AICC from 12th October to 1st December, 1939 and when the Working Committee gave specific direction to withdraw and to publish the withdrawal, the Secretary failed to carry out the second instruction Coming as it did on the

top of all that had happened during the previous months, the Working Committee passed their resolution on the 18th to 22nd December and the fact that in respect of one point their information was not complete does not furnish sufficient ground for altering their decision

Sj Sarat Chandra Bose has referred to certain other matters which are not germane to the question at issue and it is unnecessary to deal with them here Sj Sarat Chandra Bose has argued that while the Working Committee are competent to supersede a Provincial Committee, it is not open to them to pass an order taking away and entrusting to an ad hoc committee one or some of their functions If it is open to them to take away all the powers of a provincial committee, it is open to them to take away one of them

In these circumstances, the Working Committee are unable to alter their previous decision The ad hoc committee will conduct the elections It is hoped that all Congress Committees including the PCC and its Executive Council will co operate with the ad hoc committee and thus ensure impartial and fair elections which is the intention behind the resolution of the Working Committee

37

Patna, Working Committee 28 February-1 March 1940[1]

A meeting of the Working Committee was held in Sadaqat Ashram Patna, from February 28 to March 1, 1940 Shri Rajendra Prasad presided

The members present were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Shrimati Sarojini Naidu Shris Jawaharlal Nehru Vallabhbhai Patel Jamnalal Bajaj, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Bhulabhai Desai, Shankerrao Dev, Profulla Chandra Ghosh, Hareknshna Mehtab and J B Kripalani

Gandhiji and Shri Rajagopalacharia were present by invitation

Minutes

The minutes of the last two meetings of the Working Committee held at Wardha in December 1939 and January 1940 respectively were adopted

Accounts

The audited Accounts for the period October 1, 1938 to September 30 1939 were placed before the Committee and passed

Baghelkhand

The President informed the Committee that there was a desire expressed on the part of the Baghelkhand states to separate from Mahakoshal PCC and unite themselves with the UP PCC The UP PCC executive had expressed its willingness to incorporate the states in their province The President Mahakoshal PCC had said that there was no objection to the transfer It was however decided that the Mahakoshal PCC should consider this question and give consent to the transfer before it is effected

Bengal

The Bengal PCC had passed a long resolution by which among other things, it had disaffiliated the Mymensingh, Hughli and Jessore DCCs for co-operating with the Bengal Congress Election Committee appointed by the Working

[1] *Ibid*, pp 417 20

Committee This action had created an awkward position for all such Committees in Bengal as were faithfully carrying out the instructions of the Working Committee They had to be protected from the wrath of the Bengal PCC in revolt against the Working Committee This could only be done if the Working Committee took action against the Bengal PCC under Article XIII of the Congress Constitution The Working Committee was therefore constrained to pass the following resolution

> The Working Committee understands that the Bengal PCC has passed a resolution purporting to disaffiliate the Mymensigh, Hughli and the Jessore District Congress Committee on account of their co-operation with the Congress Election Committee appointed by the Working Committee by its resolution of December last This resolution of the Executive Council of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, coming as it does after a series of acts of defiance of the Working Committee leaves no room for any further condonation of their indiscipline The Working Committee, therefore, calls upon the Bengal PCC to show cause why it should not be disaffiliated under Article XIII of the Congress Constitution The President is authorised after receiving such explanation as may be offered to take action thereon and if satisfied, to pass orders withdrawing all recognition from the present Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and further authorises him to take such further action as may be necessary in consequence thereof for carrying on the Congress Work in the that province
>
> The District Congress Committee of Mymensingh Hughli and Jessore and all other district committees in Bengal are hereby informed that all actions taken by the Bengal PCC or its executive council for disaffiliation and otherwise interfering with their authority as a result of their loyalty to the resolutions and directions of the Working Committee, are null and void and shall have no effect
>
> Pending final orders by the President after receipt of any explanation that the Bengal PCC or its executive council offers, the Bengal PCC and the executive council are suspended and their powers shall be exercised by the aforementioned election committee

Ajmer

Complaints were received about the election of three members to the AICC from Ajmer and the formation there of the Provincial Congress Committee by co-option

The opinion of the Committee was that on the date fixed for the AICC elections, as there were not more than three delegates it was quite constitutional for these three delegate to elect themselves as members of the AICC They were also entitled in terms of the old constitution to co-opt the remaining members of the PCC However the newly formed PCC may be informed that it must make fresh rules for the formation of the PCC on the principle of election The principle of co-option must be so restricted that the number of persons co-opted may in no case exceed the total number of those who are authorised to co-opt

Delhi

The President informed the Committee about the difficulty of the three supervisors who had been appointed by him to supervise elections in the Delhi Province Neither the PCC nor the Election Tribunal was co-operating with them, specially the latter Some speedy way of making the election of delegates possible before the Ramgarh session must be therefore devised The Committee after considering the situation passed the following resolution

In view of the difficulties that have arisen in conducting the delegate elections in Delhi Province, and the consequent delay in their elections it is necessary to take urgent steps to expedite these elections so as to enable Delhi delegates to take part in the Ramgarh Congress The Supervisory Committee should therefore in consultation with the Delhi provincial Congress Committee immediately fix the dates for the election In the event of any complaints being made about membership certificates not having been issued the supervisory Committee is authorised to issue such certificates after such inquiry as it may deem fit The Supervisory Committee may also examine and dispose of any case of fictitious membership where the Election Tribunal has not already considered them and passed orders on them

India and War Crisis

The Committee discussed the political situation and adopted a resolution to be placed before the Subjects Committee of the 53rd session of the Indian National Congress to be held at Ramgarh [1]

38

Ramgarh, Working Commitee Meeting, 15-18 March 1940[2]

A meeting of the Working Committee was held in Ramgarh (Bihar) from March 15 to 18 Babu Rajendra Prasad presided

The members present were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shrimati Sarojini Naidu Shris Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Jamnalal Bajaj, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan Pattabhi Sitaramayya Bhulabhai Desai Shankerrao Dev, Profulla Chandra Ghosh, Hareknshna Mehtab and J B Kripalani

Minutes

The minutes of the last meeting of the Working Committee held at Patna were adopted

Non-Official Resolutions

The Committee took stock of the political situation, considered the non-official resolutions of which due notice had been given and decided the programme to be followed in the Subjects Committee and the open session

The following resolution was passed on the Caxton Hall tragedy in London

[1]For text of resolution see *supra*, appendix XX 6 pp 682 83

[2]A M Zaidi and S G Zaidi (eds) Vol XI op cit pp 420 21

Caxton Hall Tragedy

'The Working Committee has learnt with deep regret of the assassination of Sir Michael O Dwyer[1] and the wounding of Marquess of Zetland[2] and others by a person said to be an Indian The Committee does not attach any political significance to this unfortunate act of violence Nevertheless, it wishes to reiterate its conviction that all such acts are injurious to the national cause [3]

[1]B 1864 edn Balliol College Oxford entered I C S 1885 Director, Lands Records and Agriculture Punjab 1876 Settlement Officer Alwar and Bharatpur States 1897 Revenue Commissioner N W F P 1901 8 Chief Commissioner 1907, Resident Hyderabd (Deccan) 1908 09 Agent to Governor General in Central India 1910 12 Lieut Governor Punjab 1913 19 (during the period of martial law in the Punjab leading to Jallianwala Bagh massacre 1919) Member of the Committee on the Army in India 1920 author of *India As I knew it,* Constable & Company Ltd London 1925 Belonged to Winston Churchill s anti concessionist die hard group till assassinated on 13 March 1940

[2]B 1876, edn Harrow and Trinity College Cambridge travelled Ceylon 1898 India 1899 1900, Central Asia Serbia 1903 Japan China and Burma 1906 16 Member Royal Commission on Public Services in India 1912 14 Governor Bengal 1917 22 Member of the Indian Round Table Conference 1930 31 of Joint Parliamentary Committee on India 1933 Secretary of State for India 1935 40 of Burma 1937 40 President Royal Indian Society 1923 50 of Royal Asiatic Society 1928 31 Governor, National Bank of Scotland 1940 52 d auther of *Essayez* John Murrey London 1956 1 d 961

[3]*The Times,* 14 March 1940 reported the incident as follows

> Sir Michael O Dwyer was shot dead and Lord Zetland Secretary of State for India, and two other distinguished Indian administrators were wounded when shots were fired by a man in the audience at the close of a public meeting in London yesterday Lord Zetland escaped with a bullet graze and Lord Lamington and Sir Louis Dane the other victims both received arm injuries
>
> The four victims of the attack had all spoken at the meeting which was held at Caxton Hall The meeting had just ended and the audience were on the point of leaving when the shots were fired A powerfully built man apparently an Indian aged about 40 came close to the group of speakers and officials as they were saying farewell to one another and fired one shot after another from a pistol
>
> The first bullet as it appeared to onlookers killed Sir Michael O Dwyer passing through his body from the back Succeeding shots wounded Lord Zetland who fell to the ground Sir Louis Dane whose arm was broken and Lord Lamington who received a wound which cut the main vein in his wrist The assailant was seized overpowered, and held till the police arrived to arrest him
>
> The meeting was a joint gathering of the East India Association and the Royal Central Asian Society, held in the Tudor room of the Caxton Hall Lord Zetland took the chair and a lecture on Afghanistan The Present Position was given by Brigadier General Sir Percy Sykes who spoke for about three quarters of an hour After the lecture and remarks from the chair Sir Michael O Dwyer made a witty speech which was warmly received The substantial unanimity of the Muslim world in support of the Allied causes in the war was emphasized After Mrs Mander (formerly Miss Audrey Harris) and Sir Louis Dane had spoken a vote of thanks was moved by Lord Lamington
>
> The meeting was well attended, probably 150 to 170 people were present many of whom had to stand and virtually all remained to the end and were still in the room when the shooting occurred

Also see the Memoirs of Lawrence Second Marquess of Zetland *Essayez* John Murray London 1956 pp 287 89, in which the author, giving an account of the incident identifies the killer as Udham Singh and explains how his own life was saved by the handkerchief in his pocket where the bullet had hit The handkerchief was given him by his youngest daughter for a Christmas present

Bullet marks on the walls of Tudor room at Caxton Hall were preserved till at least 1965 when this editor visited the place and was shown around by the porter who was there in March 1940 and had witnessed the incident

Principal Functionaries

A—Party Officials

Muslim League Presidents and Secretaries[1]

a) Presidents, All India Muslim League, 1906-47

1	H H the Aga Khan[2] (1877-1957)	1908-12
2	Maharaja Sir Muhammad Ali Muhammad Khan of Mahmudabad (1877 1931)	1912 18
3	Mr M A Jinnah (1876-1948)	1919 30
4	Sir Mian Muhammad Shafi (1869 1932)	15 March 1931-15 December 1931
5	Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan (1893-1985)	1931-32
6	Mian Abdul Aziz (d 1946)	1932 33
7	Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Hosain (1881 1936)	1933 34
8	M A Jinnah[3] (1876-1948)	1934-47

[1]Sources — S M Abdulla (Honorary Joint Secretary), *Annual Report of the All India Muslim League for the years 1932 and 1933*, The Grand Printing Works Ballimaran Delhi n d Jamil ud Din Ahmad *Documents of the Muslim Freedom Movement*, Publishers United Lahore 1976, pp 574 5 and Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada *Foundations of Pakistan All India Muslim League Documents 1906 1947*, Vol II 1924 47 National Publishing House Karachi 1970, pp 608 09

[2]Muslim League was founded in 1906 However a regular President of Muslim League was elected only in 1908 It was on 30 December 1906 during the session of the Mohammedan Educational Conference at Dacca that the delegates discussed the formation of a political organisation of the Muslims The proposal to establish it was initiated by Nawab Salimullah and the gathering was presided over by Nawab Viqarul Mulk The resolution presented was carried unanimously and thus the All India Muslim League came into being It was in March 1908 at Aligarh that His Highness the Aga Khan was formally elected as the first President of All India Muslim League for three years Sources—Mohamed Ali (eds), *Green book No 1—Proceedings of a Public Meeting of the Mohammedans Assembled from Different Parts of India at Dacca on the 30th December 1906 to discuss the formation of the All India Muslim League under the Chairmanship of Nawab Viqarul Mulk Bahadur*, Printed at the Indian Daily Telegraph Press Lucknow 1907 pp 1 18 and a 29 page booklet entitled *The All India Muslim League* (dealing with the establishment of the All India Muslim League) printed at the Pioneer Press by Geo Sim No 985 1908

[3]Until 1931, Presidents of the Muslim League were elected for a period of three years In December 1931 at the Delhi session of the League, the League constitution was amended and the term of the President was reduced from three years to one year As for Jinnah he was re elected as the President of the Muslim League on 25 May 1924 at the Lahore session and again on 31 December 1927 at the Calcutta session He left for England in October 1930 The Muslim League Council re elected him as the President on 4 March 1934 when he was in India on a short visit Thereafter he countinued to be elected as President every year He presided over the League meeting for the last time on 21 February 1948 at Karachi where Choudhry Khaliquzzaman was elected the Chief Organizer of the Pakistan Muslim League See Syed Shamsul Hasan (ed), *Plain Mr Jinnah,* Royal Book Company Karachi 1976 p 17

(b) Presidents of Annual and other Sessions, (All India Muslim League)

	Name	Place	Date
	Nawab Viqarul Mulk, Maulvi Mushtaq Hosain Bahadur (1841-1917)	Dacca	30 December 1906 (inaugural session)
1	Sir Adamji Peerbhai (1846-1910)	Karachi	29-30 December 1907
	Shah Din (1868 1918)	Aligarh	18-19 March 1908 In continuation of Karachi meeting 1907)
2	Syed Ali Imam (1869-1932)	Amritsar	30-31 December 1908
3	Sir Ghulam Muhammad Ali, Prince of Arcot (1882-1952)	Delhi	29-30 January 1910
4	Syed Nabiullah (d 1925)	Nagpur	28 30 December 1910
5	Nawab Khwaja Salimullah (1884 1915)	Calcutta	3-4 March 1912
6	Mian Muhammad Shafi (1869-1932)	Lucknow	22 23 March 1913
7	Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola (1862-1942)	Agra	30-31 December 1913
8	Mr Mazharul Haq (1866-1930)	Bombay	30 December 1915 1 January 1916
9	Mr M A Jinnah (1876-1948)	Lucknow	30 31 December 1916
10	Maulana Muhammad Ali[1] (1878-1931) (President elect)	Calcutta	30 December 1917 1 January 1918
	Maharaja of Mahmudabad (1877-1931)	Bombay	31 August 1918 1 September 1918 (special session)
11	Mr A K Fazlul Huq (1873 1962)	Delhi	30 December 1918
12	Hakim Ajmal Khan (1863-1927)	Amritsar	29-31 December 1919
	M A Jinnah (1876 1948)	Calcutta	7 September 1920 (Extraordinary session)

[1]During the course of the session, Maulana Muhammad Ali remained in jail hence he could not preside over the session instead Mr Abdul Latif Ahmad, Chairman Reception Committee, read the welcome address followed by an address by Maharaja of Mahmudabad See Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, (ed), *Foundations of Pakistan All India Muslim League Documents, 1906 1947,* Vol I, 1906 1924, National Publishing House Limited Karachi, n d pp 398 400 and 424

13	Dr M A Ansari (1880 1936)	Nagpur	30-31 December 1920
14	Maulana Hasrat Mohani (1878 1951)	Ahmadabad	30 December 1921
15	Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgri (1881-1924)	Lucknow	31 March 1 April 1923 (Session adjourned)
	Mr M A Jinnah (1876 1948)	Lahore	24 25 May 1924 (Session reconvened)
16	Syed Raza Ali (1882 1949)	Bombay	30-31 December 1924
17	Sir Abdur Rahim (1867-1947)	Aligarh	30-31 December 1925
18	Sir Abdul Qadir (1874 1950)	Delhi	30-31 December 1926
19	Maulvi Sir Muhammad Yakub (1879-1942)	Calcutta	30 December 1927 and 1 January 1928
	Sir Muhammad Shafi (1869 1932)	Lahore	31 December 1927-1 January 1928 (Shafi Group)
20	Maharaja Muhammad Ali Muhammad Khan of Mahumudabad (1877-1931)	Calcutta	26-30 December 1928
21	Dr Sir Muhammad Iqbal (1876-1938)	Allahabad	29-30 December 1930
22	Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrullah Khan (1893 1985)	Delhi	26-27 December 1931
	Mian Abdul Aziz (d 1946)	Howra	21 October 1933 (Aziz Group)
23	Hafiz Hidayat Husain (1881 1936)	Delhi	25-26 November 1933
24	Syed Wazir Hasan (1874-1947)	Bombay	11-12 April 1936
25	M A Jinnah (1876 1948)	Lucknow	15-18 October 1937
	" "	Calcutta	17 18 April 1938 (Special Session)
26	" "	Patna	26 29 December 1938
27	" "	Lahore	22-24 March 1940
28	"	Madras	12-15 April 1941
29	" "	Allahabad	3-6 April 1942
30	" "	Delhi	24-26 April 1943

31	M A Jinnah (1876-1948)	Karachi	24-26 December 1943[1]

(c) Secretaries, All India Muslim League

1	Nawab Mohsinul Mulk Mehdi Ali Khan[2] (1837-1907) and Nawab Viqarul Mulk Maulvi Mushtaq Hosain	1906 1907
2	Nawab Viqarul Mulk Maulvi Mushtaq Hosain[3] (1841-1917)	1907-1908
3	Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami (d 1915)	1908-1910
4	Maulvi Muhammad Aziz Mirza (1865 1912)	1910-1912
5	Syed Wazir Hasan (1874-1947)	1912-1918
6	Syed Zahur Ahmad (b 1870)	1919 1926
7	Dr Saifuddin Kitchlew (1884-1963)	1926-1929
8	Maulvi Sir Muhammad Yakub (1879 1942)	1930 1933
9	Professor Mirza Muhammad Said[4] (1886-1962)	1933
10	Hafiz Hidayat Hosain[5] (1881-1936)	1934 1935
11	Maulvi Sir Muhammad Yakub[6] (1879 1942)	1935-1936
12	Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan (1895-1951)	1936-1947

[1]No annual session or special session of All India Muslim was held after this date However Jinnah presided over the All India Muslim League Legislators Convention on 8 9 April 1946 held at Delhi See Liaquat Ali Khan Honorary Secretary All India Muslim League *Resolutions of the All India Muslim League, January 1944 December 1946,* All India Muslim League, n d p 45

[2]Mohsinul Mulk and Viqarul Mulk jointly held the office of the Secretary of the Muslim League

[3]Consequent on Mohsinul Mulk's death on 16 October 1907, the office passed on to Viqarul Mulk independently

[4]Muslim League Documents Vol 211

[5]Muslim League Documents, Vols 219,220

[6]Muslim League Documents Vols 168 222

(d) Congress Presidents of Plenary Sessions of the Indian National Congress, 1885-1947[1]

Nos of Sessions	Names and their tenure of office	Year & Venue of sessions	Years of Birth and Death of Presidents
1	W C Bonnerjee (Dec 28, 1885 to Dec 28, 1886)	1885 Bombay	(1844-1906)
2	Dadabhai Naoroji (Dec 28, 1886 to Dec 27, 1887)	1886 Calcutta	(1825-1917)
3	Badruddin Tyabji (Dec 27, 1887 to Dec 26 1888)	1887 Madras	(1844-1906)
4	George Yule (Dec 26, 1888 to Dec 26, 1889)	1888 Allahabad	(1829-1892)
5	William Wedderburn (Dec 26 1889 to Dec 26, 1890)	1889 Bombay	(1836 1918)
6	Pherozshah Mehta (Dec 26, 1890 to Dec 28, 1891)	1890 Calcutta	(1845 1915)
7	P Ananda Charlu (Dec 28, 1891 to Dec 28, 1892)	1891 Nagpur	(1843-1908)
8	W C Bonnerjee (Dec 28, 1892 to Dec 27, 1893)	1892 Allahabad	(1844-1906)
9	Dadabhai Naoroji (Dec 27 1893 to Dec 26 1894)	1893 Lahore	(1825-1917)
10	Alfred Webb (Dec 26 1894 to Dec 27, 1895)	1894 Madras	(1834-1908)
11	Surendranath Banerjee (Dec 27, 1895 to Dec 28, 1896)	1895 Poona	(1848-1925)
12	Rahimatullah M Sayani (Dec 28, 1896 to Dec 28 1897)	1896 Calcutta	(1847 1902)
13	C Sankaran Nair (Dec 28 1897 to Dec 29, 1898)	1897 Amraoti	(1857-1934)
14	Ananda Mohan Bose (Dec 29, 1898 to Dec 29 1899)	1898 Madras	(1847 1906)
15	R C Dutt (Dec 29 1899 to Dec 29, 1900)	1899 Lucknow	(1848 1909)
16	N G Chandavarkar (Dec 29, 1900 to Dec 28 1901)	1900 Lahore	(1855 1923)
17	Dinshaw E Wacha (Dec 28, 1901 to Dec 29, 1902)	1901 Calcutta	(1844-1936)

[1]Amin Ahmad Zaidi (ed) *Portraits and Profiles of Presidents of Indian National Congress, 1885 1985,* Indian Institute of Applied Political Research, Delhi, 1986, pp 11 14 and S P Sen (ed) *Dictionary of National Biography,* Vol II, op cit, and B Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *History of the Indian National Congress, 1885 1935,* op cit

18 Surendranath Banerjee (Dec 29, 1902 to Dec 28, 1903) — 1902 Ahmedabad (1848-1925)

19 Lalmohan Ghosh (Dec 28, 1903 to Dec 28, 1904) — 1903 Madras (1849 1909)

20 Henry Cotton (Dec 28, 1904 to Dec 28, 1905) — 1904 Bombay (1845 1915)

21 Gopal Krishna Gokhale (Dec 28, 1905 to Dec 26, 1906) — 1905 Benaras (1866-1915)

22 Dadabhai Naoroji (Dec 26, 1906 to Dec 26, 1907) — 1906 Calcutta (1825-1917)

23 Rashbihari Ghosh (Dec 26, 1907 to Dec 27, 1909) — 1907 Surat (1845 1921)

Rashbihari Ghose — 1908 Madras[1] (1845-1921)

24 M M Malaviya (Dec 27, 1909 to Dec 26, 1910) — 1909 Lahore (1861-1946)

25 William Wedderburn (Dec 26 1910 to Dec 26 1911 — 1910 Allahabad (1836-1918)

26 Bishan Narayan Dar (Dec 26, 1911 to Dec 26 1912) — 1911 Calcutta (1864-1916)

27 R N Mudholkar (Dec 26, 1912 to Dec 26 1913) — 1912 Bankipore (1857-1921)

28 Nawab Syed Muhammad (Dec 26, 1913 to Dec 28, 1914) — 1913 Karachi (1867 1919)

29 Bhupendranath Basu (Dec 28, 1914 to Dec 27 1915) — 1914 Madras (1859-1924)

30 Satyendra Prasanna Sinha (Dec 27, 1915 to Dec 28, 1916) — 1915 Bombay (1863-1927)

31 A C Mazumdar (Dec 28, 1916 to Dec 26, 1917) — 1916 Lucknow (1851-1922)

32 Annie Besant (Dec 26, 1917 to Dec 29, 1918) — 1917 Calcutta (1847-1933)

Syed Hasan Imam (Aug 29, 1918 to Dec 26, 1918) — 1918 Bombay (Special) (1871-1933)

33 M M Malaviya (Dec 26, 1918 to Dec 28, 1919) — 1918 Delhi (1861-1946)

34 Motilal Nehru (Dec 28, 1919 to Sept 04, 1920) — 1919 Amritsar (1861-1931)

Lala Lajpat Rai (Sept 04, 1920 to Dec 26, 1920) — 1920 Calcutta (Special) (1865-1928)

35 C Vijayaraghavachariar (Dec 26, 1920 to Dec 27, 1921) — 1920 Nagpur (1852 1944)

36 Hakim Ajmal Khan (Dec 27, 1921 to Dec 26, 1922) — 1921 Ahmedabad (1863-1927)

[1]The same Surat session continued at Madras No independent session was convened in 1908

No.	President	Session	Life
37	C R Dass (Dec 26, 1922 to Sept 15, 1923)	1922 Gaya	(1870-1925)
	Abul Kalam Azad (Sept 15, 1923 to Dec 28, 1923)	1923 Delhi (Special)	(1888-1958)
38	Maulana Muhammad Ali (Dec 28, 1923 to Dec 26, 1924)	1923 Cocanada	(1878-1931)
39	Mahatma Gandhi (Dec 26, 1924 to Dec 26, 1925)	1924 Belgaum	(1869-1948)
40	Sarojini Naidu (Dec 26, 1925 to Dec 26, 1926)	1925 Kanpur	(1879 1949)
41	Srinivasa Iyengar (Dec 26, 1926 to Dec 26, 1927)	1926 Gauhati	(1874-1941)
42	M A Ansari (Dec 26, 1927 to Dec 29, 1928)	1927 Madras	(1880-1936)
43	Motilal Nehru (Dec 29, 1928 to Dec 29, 1929)	1928 Calcutta	(1861-1931)
44	Jawaharlal Nehru (Dec 29, 5929 to Mar 29, 1931)	1929 Lahore	(1889-1964)
45	Vallabhbhai Patel (Mar 29, 1931 to Apr 24 1932)	1931 Karachi	(1875-1950)
46	Madan Mohan Malaviya[1] Seth Rancholal (Actg) Rajendra Prasad (Actg) M A Ansari (Actg) S S Caveeshar (Actg) Abdul Kalam Azad (Actg) Sarojini Naidu (Actg)	1932 Delhi	(1861 1946)
47	Madan Mohan Malaviya (Apr 24, 1932 to Oct 26, 1934)	1933 Calcutta	(1861-1946)
	Nellie Sen Gupta (Actg)		(1886-1973)
48	Rajendra Prasad (Oct 26, 1934 to Apr 12, 1936	1934 Bombay	(1884-1963)
49	Jawaharlal Nehru	1936 Lucknow	(1889-1964)
50	Jawaharlal Nehru (Apr 12, 1936 to Feb 19, 1938)	1936 Faizpur	(1889-1964)
51	Subhash Chandra Bose (Feb 19, 1938 to April 27, 1939)	1938 Haripura	(1897-1945)
52	Subhas Chandra Bose	1939 Tripuri	(1897-1945)
	Rajendra Prasad (April 27, 1939 to March 17, 1940)		(1884 1963)
53	Abul Kalam Azad (March 17, 1940 to July 06 1946)	1940 Ramgarh	(1888 1958)
	Jawaharlal Nehru July 06, 1946 to Nov 21, 1946)		(1889-1964)

[1]On the occasions of the 46th and 47th sessions, the President designate, Malaviya was arrested before he could preside over them In his absence, 46th session was presided over by Seth Ranchodlal who was succeeded by five Acting Congress Presidents one after the other The next 47th session was presided over in similar circumstances by Mrs Nellie Sen Gupta.

54 J B Kripalani (Nov 21, 1946 to Nov 15, 1947) 1946 Meerut (b 1888)

(e) Secretary, India National Congress, 1934-1945

1 General Secretary, J B Kripalani 1934-45 (b 1888)

B— State Functionaries

(a) British Monarchs Since 1858[1]

		Accession		Coronation		Reigned
1	Alexandrina Victoria (1819-1901)	20 January	1837	28 June	1838	63 Years
2	Albert, Edwards VII (1841 1910)	22 January	1901	9 August	1902	9 Years
3	George Frederick Ernest Albert, George V (1865 1936)	6 May	1910	22 June	1911	25 Years
4	Edward Albert Christian George Andrew Patric David, Edward VIII (1894-1972)	20 January	1936			325 Days
5	Albert Arthur George, George VI (1895 1952)	11 December	1936	12 May	1937	15 Years
6	Elizabeth Alexandra Mary, Elizabeth II (1926-)	6 February	1952	2 June	1952	—

[1]David Butler and Jennie Freeman (eds) *British Political Facts 1900 1968* 3rd Edition Macmillan London, 1969 pp 246 49 Plantagenet Somerset Fry, *1,000 Great Lives*, Hamlyn London, 1979 *Chambers Biographical Dictionary*, Revised Edition 1984, J Bryan III and Charles A V Murphy, *The Windsor Story*, Granada, London, 1979 and *A King s Story The Memoirs of H R H The Duke of Windsor* Reprint Society, London, 1953 reprint, first published 1951

(b) British Prime Ministers[1]

The exact origin of the term 'Prime Minister' is the subject of several legal treatises and the question to whom the designation should first be applied is still a controversial point According to Sir William Anson, 'a man becomes Prime Minister by kissing the king's hands and accepting the commission to form a ministry' Therefore the dates given below are those on which the royal hands were kissed, not those on which the oath was taken The list includes the names of the holders of office from 1858 although the institution had been established with Sir Robert Walpole on 15 May 1730

Earl of Derby	20 February	1858
Viscount Palmerston	12 June	1859
Earl Russell	29 October	1865
Earl of Derby	28 June	1866
Benjamin Disraeli	27 February	1868
William Ewart Gladstone	03 December	1868
Benjamin Disraeli	20 February	1874
William Ewart Gladstone	23 April	1880
Marquess of Salisbury	23 June	1885
William Ewart Gladstone	01 February	1886
Marquess of Salisbury	25 July	1886
William Ewart Gladstone	15 August	1892
Earl of Rosebery	05 March	1894
Marquess of Salisbury	25 June	1895
Arthur James Balfour	12 July	1902
Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman	05 December	1905
Herbert Henry Asquith	07 April	1908
David Lloyd George	07 December	1916
Andrew Bonar Law	23 October	1922
Stanley Baldwin	22 May	1923
James Ramsay MacDonald	22 January	1924
Stanley Baldwin	04 November	1924
James Ramsay MacDonald	05 June	1929
Stanley Baldwin	07 June	1935
Arthur Neville Chamberlain	28 May	1937
Winston Spencer Churchill	10 May	1940
Clement Richard Attlee	26 July	1945

[1] K K Aziz *The British in India A Study in Imperialism,* National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research Islamabad 1976, pp 339 40

(c) Secretaries of State for India[1]

The Government of India Act of 1858 transferred the control of India from the East India Company to the Crown, and ministerial responsibility for Indian affairs from the President of the Board of Control to the Secretary of State for India in Council By the Government of India Act of 1935 the Secretary of State acquired the title of 'Secretary of State for India and for Burma'

Lord Stanley	02 September	1858
Sir Charles Wood	18 June	1859
Earl de Grey and Ripon	16 February	1866
Viscount Cranborne	06 July	1866
Sir Stafford Northcote	08 March	1867
Duke of Argyll	09 December	1868
Marquess of Salisbury	21 February	1874
Gathorne Hardy (cr Viscount Cranbrook 14 May 1878)	02 April	1878
Marquess of Hartington	28 April	1880
Earl of Kimberley	16 December	1882
Lord Randolph Churchill	24 June	1885
Earl of Kimberley	06 February	1886
Sir Richard Assheton Cross (cr Viscount Cross 19 August 1886)	03 August	1886
Earl of Kimberley	18 August	1892
Henry Hartley Fowler	10 March	1894
Lord George Francis Hamilton	04 July	1895
William St John Brodrick	09 October	1903
John Morley	11 December	1905
Earl of Crewe	07 November	1910
Viscount Morley of Blackburn	07 March	1911
Earl of Crewe	25 May	1911
Joseph Austen Chamberlain	27 May	1915
Edwin Samuel Montagu	20 July	1917
Viscount Peel	21 March	1923
Sir Lord Olivier	23 January	1924
Earl of Birkenhead	07 November	1924
Viscount Peel	01 November	1928
William Wedgwood Benn	08 June	1929
Sir Samuel John Gurney Hoare	26 August	1931
The Marquess of Zetland	07 June	1935
Leopold Stennett Amery	15 May	1940
F W Pethick Lawrence	04 August	1945
The Earl of Listowel	23 April	1947

[1] HM Stationery Office, *Supplement to the India Office and Burma List, 1947 Chronological Lists of Heads of Administration in India and at Home*, London, 1947 p 1

(d) Governors-General /Viceroys[1]

Viscount Canning	01 November	1858
Earl of Elgin I	12 March	1862
Sir Robert Napier	*21 November*	*1863*
Sir William T Denison	*02 December*	*1863*
Sir John Lawrence	12 January	1864
Earl of Mayo	12 January	1869
John Strachey	*09 February*	*1872*
Lord Napier of Merchistoun	*23 February*	*1872*
Lord Northbrook	03 May	1872
Lord Lytton	12 April	1876
Marquess of Ripon	08 June	1880
Earl of Dufferin	13 December	1884
Marquess of Lansdowne	10 December	1888
Earl of Elgin and Kincardine	27 January	1894
Baron Curzon of Kedleston	06 January	1899
Baron Ampthill	*30 April*	*1904*
Baron Curzon of Kedleston	13 December	1904
Earl of Minto	18 November	1905
Baron Hardinge of Penshurt	23 November	1910
Baron Chelmsford	04 April	1916
Earl of Reading	02 April	1921
Earl of Lytton	*10 April*	*1925*
Baron Irwin	03 April	1926
Viscount Goschen Hawkhurst	*29 June*	*1929*
Earl of Willingdon	18 April	1931
Sir George Frederick Stanley	*16 May*	*1934*
Marquess of Linlithgow	18 April	1936
Baron Brabourne	*25 June*	*1938*
Viscount Wavell of Cyrenaica and Winchester	20 October	1943
Sir John Colville	*21 March*	*1945*
Viscount Mountbatten of Burma	30 March	1947

[1] *Ibid*, p 8 Names of officiating and temporary holders of office are given in italics

(e) Provincial Governors 1937-39[1]

		Provinces	Date of Appointment/Tenure
1	Sir John Anderson	Bengal	29 March 1932 1 April 1937
	Lord Michael Herbert Rudolph Knatchbull Brabourne		27 Nov 1937—39
	Sir Robert Niel Reid (Acting)		25 June-24 Oct 1938, 24 Feb 1939-11 June 1939
	Sir John Ackroyd Woodhead (Temporary)		12 June-Nov 1939
	Sir John Arthur Herbert		18 Nov 1939-43
2	Sir Maurice Garnier Hallett	Bihar	11 March 1937 39
	Sir Thomas Alexander Stewart		5 August 1939 43
3	Lord Michael Herbert Rudolph Knatchbull Brabourne	Bombay	1933 37
	Sir Lawrence Roger Lumley		18 September 1937 27 March 1943
4	Sir Hyde Clarendon Gowan	C P & Berar	1933-1938
	H Bomford (Acting)		3 March 1938-27 May 1938
	Sir Francis Verner Wylie		28 May 1938-40
5	Lord John Francis Ashley Erskine	Madras	15 November 1934— 11 March 1940
	Rai Bahadur Sir Kurma Venkata Reddi Naidu (Acting)		18 June 1 October 1936
6	Sir John Austen Hubback	Orissa	April 1936 1941
	G T Boag (Acting)		11 August 1938- 8 December 1938
7	Sir Herbert William Emerson	Punjab	12 April 1933 April 1938
	Sir Henry Duffield Craik		4 April 1938-April 1941
8	Sir Harry Graham Haig	U P	6 December 1934-39
	Sir Maurice Garnier Hallett		7 December 1939-Dec 1945
9	Sir Robert Niel Reid	Assam	4 March 1937-May 1942
	Sir Gilbert Pitcairn Hogg (Acting)		24 June-24 October 1938
	Sir Henry Joseph Twynam (Acting)		24 Feb 1939 5 Oct 1939
10	Sir George Cunningham	N W F P	2 March 1937 1939
	Sir Arthur Eward Broadbent Parsons (Acting)		11 August 1939- 10 December 1939
11	Sir Lancelot Graham	Sind	1 April 1936-41
	Sir Joseph Hugh Garrett (Acting)		1 August-1 December 1938

[1] *Ibid.*, pp 15, 18, 21 23, 24, 26 30 and Nripendra Nath Mitra, (ed), *The Indian Annual Register, An Annual Digest of Public Affairs of India,* Vol I, (January June 1940), The Annual Register Office, Calcutta n d , pp 1 5

(f) Provincial Chief Ministers 1937-39[1]

	Name	Province	Period
1	Shrikrishna Sinha (1887-1961)	Bihar	1937-39
2	Bal Gangadhar Kher (1888 1957)	Bombay	1937 39, 1946-52
3	Dr Narayan Bhaskar Khare (1882-1969)	Central Provinces	14 July 1937-29 July 1938
	Pandit Ravi Shanker Shukla (1877-1956)		July 1938-39
4	Chakravarti Rajagopalachari (1878-1972)	Madras	1937-39
5	Bishwanath Das (1889 1971)	Orissa	1937 39
6	Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant (1887 1961)	United Provinces	1937 39, 1946-55
7	Abul Kasem Fazlul Huq (1873 1962)	Bengal	1937-41
8	Sardar Sir Sikander Hyat Khan (1892-1942)	Punjab	1937-42
9	Sir Syed Muhammad Saadullah (1885-1955)	Assam	1937-Sept 1938, Nov 1939-42
	Gopinath Bardoloi (1890 1950)		Sept 1938-Nov 1939
10	Dr Khan Saheb (1883 1958)	N-W F P	1937 39, 1945-47, 1954-55
11	Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah (1879 1948)	Sind	1937-38
	Allah Bux (1897-1943)		1938-40

[1]Nripendra Nath Mitra, (ed) op cit , Vol I January June 1937 pp i iii S P Sen (ed), op cit , Vols I IV Naresh Kumar Jain, (ed) *Muslim in India A Biographical Dictionary*, Vol I and II Manohar Publications Delhi 1979, 1983 and *Who Was Who*, Vols V and VII Adam & Charles Black, London, 1984 edition and 1981

C—Rulers of some Relevant Princely States[1]

	Names of the Princes	Accession	State
1	Sir Tej Singhji Bahadur (b 1911)	22-07-1937	Alwar
2	Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan V Abbasi (1904-1966)	1907	Bahawalpur
3	Sir Pratapsinha Gaekwad Shamsher Bahadur (1908 1968)	07-02 1939	Baroda
4	BrijendraSingh Bahadur (b 1918)	1939	Bharatpur
5	Sir Krishna Kumar Singhji (b 1912)	1919, full ruling powers 1931	Bhavnagar
6	Muhammad Hamidullah (1894-1960)	1926	Bhopal
7	Sadul Singhji (1902-1950)	02-02 1943	Bikaner
8	Sir Ishwari Singhji (b 1893)	08-08-1927	Bundi
9	Sir Harindar Singh (b 1915)	1918, full ruling powers 1934	Faridkot
10	Sir Jiwaji Rao Scindia (1916-1961)	27-09 1925, full ruling powers 1936	Gwalior
11	Nawab Mir Osman Ali Khan (1886-1967)	1911	Hyderabad
12	Yeshwant Rao Holkar (1908-1961)	26-02-1926	Indore
13	Sir Sawai Mansinghji (1911-1970)	1922, full ruling powers 1931	Jaipur
14	Sir Umaid Singhji (1903 1947)	1918	Jodhpur
15	Sir Mahabat Khanji Rasul Khanji III (1900-1959)	1920	Junagadh

[1]Sir Francis Low, (ed), *The Indian Year Book, 1944-45*, Vol XXXI The Times of India, Bombay n d , (See section Who s Who in India) pp 1214 1337

16	Sir Ahmad Yar Khan (b 1904)	1933	Kalat
17	Sir Jagatjit Singh (1872-1949)	1877	Kapurthala
18	Maharaja Hari Singh	1925	Kashmir[1]
19	Mir Faiz Muhammad Khan Talpur (b 1913)	1935	Khairpur
20	Maharao Vijaya Rajji (1885-1948)	1942	Kutch
21	Jaya Chamraja Wadiyar (1919-1974)	1940	Mysore
22	Sir Digvijaysingji Ranjit Sinhji Jadeja (1895 1966)	1933	Nawanagar
23	Sir Ram Singhji (b 1908)	1929	Partabgarh
24	Sir Yadavendra Singhji (1913-1974)	1938	Patiala
25	Sir Natwarsinhji Bahadur (b 1901)	1908	Porbandar
26	Shri Pradumna Sinhji (b 1913)	1940	Rajkot
27	Sir Syed Muhammad Raza Ali khan (1906-1966)	1930	Rampur
28	Muhammad Haider Muhammad Yakut Khan (b 1909)	1930	Sachin
29	Sir Chintamanrao Dhundirao (b 1890)	1903	Sangli
30	Mian Gul Abdul Wadood	1915 British (Govt's recognition in 1926)	Swat[2]
31	Sir Muhammad Saadat Ali Khan (b 1879)	23 06 1930	Tonk
32	Sir Bala Rama Varma (b 1912)	1924 ruling powers 1931	Travancore

[1]Abdul Mannan Khalifa, *Kashmir Story, Abko Publishers, Lahore, 1970, p 26*

[2]Danish Gah-e Punjab (ed), *Urdu Daira e Ma arif e Islamia,* Vol 11, Lahore, 1975, p 420

33 Sir Bir Bikram Kishore Dev Varman Bahadur (1908-1947)	1923, full powers 1927	Tripura
34 Sir Bhopal Singhji Bahadur (1884-1955)	1930	Udaipur

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Abbreviations

AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIML	All India Muslim League
AISA	All India Spinners' Association
AP/API	Associated Press/Associated Press of India
b	born
BNR	Bengal-Nagpur Railway
BPCC	Bengal Provincial Congress Committee
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CP	Central Province
Cr	Created
Cr PC	Criminal Procedure Code
CWC	Congress Working Committee
d	died
DCC	District Congress Committee
ed	editor/edited
edn	education
GCIE	(Knight) Grand Commander of the Order of the Indian Empire
GCSI	(Knight) Grand Commander of the Order of the Star of India
HE	His/Her Excellency
HH	His/Her Highness
HM	His/Her Majesty
HMSO	His/Her Majesty's Stationery Office
HMG	His/Her Majesty's Government
Ibid	*Ibidem* (in the same book)
ICS	Indian Civil Service
IPC	International Palestine Conference
KB	Khan Bahadur
KCSI	Knight Commander of the Order of the Star of India
kt	Knighted
MCS	Member Council of State
ML	Muslim League
MLA	Member Legislative Assembly
MLC	Member Legislative Council
MP	Member Parliament
n	(Foot) note
NCO	Non-cooperation

n d	not dated
op cit	*opere citato* (in the work already quoted)
NWFP	North Western Frontier Province
p/pp	page/pages
PCC	Provincial Congress Committee
P O	Post Office
QC/KC	Queen's/King's Counsel (An honorary rank of barristers and advocates)
Res	Resolution
R I	Rigorous Imprisonment
RTC	Round Table Conference
Sh	Shaikh/Sheikh
TCC	Tehsil Congress Committee
UP	United Provinces
Vol	Volume

Glossary

Ahimsa	Non-violence
Akali	Principal Sikh political party
Akhand Bharat	United India
Akhara	Wrestling ground
Al-Haj	One who performs Hajj
Allah-o-Akbar	God is Great
Anjuman	Association
Ashram	Home for communal living
Arti	A Hindu ritual worship
Arya Samaj	A Hindu revivalist movement
Azad	Free
Badshahat	Kingship
Bahadur	Courageous
Bideshi	Foreign
Brahmachari	One who abstains from marriage
Budmash	A bad character, a rascal
Burqa	Veil worn by Muslim women
Chaprasi	Peon
Dal	Lentil
Fatwa	Religious edict
Gaddi	Seat
Gur Dwara	A Sikh temple
Hadis	Sayings of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)
Hajj	Pilgrimage to Makkah

Hartal	Strike
Harijan	A name given by Gandhi to the untouchables
Hindu Mahasabha	Hindu Political Party
Jatha	A group of people
Jehad	Holy war
Jirga	Council of elders
Kafir	Infidel
Kashtkar	Peasant
Kazi	One who administers justice
Khaddar	Hand spun and hand woven cloth
Khalifa	Caliph
Kisan	A farmer
Kotwali	Police Station
Khudai Khitmatgar	Servant of God
Khuddam-e-Kaaba	Servants of Kaaba
Kisan Sabha	Peasants' body
Lakhshmi	Godess of Fortune and Wealth in Hindu mythology
Langer	Free meal, mostly on rituals
Mahajan	Money lender
Mahant	Hindu/Sikh Priest
Marwari	Belonging to Marwar, mostly business community
Maulvi/Maulana	A title used for Muslim religious scholar
Mohulla	Division or area of a town
Mufti	One who issues fatwa, A jurisconsult
Mushaira	poetic symposium
Mutawalli	Custodian
Nawabzada	Son of Nawab
Parcham	Flag
Parda	Seclusion
Probhat Pheri	An early morning procession
Proja	People
Purna Swaraj	Complete Independence
Raja	Ruler of a princely state
Ramazan	Month of mandatory Fasting for Muslims
Ram Rajya	Reign of Rama (Hindu deity)
Ram Senas	Ram's Army
Rashtrapati	President of a State
Sabhas	Organisations

Sajjadanasheen	A title used for caretakers of tombs and the attached property in respect of sufis and saints
Salami	Salute
Salar	Commander
Sanad	certificate
Sangathan	Solidarity
Satyagraha	A policy of passive resistance to British Rule advocated by Gandhi
Shamiana	Pavilion
Shariat	Islamic Law
Shuddhi	A movement for Conversion to Hinduism
Swadeshi	Indigenous
Taluqdar	A zamindar in UP who helped collect revenue from his own and other zamindari estates after 1858
Ulema	Muslim theologians
Vidya Mandir	Temple of learning, applied to schools established under Gandhi's Wardha Scheme of Education
Wakf	Property set apart for charitable purposes/trust
Zamindar	Landlord
Zenana	Female
Zila	District
Zindabad	Long live

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